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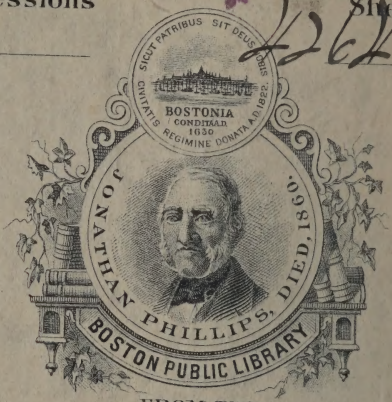

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Letter to Memb. Congress

THE UTTER EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY AN OBJECT OF SCRIPTURE PROPHECY:

A

LECTURE

THE SUBSTANCE OF WHICH WAS DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

CHELMSFORD

LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION,

IN THE FRIEND'S MEETING-HOUSE,

ON TUESDAY, THE 17TH OF APRIL, 1832:

WILLIAM KNIGHT, ESQ. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

With Elucidatory Notes.

BY

JOSEPH IVIMEY,

A MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

DEDICATED TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

"LIBERTY IS THE WORD WITH ME."—*Æsop.*

"ABOVE ALL LIBERTY."—*Selden.*

LONDON:

SOLD BY S. WIGHTMAN, PATERNOSTER ROW; MESSRS. HATCHARD, PICCADILLY; MESSRS. SEELEY, FLEET STREET; HOLDSWORTH AND BALL, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD; WESTLEY AND CO. STATIONERS' COURT; MASON, CITY ROAD, AND PATERNOSTER ROW; DARTON AND HARVEY, GRACECHURCH STREET; J. W. CALDER, OXFORD STREET; AND AT THE BOOK ROOM, IN EXETER HALL.

1832.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY J. MESSEDER, 201, HIGH HOLBORN.

TO

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ.

SIR,

AFTER the uniform testimony of the world has been borne, for many years past, to your philanthrophy toward those unhappy beings, who are, in common parlance, designated slaves; in consequence of your having procured the abolition of the "TRADE *in the persons of men*," which had, for nearly three centuries, been the foul disgrace of the British nation; it cannot be deemed flattery, that I have presumed to dedicate this Lecture to you: and which I do with feelings of the most profound respect and veneration. To you, Sir, belong the highest honour, and the most refined and exalted pleasure, which ever any man appropriated to himself:—"*And when the ear heard me*," said the God-fearing, most upright, and deeply-afflicted Job, "*then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me. Because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to*

perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me; my judgment was as a robe and a diadem. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame; I was a father to the poor; and the cause which I knew not, I searched out; and I brake the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth." * Nor can I imagine, after the proofs which I have experienced of your friendship, that the freedom which I have taken, will be deemed an offensive liberty, with your much-loved *name*, especially when pronounced in connection with the *abolition of Slavery.*†

Notwithstanding so much has been said and published on the subject of Slavery, I have never known any observations to have been advanced, relating to its being clearly pointed out in the scriptures, as one of those evils which inspired predictions have devoted to utter extinction. This is one reason why I have considered it desirable to publish my thoughts, on the certainty of that event taking place; and to state my opinion of the probability, from existing circumstances, that its entire abolition is not far distant.

* Job. xxix. 12—17.

† See a most eloquent eulogy pronounced on Mr. Wilberforce, by the late lamented patriot, Sir Samuel Romilly, in the Appendix, No. 1.

Another reason is, a hope that the discussion of the subject at this most eventful period, will arrest the attention of, at least, the pious part of the community, and lead them to consider how necessary it is, in order to the prosperity and salvation of the nation, that this most crying sin should be repented of, and put away, that we may be "*a saved, and not a destroyed people.*"

The NATION has been lately fasting, and humbling itself before God, because of the divine visitation, by a most destructive disease. It appears, at present, that the merciful Jehovah, who spared Ahab, and the kingdom of Israel, when "he humbled himself"; and who spared Nineveh, when "the king proclaimed a fast," and its inhabitants devoutly observed it; that HE is turning away his chastising rod, by checking the awful pestilence, and saying to the destroying angel—"*It is enough.*" Ought we not, then, to prove the sincerity of our repentance, by resolving that Slavery shall be immediately abolished in the British colonies? Let all classes of the PEOPLE shew the genuineness of their professed repentance, by petitioning against Slavery; and let our enlightened LEGISLATURE, our reforming MINISTERS, and our beloved, patriotic and paternal MONARCH, prove their's, by *fixing a specific period, beyond*

which SLAVERY *in the British colonies shall not exist.*

For the purpose of elucidating the manner in which the "*trade in the persons of men*" is at the present time, carried on by British proprietors, I give the copy of an *advertisement*, from the "*Royal Gazette, Nassau,*" dated April 23, 1831, which affords us a specimen of the assortment of a West Indian auction! "*On Monday next, the 25th instant, at the Vendue-house, at ten o'clock, will be sold,—sugar, pork, and long leaf tobacco, candles, soap, &c. and a* NEGRO WOMAN, *a plain cook and house servant, with* ONE CHILD! *Terms—Cash at two months credit!*"

Is it possible to conceive of any transaction more abhorrent to our principles and feelings as *men*, as *Britons*, and especially as *Christians*, than a WEST INDIAN AUCTION!! How delightful the thought, then, that the time is drawing nigh, when the voice of the British Senate will, it is hoped, prevent other events from proclaiming to the world, in regard to those who have traded in "SLAVES, *and souls of men,*" that, "*no man buyeth their* MERCHANDIZE *any more.*"

The crisis at which we have arrived is truly awful, and the signs of the times are tremendously alarming; yet to the friends of humanity and religion most cheering and animating:

the negroes in a state of dreadful discontent and disappointment; the slave-holders, the planters, and the colonial legislatures, in a state of rebellion against the government; His Majesty's ministers, doubtless most desirous, and yet afraid to adopt decisive measures to put an end to the existence of slavery; the nation roused to petition on behalf of their outraged and oppressed fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects, that their miseries may be speedily terminated; the House of Commons about to be agitated by the motion of Mr. Buxton, on the 24th instant, that immediate emancipation might be granted. O that our NOAHS, our DANIELS, and our JOBS, men mighty in prayer; and some MOSES, fervent in supplication, might be found stretching out his hands toward heaven, with some AARON and HUR to stay his sinking arms; may unite in earnest supplication, that whilst the army of Israel is struggling with Amalek in the plain, the God of heaven, who has always heard "the cry of the humble," and hath "never said to the seed of Jacob, *Seek ye my face in vain!*" might now arise out of his place, and give them a decided victory—a glorious triumph! *Then* we will erect an altar, and inscribe upon it, "JEHOVAH-*nissi*: the Lord is our banner;"—"His right hand, and his holy arm hath gotten him the vic-

tory." "*Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name we give the glory, for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake.*"

That you, Sir, may at the close of your most useful life, and in your retirement from the bustle of worldly business, enjoy all the rich consolations of the gospel of Christ, the influence of which you have, for so long a period, experimentally known and practically demonstrated, by your sympathetic and benevolent exertions to ameliorate and terminate the sufferings of the enslaved African;—and that you may be spared "a little longer, that you may recover your strength, before you go hence and be no more seen"; and thus be able to join in, and enjoy the complete triumph of your labours, in witnessing the emancipation of all the sons and daughters of Africa, in all the colonies of BRITAIN, and of EUROPE, and of AMERICA! and of the WORLD, is the devout prayer, and ardent wish of,

Sir,

Your obliged friend,

and obedient Servant,

JOSEPH IVIMEY.

51, *Devonshire Street, Queen Square.*
May 7, 1832.

A LECTURE,

&c. &c.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

BEING a member, Sir, of the Committee of "the Anti-slavery Society," I have, at the request of "the Agency Committee," of which I am also a member, visited CHELMSFORD, for the purpose of delivering a Lecture on the evils of COLONIAL SLAVERY: Desirous of promoting, in every way within my power, the objects of that philanthropic and useful Society, I have obeyed their call.

I feel that I shall find a difficulty in speaking, because I entertain such deep feelings of compassion and commiseration for those distressed creatures, the negroes, as will prevent me from giving full utterance to the dictates of my heart. It is not a matter of speculation respecting which I speak: there are a thousand subjects to which I might refer, which would not much interest the feelings; but while I am now speaking, I know that my fellow-creatures in the British colonies are perishing.

In this engagement, I consider myself as acting in accordance with an inspired command: "*Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed for destruction. Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy.*"* The enslaved negroes cannot speak for themselves: I speak in their stead, and on their behalf; and who, that "judgeth righteously," but will admit that they are "poor and needy," and "appointed for destruction";—not because either they, or their fathers, brought on themselves this destitution, by their indolence, or their extravagance; or by their intemperate habits; but they thus suffer, on account of their masters having unrighteously oppressed them; and because the British Government has failed in putting forth its might, to protect and deliver them! Was it not the admitted duty of the government of a *free* people to have done this, at the time when the criminality of the practice was fully acknowledged, by the abolition of the Slave Trade? And is it not the duty of our *present* government, instantly to abolish it? If all the measures of *amelioration*, (and for which the friends of the slaves should be thankful) lately sent out, in the "Orders of Council," to the Governors of the *Crown* Colonies in the West Indies, were to be carried into full effect, which it is not rational to expect will be the case, since those to whom the execution of them is committed, are too deeply involved, to

* Prov. xxxi. 8, 9.

admit of equal justice towards the negroes, whom they consider as their property! the inherent evils of *Slavery* will still exist; nor can the miseries entailed on the negro population be prevented, but by the *extinction* of the *system itself:* and this the British Legislature alone can effectually accomplish! Was it not an act of wisdom, as regarded its own interests, in the LION, though the lord of the forest, not to stain its noble character, but to withdraw its heavy paw from the oppressed, complaining, and insignificant MOUSE?* And may not the period arrive, when even the BRITISH LION may need, for the safety of the nation, or, at least, for the safety of its *colonies,* the friendship and help of its most despised subjects: the now enslaved, and persecuted negroes? who will doubtless repay, by their gratitude, such an act of mercy. TRUE POLICY, as well as STRICT JUSTICE, demand, that the injunction of God to Israel should be observed by our rulers, "*to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke.*"† Humanity also pleads, that this divine injunction be immediately regarded, as much for the *safety of the white inhabitants,* as for the effectual amelioration of the condition of the negroes themselves.

The subject of Slavery, or of man being claimed as property by his fellow-man, has been

* Æsop's Fables, No. 31. † Isaiah lviii. 6.

discussed under a variety of considerations, and its injustice and cruelty most properly exposed, by many of our distinguished countrymen; but by none, in more expressive and suitable language, than our immortal poet, Milton. His heart, which always beat high on the subject of *Liberty*, was full of indignation against *Slavery*, when he penned the following graphic lines:—

> "O, execrable son! so to aspire
> Above his brethren, he himself assuming
> Authority usurped from God, not given:
> He gave us only over beast, flesh, fowl,
> Dominion absolute; that right we hold
> By his donation; but man over men
> He made not lord; such title to himself
> Reserving, human left from human free."

The view which I am about to give of this frightful subject, has never yet, so far as I am aware, been taken. It is, however, the only view of it which can afford us any pleasure, and that is, "THE UTTER EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY AN OBJECT OF SCRIPTURE PROPHECY." The prophecy which I refer to, will be found in the book of the Revelation, the 18th chapter, the 11th and 13th verses:—"AND THE MERCHANTS OF THE EARTH SHALL WEEP AND MOURN,..FOR NO MAN BUYETH THEIR MERCHANDIZE ANY MORE:..THE MERCHANDIZE OF..BEASTS, AND SHEEP, AND HORSES, AND SLAVES, AND SOULS OF MEN."

I shall divide the Lecture into two parts: the first, As to the origin of Colonial Slavery, and the

present condition of those wretched beings, who are called slaves, in the West India Islands: the second, As to the certainty of the utter extinction of this horrid system, and the probable means by which that event will be effected.

I. I commence the discussion, as to *the origin of Colonial Slavery*, by adopting the language of an apologist for it: BRYAN EDWARDS, in his "History of the West Indies," published in 1793, calls his work, in so far as it has reference to Slavery, "The contemplation of human nature, in its most debased and abject state; the sad prospect of 450,000 reasonable beings, in a state of barbarity and slavery: of whom," he adds, "I will not say the major part, but great numbers assuredly, have been torn from their native country, and dearest connections, by means which no good mind can reflect upon, but with sentiments of disgust, commiseration, and horror." *

As I shall confine myself to our own colonies, and to the guilt which Britain has contracted, in this infamous merchandize, I give the history of its commencement, in the words of the same historian, because it is proper that the names of our wretched countrymen, who were its first perpetrators, should be branded with all the public opprobrium to which they are entitled, and whom, had they been judged according to divine law, Exodus xxi. 16, it would have prevented the

* Edwards's History of the West Indies, vol. ii. 34.

flowing of oceans of human blood, "*He that steal-eth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.*"

Edwards says, "Of the English, the first who is known to have been concerned in this commerce, was the celebrated John Hawkins, who was afterwards knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and made treasurer of the navy. Having made several voyages to the Canary Islands, and there received information, (says Hackluyt, a contemporary historian), that negroes were very good merchandize in *Hispaniola*, and that store of negroes might be easily had on the coast of Guiney, he resolved to make trial thereof, and communicated that device, with his worshipful friends of London, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Master Gunson, his father-in-law, Sir William Winter, Master Bloomfield, and others: all which persons liked so well his intention, that they became liberal contributors and adventurers in the action; for which purpose there were three good ships provided: the Salomon, of 120 tunnes, wherein Master Hawkins himself went, as general; the Swallow, of 100 tunnes; and the Jonas, a bark of 20 tunnes; in which small fleet, Master Hawkins took with him a hundred men."

"Hawkins sailed from England for Sierra Leone, in the month of October, 1562, and," says Hackluyt, "in a short time after his arrival upon the coast, got into his possession, by the sword, and partly by other means, three hundred ne-

groes." In his second voyage, he landed at a small island, called *Alcatrasa*, with eighty men, supplied with arms and ammunition for effecting their demoniacal purpose; but as the natives fled, on their approach, into the woods, they were disappointed of their intended prey. "But," says Edwards, "a short time after, we find this *righteous* commander at one of the islands which are called *Sambula*. 'In this island,' writes one who sailed with him, 'we staid certain days, going every day on shore to take the inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their towns.' In regard to Hawkins himself," adds Edwards, "I admit he was a robber. His avowed purpose in sailing to Guiney, was to sieze by stratagem, or force, and carry away the unsuspecting natives, in the view of selling them as slaves to the people of *Hispaniola*. In this pursuit, his object was present profit, and his employment and pastime, desolation and murder."

Lest it should appear, from the circumstance of the queen having afterwards knighted this infamous wretch, that she approved of his practices, it is proper to remark, that, according to Hill, the naval historian, she was deceived by Hawkins, thinking that the poor Africans were taken from their homes with their own consent, for the purpose of being employed, not as *slaves*, but as *free labourers* in the Spanish colonies. Hill says, the queen "expressed her concern lest any of the Africans should be carried off without their *free*

consent, in which case she declared it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of heaven upon the undertakers."

In the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II., we find that British settlements were formed in the West Indies, and that, at home, joint-stock companies were chartered, to supply them with slaves. In 1662, a charter was obtained from Charles II. for the "Royal African Company," in which many persons of high rank and distinction were incorporated, and at its head was the king's brother, the Duke of York, afterwards James II. This company undertook to supply the West India colonies with three hundred negroes annually. (A.)

According to this engagement, supposing it to have been fulfilled, more than 10,000 human beings must, before the end of this century, have been seized, and carried off from their native country; besides those who must have perished in the wars raised, or encouraged, in order to their being procured; and those also who must have died in their passage from Africa to the West Indies.

It appears that this abominable traffic was carried on with the characteristic energy of British merchants, in the next century: Edwards says, "I state it on sufficient evidence, having in my possession all the entries, that the number imported into Jamaica alone, from 1700 to 1786, was 610,000! and the total import into all the British colonies, for the same period, may be put at

2,130,000! In one year, 1771, there sailed from England to the coast of Africa, 192 ships, provided for carrying 47,146 negroes! In the year 1789, there were in Jamaica," he says, "250,000 negroes, which, reckoned at £50. sterling each, were worth twelve millions and a half of money; and that these were employed in cultivating seven hundred and ten sugar plantations"! Add to this number, the thousands imported during the next twenty years before the period when the celebrated bill was passed, (B.) for the abolition of this trade in "SLAVES, and *souls of men;*" and to these may be added, all the children who have been born of these wretched persons, during the twenty-six years which have since elapsed; and who can calculate, or even guess, the total amount—the aggregate number of human beings, who have been thus subjugated by British cupidity and injustice, to endure such enormous and multiplied wrongs. Ought we not, as a nation, to adopt the impassioned language of Jeremiah, "when the prophet wept for Israel, and wished his eyes had infinite supplies," and say, in regard to our guilty native country:—"*O, that mine head were waters, and mine eyes fountains of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people.*" It is impossible to feel sufficiently humble, for the guilt which our nation has contracted with regard to the crime of Colonial Slavery.

I proceed to give some account of *the present state of Slavery in the British Colonies.* And, let it be remembered, that instead of there being 250,000 negroes in Jamaica, as in 1789, there were, a short time since, 331,000,—a frightful increase in thirty-three years of 81,000. And in all our colonies, at the present time, there are 755,301 of our fellow men wearing the galling chains. This statement is according to the latest returns of the numbers in sixteen colonies, there having been a decrease in the sugar colonies, on an average of eleven years, of 55,205. (C.) O, who can calculate what privations, what sighs, what miseries must have been endured, to produce such a diminution of human life in so short a time! These are called by their hard-hearted masters, their slaves, and their "legal property," (D) but I call them British *subjects,* and charge those, who hold them in bondage, with tyranny and oppression, in depriving them of the *right* which they have to their own bodies; of the *right* which they have to the protection of law for their persons and property, and to which they are entitled. It was a glorious decision of British judges, in Westminster Hall, in May, 1772, that "as soon as a slave sets his foot on English soil he becomes free." And, I doubt not, but the animating sentiment, "A slave cannot breathe in England," will, within a short period, be applied to all the subjects of the British crown! and it will be said, with increased delight, "A slave cannot breathe in the *British Colonies:*" so

that, perhaps, I may yet live long enough to witness, that wherever the *power* of Britain is felt, there her *mercy* will be also enjoyed.

It may, I know be said, in opposition to this statement, that human enactments have been made in support of holding men in bondage. Yes, I admit that the colonial legislatures in the West Indies have done so,—though I deny that the British Parliament have ever passed any law to make slavery constitutional: and, if it had, I should still contend, no human laws can make that to be lawful and right which is in itself essentially wrong; as every thing must necessarily be, which is in its nature opposed to the revealed will of God. Would a legislative act, for instance, declaring murder to be no crime, supersede the divine command, "Thou shalt do no murder,"—or lawfully exempt a murderer from the penalty attached to the crime, "*Whoso shedeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed.*" Gen. ix. 6.

I insist, then, that a *man* cannot be justly deprived of his natural rights, which, according to Paley,* are, "a right to his life, limbs, and liberty; his right to the produce of his own personal labour, and to the use, in common with others, of air, light, and water. If a thousand persons," says that enlightened writer, "from a thousand different parts of the world, were to be cast together upon a desart island, they would from the

* Moral Philosophy.

first be every one entitled to those rights." And our great constitutional lawyer, Blackstone,* remarks, "The absolute rights of man, considered as a free agent, endowed with discernment to know good from evil, and with power of choosing those measures which appear to him most desirable, are usually summed up in one general appellation, and denominated the *natural liberty of mankind.* This natural liberty consists, properly, in a power of acting as one thinks fit, without any constraint or control, unless by the law of nature, being a right inherent in us by birth, and one of the gifts of God to man at his creation, when he endued him with the faculty of free-will. But every man, when he enters into society, gives up a part of his natural liberty, as the price of so valuable a purchase; and in consideration of receiving the advantages of mutual commerce, obliges himself to conform to those laws which the community has thought proper to establish. Those rights which God and nature have established, and are, therefore, called *natural* rights, —such as life and liberty,—need not the aid of human laws to be more effectually invested in every man than they are; neither do they receive any additional strength when declared by the municipal laws to be inviolable. On the contrary, no human legislature has power to abridge or destroy them, unless the owner himself shall commit some act which shall amount to a forfei-

† Commentaries.

ture. The first and primary end of all human laws, is, to maintain and regulate these *absolute* rights to all individuals." (E.)

It seems necessary that we should lay down such principles as are incontrovertible, when we plead that every man has a natural right to freedom, but surely I need not stop to shew that Slavery violates all these *natural rights:* for no one will undertake to prove, that the colonial population have voluntarily consented to be deprived of the exercise of these rights, or that they have committed any crime which amounts to a forfeiture of them. Besides, the greater part of them were born in this degraded condition, and were, therefore, *prospectively* deprived of rights which they never could have forfeited; this, too, applies to all their unborn children, so long as the parents are held in their present state of bondage. O, the cruel system of Colonial Slavery! Can it be justified on the principle that the negro has a skin of a different complexion to that of his tyrant lord? Surely this is no crime! Is it on this account, ye *white* tyrants, (for so I should call them, if I were in the presence of these oppressors of their fellow-men) that the produce of his labour is not his own; that the property in his own body is not his own; that his wife and children do not belong to him but to his tyrant oppressor? O, the heartless wretch, who treats his fellow-man as he would his horse, or his dog, or with greater brutality! If he be "a *man* and

a *brother*," then every one of the 75,000 negroes in our colonies has a just right to his liberty, to his limbs, to the produce of his own labour, and to all the immunities of a British subject, of "a *man* and a *brother!*" I rejoice that the *trade* in *man*, as mere goods and chattels, has been, by British justice suppressed, so that no British ship can be employed in this infamous traffic, even in AFRICA; and that to purchase a man is *felony*. And I ardently hope, the time is not far distant, when a similar law will be passed, with regard to the British colonies; that persons will no longer be able to buy and sell their fellow-men, as they now do by thousands. It is affecting to think, after all the benevolent labours of Clarkson and Wilberforce, and other great friends of humanity, for the abolition of the Slave Trade, that it should still be carried on, to as great, and perhaps to a greater, extent than ever—not by the British, but by the French, the Portuguese, and the Spaniards. It makes one's heart ache, to know that such miseries are perpetrated, and that in spite of all our exertions, and of the tears, the agonies, and the groans of the suffering thousands of our fellow-mortals, who are every year kidnapped, and sold into perpetual slavery.

I was going to apologize for being so warm, but it is a subject, respecting which, if we do not feel, and strongly feel, we ought never to appear as the advocates of the Anti Slavery Cause. I think I shall never feel ashamed, when a person

says to me, "You are very warm"; but I should be ashamed, if I were not so, when I talk about my fellow-creatures being murdered by their heartless tyrants. I have made use of some hard words, but I recollect a passage in Bishop Burnett's "History of his own Times," respecting a person who had spoken very strongly against popery; and when called to account for so doing, he replied, "I will tell you why I used those words—it was because I could find no stronger to use." And the reason why I make use of the word *tyrant* is, because I know not of a more expressive word for the idea, or I would use it. Our excellent poet, Cowper, whose heart burned with honest indignation against the horrors of the slave trade, when speaking of the Bastile at Paris, says, (and I shall apply it to the slave-holder)—

> "The sighs and groans of miserable men,
> Are music such as suits your sov'reign ears:
> There's not an English heart that would not leap
> To hear that ye were fallen at last!"

But I take still another step, and charge *slavery* with being at direct variance with THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION. By the *constitution* I mean those statutes which secure to every subject of the empire the enjoyment of his natural rights, in so far as is consistent with the welfare of the whole community. We speak with rapture of the *rights* of the people of England, because in most other countries formerly, with the exception of America, and now of France, the

liberties of the people are either debased or destroyed. "And these *rights*" says Blackstone, "may be reduced to three primary articles, the *right of personal security;* the *right of personal liberty;* and the *right of private property.*" Was it not for the purpose of securing to us these *rights* that our noble ancestors struggled for, and obtained "Magna Charta," in Runnymede? Was it not to secure us these *rights,* that our yet more noble ancestors obtained the "Act of Settlement," and the "Bill of Rights," at the glorious Revolution in 1688? Thus guaranteeing to us and our posterity, our civil and religious liberties! But of what use to our miserable brethren and fellow subjects in the Colonies are these enactments? What do the legislators in the chartered Colonies care about the freedom secured by Magna Charta? Does not Slavery set all its regulations at defiance? Were not a great proportion of the negro population born subjects of the British monarch? Are not thousands of them the descendants of British fathers? And yet these sons and daughters of British freemen are suffered to endure the most grievous wrongs, deprived of all their inalienable rights, and that too in the name of the British nation, and by the sanction and connivance of the British government! But will it be said, that the West India legislatures have described the slave, and prescribed regulations for him, as one who has no *natural,* no *constitutional rights?* that he is not to

have "freedom, even by sufferance, and at will of a superior!" But from what part or parcel of the laws of the parent state did these colonial *senators!* derive power to make such oppressive enactments? It has been asked,* and I repeat the question, "Was it not an express condition in all the charters which empowered the colonies to make laws for themselves, that the laws and statutes to be made under them are not to be *repugnant* to, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws and statutes of this our kingdom of Great Britain."† But who will undertake to shew that the colonial laws respecting Slavery, are "as near as may be agreeable to the laws and statutes of England?" Light and darkness are not more dissimilar; the iron *bondage* of the Israelites in Egypt, and their *freedom* under Joshua in Canaan were not more unlike each other! Is it not almost beyond credibility, that such enormous wrongs could have been inflicted by *subjects* of the British Crown? Is it not most surprising, that the power of endurance has been for so many ages manifested by those whom Colonial tyrants have branded with the name of Slave? I said *endurance:* I fear it is the grovelling spirit which vassalage is suited to produce: thus Cowper says:—

> "Who lives, and is not weary of a life,
> Exposed to manacles, deserves them well."

* Godwin's Lectures on Slavery, page 103.

† Charter granted by Charles II. to Jamaica.

What Briton is there whose heart does not respond to the sentiments of this high-minded Christian poet:—

> "I could endure
> Chains no where patiently; and chains at home,
> Where I am free by birth-right, not at all."

The chains worn by the negroes in colonies which belong to the British Crown, must be peculiarly galling! unless, indeed, they are reduced, by their oppression, below the nature and dignity of men!

But may it not also be demonstrated, that the state of slavery in which our fellow-men and fellow-subjects are held in the Colonies of the British Empire is in direct opposition *to the revealed will of God in his sacred word?* Was it not a positive enactment of the Mosaic code of laws and which, because of its moral nature, has never been abrogated, and therefore is still binding upon all the creatures of God: "*He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.*" Impious attempt to place the African negro beyond the pale of divine law! How shocking, that so many of our countrymen should, on the coast of Africa, have been "*men stealers,*" and that so many of them should act the part of those who are the purchasers of stolen property; but, as by human laws, "The receiver is as bad as the thief," so the laws of heaven regards the kidnapping villain

who stole his brother man, and the mammon-worshipping devotee who holds him in bondage, in the same point of light; both being the transgressors of His laws, and amenable to His righteous justice!

Infamous men, who having superciliously decided, without the shadow of reason, that the negro, because of his sable hue, is inferior in the scale of being to yourselves, have therefore proceeded to manacle and scourge him, and to exact his extremest labour without pay, or just remuneration for his toils and sufferings? Did you never read, "*Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us?*" Did you never consider, that "*God hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth?*" Do you not know that Jehovah has said, in reference to his creatures, whether white or black, "*All souls are mine!*"

Nor are the spirit and declarations of the gospel of Christ less explicit, in condemning the practice of men holding property in the persons of men! Did not our Saviour say, "*Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.*" * Was such a thing ever known, as a planter being willing to exchange conditions with his slave? Or would any slave-holder like to be treated exactly in the same way, and be subject to the inconveniences of a slave: even though found in the circumstances of *Phædrus?* of whom it is

* Matthew vii. 12.

said, he "had the good fortune to have the mildest prince that ever was, for his master." No, they know too well what it is to be a slave; though they say it is a state of Paradise, they would never choose it for themselves.

And does not the Saviour's representation, in the parable of the good Samaritan, of the compassion due to a wretched fellow-creature, under the character of a "neighbour," because belonging to the human family, condemn the unfeeling brutality of those, who not only witness without sympathy, their miserable slaves; but inflict those wounds, and cause that destitution, which almost break the hearts of others! One should think that every slave-holder would instantly descry his own features in the characters of the priest and levite, and feel the blush of confusion when he hears the Saviour, in commendation of the benevolent Samaritan, say, "*Go thou, and do likewise!*"

But, it is like attempting to prove that the sun shines, when "*he is going forth in his might,*" as fully to shew how alien *slavery* is to *Christianity,* or to attempt to set forth the glaring inconsistency of those, who, while holding property in the nerves and sinews of their fellow-creatures, yet call themselves after the sacred name of Christ! To all such I would earnestly say, "Either give up the profession of *Christianity,* or resolve instantly to emancipate your *slaves.* Because these are totally incompatible with each other, and never

set well upon the same person. "A *christian* slave-holder is a non-descript."

Having proved the *right* of the negroes in the Colonies to the *protection* and *privileges* of British law, I shall now produce some *facts* to show how these *rights* have been outraged by the cruel punishments inflicted upon some of them, by the *stocks*, the *whip*, the *cat*, the *thumb-screw*, the *chains*, and the *carcan*, from that invaluable work the Anti Slavery Reporter.* The first is an extract from the Christian Record, published in Jamaica, No. 3. "A female, apparently about twenty-two, was then laid down, with her face downwards; her wrists were secured by cords run into nooses; her ancles were brought together, and placed in another noose; the cord composing this last one passed through a block connected with a post. The cord was tightened, and the young woman was thus stretched to her utmost length. The boatswain of the workhouse, a tall athletic man, flourished his whip four or five times round his head, and proceeded with the punishment. The instrument of punishment was a *cat*, formed of knotted cords. The blood sprang from the wounds it inflicted. The poor creature shrieked in agony, and exclaimed, "I don't deserve this!" She became hysterical, and continued so until the punishment was completed. Four other delinquents were subsequently treated in the same

* Vol. iv. 132—135.

way. One was a woman thirty-six years of age; another a girl of fifteen; another a boy of the same age; and, lastly, an old woman of sixty, who really appeared scarcely to have strength to express her agonies by cries. The boy of fifteen, as our informant subsequently ascertained, was a son of the woman of thirty-six! Painful and melancholy as is the above detail, we know it to be but too faithful a picture of what is transacted from week to week, by order of the magistrates, within those abodes of human misery and degradation, the *workhouses* of our island."

"Look again at the case of Mr. Martin, the overseer in the Temple Hall, at St. Andrews, which has recently undergone investigation, and is reported in the [Jamaica] Courant, of the 27th of October, 1831. It was proved that the girl Jane had been most severely flogged by him, and confined in the *stocks*, although the number given was less than thirty-nine. Setting aside the cause which the girl alleged for this punishment, which was shocking enough, and taking the statement which Mr. Martin gave as to the offence she had committed, we find that it amounted to nothing more than a saucy answer given him."

The next case relates to a negro man, who, though called a slave, is a respectable mechanic, and a deacon of the Baptist church at Savannah-le-Mar, in Jamaica, named *Samuel Swiney*. The crime with which he was charged was, his having, with his master's permission, engaged in evening

prayer at the house of his pastor, the Rev. Wm. Knibb, who was absent from home. For this crime, no other charge having been alleged, he was sentenced by the magistrate, (the Hon. David Finlayson, who was, at that time, *Speaker of the Jamaica House of Assembly!*) to be flogged in the workhouse, with the *cart whip*, and then worked in *chains* on the public roads, for a fortnight; daily passing his own house, in the sight of the workmen employed by him. I will give the statement of this affair in the language of Mr. Knibb. "Early on the following morning I went to see the disgusting scene that was then enacted. What my feelings were I cannot now express, for I beheld a fellow-creature, a respectable tradesman of his class, stretched indecently on the earth, and lacerated with the cart whip, and immediately after chained to a convict, and sent to work on the road, to gratify the prejudices of those who hold that preaching and praying are the same, and equally infractions of the law of Jamaica. Whether justice has been done in this case," says Mr. Knibb, "I leave others to determine. For my own part, I must consider that if the law sanctions such a conclusion, that law is an abomination and a disgrace to a Christian country." From this circumstance, might, probably, be seen what was the cause of Mr. Knibb, and the Baptist Missionaries, being so much disliked by the Jamaica magistrates: they had not been courteous enough, to bow down before these tyrants—those

Hamans "in the gate": they had been uncompromising in regard to slavery! I am happy to relieve this tale of injustice and persecution, by saying, that some benevolent persons at home, in consequence of hearing of the unjust punishment of this respectable person, soon after purchased his freedom, his master making an abatement in the price, from the respect which he bore to the person and character of this OUTRAGED Christian man.

The next horrible statement, relates to the colony of the Mauritius, Isle of France, and is from the Protector of Slaves' Report, No. 91, p. 175. "On the 18th of December, 1829, *Francois*, belonging to M. Marchal, presented himself at the Protector's Office, at three in the morning, with his hands fastened together behind him by means of *thumb-screws*, fixed so tight as to have penetrated the flesh quite to the bone, and caused considerable swelling and inflammation of the hands and arms. He also stated that another slave, named *Luff*, had been punished precisely in the same way by his master, and was now confined in M. Marchal's premises. A surgeon being sent for, the *thumb-screws* upon Francois were filed off."

The following is from an abridged account of this case, by Lord Goderich, the Colonial Secretary:—"About twenty-four days ago, Francois neglected his work, and absented himself for a whole day. The next day he was arrested, and

carried to the police, whence his master caused him to be conveyed home, and immediately fixed *thumb-screws* on his thumbs, and placed both his feet in the *stocks*. At night he was taken out of the stocks, and with the thumb-screws still on, placed in a machine, called a CARCAN, which consists of two pillars, with a cross plank affixed at a man's height from the ground, to which he was attached by means of an iron collar, three inches broad, fastened to the plank with staples and padlocks, where he remained standing all night, and in the morning was released, and placed again in the stocks for the day. He was thus treated alternately night and day for a fortnight, when M. Marchal sent him to his plantation at Petite Riviere, with the thumb-screws on, to be flogged; but being unable to use his hands, he was sometimes fed by one of his comrades. *Luff* was treated in the same manner. The thumb-screws were screwed so tight as to cut the flesh almost to the bone, and cause great pain. About four days ago, Francois announced himself to be ill, and he was taken out of the stocks and placed in the hospital, whence last evening he had escaped, leaving *Luff* with his thumb-screws on. M. Marchal himself put the thumb-screws on them, and conducted them night and morning from the *carcan* to the *stocks*."* Could any thing be more horrible than this? And yet these persons, called slaves, are the *subjects* of Great Britain!

* Anti-slavery Reporter, vol. iv. 401.

When I contemplate these horrid, and, excepting in some of the British colonies, unequalled acts of cruelty, committed in the "Isle of France," I am shocked to find such a similarity of character between the *Britons* in *Jamaica*, and the *French* in the *Mauritius*. What a brutalizing system is slavery, to transform the noble-minded Briton, and the polite and effeminate Frenchman, into tygers and leopards! beasts which can never be satiated with human blood, and appear to enjoy that draught the most, which is extracted from the heart, and causes the most exquisite torture to their miserable victims. May I not, with propriety, adopt, in reference to such heartless cruelty as the above cases present, the language of dying Jacob, respecting the brutal conduct of two of his sons: "SIMEON *and* LEVI *are brethren: instruments of cruelty are in their habitations. O, my soul, come thou not into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united: for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel.*" *

The warm-hearted and devoted missionary, Mr. Knibb, felt and expressed himself strongly, in the following extract, on account of the cruelties practised upon the negroes generally, and especially when perpetrated on the members of the church under his care. This it would be in vain to deny. But who that possesses the sensibilities of a *man*,

* Genesis xlix. 5—7.

and the sympathies of a *christian*, could see a fellow-creature so "shamefully entreated," and so barbarously mangled with "instruments of cruelty," and yet have restrained himself from speaking? A person of *inordinate selfishness*, might have looked on without emotion; and have been congratulated by others, with having manifested the *prudence of wisdom*: so both the *priest* and *levite* were doubtless *prudent men*, "wise in their generation"; but they felt neither pity for the robbed and wounded man, nor any feelings of anger against his murderous enemies. The *Samaritan*, forgot himself, and his own interests, in his all-absorbing concern to ameliorate the condition of his neighbour, and to emancipate him from his perishing condition. Calmness, on such a subject, is brutal insensibility; caution, a participation in the crime; and a fear of self-injury, pusillanimity and cowardice. If impetuosity of feeling has sometimes produced rash expressions, insensibility and unconcern about every thing which is not immediately connected with self-interest, would not only leave human misery unrelieved, but would lead persons to employ all the little energy they possess, in preventing or censuring those who say, "I refuse not to die," if thereby I may save the lives of others.

Having made these prefatory remarks, I introduce an extract from a letter, written by the Rev. Wm. Knibb, dated Falmouth, November 7, 1831. After having adverted to certain slanderous im-

putations cast on the negroes and their ministers, which had long been current in Jamaica, and circulated privately in Scotland, he says—"Amidst all this reproach, the cause of Jesus is triumphing; and whatever charges may be brought against your missionaries, to the last day they may safely appeal. Their witness is in heaven, and their record is on high. The negroes love you ardently, for your kindness in sending them the gospel; and their prayers ascend for your welfare. The religion they have supports them when enduring the oft-repeated taunt, or when groaning under the instrument of torture; it cheers them in the hour of death, and enables them to look to heaven as their eternal rest. I speak the feelings of my experience and my heart, when I say, that I do not believe there are a race of christians on earth, who rely more entirely on the atonement for salvation; or who, considering their circumstances, more consistently adorn the profession they make. To them is given, also, to suffer for his sake. I have beheld them when suffering under the murderous cart whip; I have seen them when their backs have been a mass of blood; I have beheld them loaded with a chain in the streets, a spectacle to devils, to angels, and to men; and never have I heard one *murmur*—one *reproach*—against their guilty persecutors. Am I then to be told, that these people display all this christian heroism through the influence of *a piece of paper*, which they have obtained by stealing

'*quantum sufficit of their master's provisions?*' The man who can thus injure the distressed, I despise; nor would I waste a moment in answering such falsehoods, did I not know I was the servant of the society."

Extracts similar to these might be multiplied to an almost indefinite amount, but I will not sicken you, by increasing these disgusting details of miseries, which exist in those "dark places of the earth," fitly called, "*the habitations of cruelty!*" the colonies of Great Britain! Alas! how totally disregarded is that divine precept, "*Do justly, and love mercy*"! and how correct is the following description of the wise man, "*So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and behold the tears of such as are oppressed, and they had no comforter: and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter. Wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead, more than the living which are yet alive!*" That is, he considered *death* to be a privilege, compared with such a *life* of unpitied oppression, and unmitigated misery! Again he says, "*If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent preverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter: for he that is higher than the highest regardeth: and there be higher than they!*" "Merciful Father of the human race, thou sittest upon thy throne judging right: 'Thy way is in the sea, and thy footsteps are not known: clouds and darkness are round about thee; judgment and

justice are the habitation of thy throne.' Thou 'makest the wrath of man to praise thee, and the remainder thereof thou wilt restrain.' We would adore the sovereignty of thy inscrutable conduct, in regard to the misery which thou hast righteously permitted to exist, not doubting but the Judge of the whole earth will do right; and firmly believing that thou wilt make the most afflictive events subserve the accomplishment of thy merciful purposes, in the universal spread of thy gospel, and the ultimate salvation of the whole body of thine elect people. 'Why withdrawest thou thy hand, even thy right hand? pluck it out of thy bosom.' 'Remember the covenant, for the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty. O let not the oppressed return ashamed: let the poor and needy praise thy name. Arise, O Lord, plead thine own cause: remember how the foolish man reproacheth thee daily.'" Oh, that the Father of the universe, may, in compassion, arise, and set the enslaved negroes free. We sometimes sing a hymn, in which there is this expressive verse:—

> "Let the Indian—let the negro—
> Let the rude barbarian see
> That divine and glorious conquest
> Once obtained on Calvary:
> And redemption,
> Freely purchased, win the day."

II. I now come to shew, that, *according to the predictions of the sacred scriptures, Slavery will cer-*

tainly be brought to an end; and then to mention *some of the probable means by which that event will be accelerated and accomplished.*

That judicious commentator, the late Rev. Thomas Scott, remarks, when speaking of the divine inspiration of the Bible, "The prophecies contained in the sacred scriptures, and which are fulfilling to this day, fully demonstrate that they are divinely inspired. These form a species of perpetual miracles, which challenge the investigation of men in every age; and which, though overlooked by the careless and prejudiced, cannot fail of producing conviction proportioned to the attention paid to them." *

According to the predictions of the Holy Scriptures, *Nineveh* hath been desolated. It was in reference to the means which would be employed, in its destruction, that the prophet Nahum so sublimely represents the judgments of God upon that wicked city:—" *The Lord hath his way in the whirlwind, and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet.*"† *Babylon* has been swept away, as with the besom of destruction. That description of her utter desolation by Isaiah, has been most literally accomplished: " *And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldee's excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah: it shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch his tent there; neither shall*

* Preface to the New Testament. † Nahum i. 3.

the shepherds make their folds there. But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there; and the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged." *

It was said, also, of *Tyre*,† "*And they shall destroy the walls of Tyre, and break down her towers: I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock. It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea; for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God, and it shall become a spoil among the nations.*" Has not this descriptive prediction been most minutely fulfilled? It is worthy of observation, that one of the sins of this great maritime power was, that her merchants "*traded in the persons of men*,"‡ It was this crime that brought down the fury of God, according to the prediction which I have just read. O, England! England! thou modern Tyre, in wealth and crime, especially by thy merchants—the traffickers in the persons of men! tremble, lest thou, having for so long a period—now almost THREE CENTURIES,—and to such an awful extent, been guilty of the *sins* of TYRE, shouldest be punished in a similar manner. England! repent! repent!

Was it not predicted of *Egypt*, § "*It shall be the basest of the kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any*

* Isaiah xiii. 19—22.

† Ezekiel xxvi. 4, 5.

‡ Ezekiel xxvii. 13.

§ Ezekiel xxix. 14, 15.

more among the nations, for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations." Do not the past history, and the present condition of Egypt, prove its exact accomplishment? Did not our Lord predict the total destruction of the city of Jerusalem, and the temple; and the dispersion of the Jews among all the nations of the earth? The condition of Jerusalem from the time when it was destroyed by Titus Vespasian, and the existence of the Jews, as a people differing from all others upon the face of the earth, are standing monuments, on which is legibly inscribed, as in eternal brass "*I have spoken it, I will also bring it to pass; I have purposed it, I will also do it.*"*

The argument which I found upon these historical facts, which are the demonstrative proofs of the truth of scripture prophecy, is,—that as certainly as those predictions have been most literally and with surprising minuteness accomplished, so other predictions, as yet unaccomplished, shall all be fulfilled in their season. Such are the prophecies of Daniel, Paul, and John, respecting Babylon, mystical Babylon! which doubtless refers to the anti-christian church of Rome! Her dreadful, sudden, and overwhelming destruction is marked with surprizing exactness in this eighteenth chapter of the Revelation: "*And the merchants shall weep;*" for what? "*because no man buyeth their merchandize any more.*" What article of merchandize is no longer wanted in the Euro-

* Isaiah xlvi. 11.

pean markets? "*The merchandize..of* SLAVES, *and the souls of men:*" Then Slavery will be extinct.

Before I expatiate on the *particular* prophecy, from which my conclusion is drawn, that Slavery will be utterly extinguished; I shall briefly notice some *general* predictions, which bear upon that subject, and which corroborate and confirm that conclusion, such as the following: "*Yea, all kings shall fall down before him; all nations shall serve him. For he shall deliver the needy when he crieth, the poor also, and him that hath no helper. He shall spare the poor and needy, and shall save the souls of the needy. He shall redeem their soul from deceit and violence, and precious shall their blood be in his sight.*"* When the time shall arrive, for the fulfilment of these predictions respecting the universal dominion of the Redeemer, the *bodies* and *souls* of "the poor and needy," who had cried to him for deliverance and salvation, shall be "redeemed from deceit and violence": and to whom does this description apply so forcibly as to the enslaved negroes?

In the predictions of Isaiah, respecting "the things to come concerning" the church, it is added, "*Thus saith the* LORD, *The labour of Egypt, and merchandize of* ETHIOPIA, *and of the* SABEANS, *men of stature, shall come over unto thee, and they shall be thine; they shall come after thee:* IN CHAINS THEY

* Psalm lxxii. 11—14.

SHALL COME OVER UNTO THEE; *and they shall fall down unto thee, they shall make supplication unto thee, saying, Surely God is in thee, and there is none else, there is no God. Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour.*" † To what class of *Ethiopians* and *Sabeans*, both descended from Ham, the son of Noah, and to these too as being *in chains*, can this possibly apply, but to the enslaved and fettered *Africans* in the West India colonies? It opens up to our view, the cheering prospect of their entire—their spiritual emancipation, in their coming, through the knowledge of the gospel, over to the Saviour, even while literally burdened with *chains*, and figuratively with the chains of their sins, that they might be "delivered from the power of darkness, and be brought into the kingdom of God's dear Son." In the *spiritual* sense, this prophecy has, within the last few years, been most gloriously fulfilled among the West Indian Negroes: there is no doubt but it will also receive a *literal*, accomplishment.

Again—"*And He shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But they shall sit, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid: for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it. In*

* Isaiah xlv. 14, 15.

that day, saith the Lord, will I assemble her that halteth, and I will gather her that is driven out, and her that I have afflicted. And I will make her that halted a remnant, and her that was cast off a strong nation: and the Lord shall reign over them in Mount Zion, from henceforth, even for ever."* From this scripture it is most evident, that when the predicted period shall arrive, the poor "driven out" and "afflicted" sons and daughters of Africa shall possess property, and enjoy pleasures, of which they have hitherto been deprived, and to which they, and their progenitors, have, since being imported into the British colonies, been total strangers. These now oppressed negroes shall then experience, to them, the strange delight of "*sitting every man under his* [own] *vine, and under his* [own] *fig-tree,*" and sit in such security too, that no *white manager, nor driver,* with his *cart whip* and *thumb-screws,* shall ever again "make them afraid."

I now come to the *particular* prophecy, from which I assert that *Slavery will be totally, and for ever extinguished.* It is introduced by a scene of the greatest sublimity:—"*I saw,*" says John, *another Angel come down from heaven, having great power, and the earth was lightened with his glory; and he cried mightily with a strong voice: Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen.*" And the destruction of the Roman hierarchy, which is doubtless intended

* Micah iv. 3—7. See also Isaiah ii. 3, 4; and ix. 7—9.

by these words, will be accompanied with the total cessation of the trade in "SLAVES *and souls of men*," for no man will buy such merchandize "any more"; and if there are no *buyers*, there can be no *sellers*, and then the enormous evil of Slavery will exist no longer; and this glorious event, will usher in the jubilee of the world. The ancient jubilee of the Jews, was called "*the year of release*," when liberty was proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof. Then was liberty proclaimed to broken-hearted captives, and those who were bound, were set at liberty! and so also, when the last jubilee shall arrive, there shall be no longer merchandize in "SLAVES and souls of men!" (F.) The slave-merchants and slave-holders, "these merchants of the earth," who have "waxed rich" by their infamous traffick in the persons of their fellow men, will weep and lament, because of the utter extinction of their horrid trade, first invented by

> "Moloch, bloody king,
> Besmeared with blood, and parent's tears,"

because no man will buy their slaves any more! But that which will occasion the most doleful lamentation among those who can no longer trade "in SLAVES and souls of men," will cause the friends of the oppressed negro to shout for joy. And what will be their triumphant song, when God shall thus say to the oppressed, "GO FREE!" when all the whips, stocks, and carcans, which have

been employed by their tyrants to torment and afflict their slaves, shall be cast into one great bonfire; and all the chains, fetters, and thumb-screws by which they used to confine, and manacle, and torment their slaves, shall be beaten into hoes and spades, to perform the cultivation of the sugar cane by free labour, their *hire* being no no longer kept back by fraud, so that the consumers of that pleasant article of West India produce shall use it without any apprehension of its having been saturated with negroes' blood! O, the delightful anticipation, when the horrors of procuring slaves in Africa shall be known "no more at all;" * when the miseries of the middle passage shall be endured "no more at all;" when the exhibition of men, women, and children in the public market, shall take place "no more at all;" when affectionate fathers, and mothers, and children shall be severed from each other "no more at all," for—

> "Skins may differ, but affection
> Dwells in black and white the same."

When it shall "no more at all" be said, at the birth of an innocent infant, "A *slave* is born into the world." When the birth of a son will, for the first time, cause the *negress* so much joy as to forget the anguish which she felt in giving it life! Then shall connubial love take the place of licentious intercourse, and God's law, in regard to

* See Revelation xviii. 22.

marriage, will be observed, "Those whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder;"—then the slave-holder, who has neither "feared God, nor regarded man," shall "no more at all" separate man and wife asunder, by selling them to different masters;—then the happy emancipated negro shall have his children about him, and, enlightened by the gospel of Christ, shall train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;—then shall he and his family attend the public worship of God, apprehending "no more at all" the burning or razing of the temples of worship, nor that the servants of God, who have shewn him the way of salvation, will be torn from their flocks, immured in prisons, treated with cruelty, and exposed to a martyr's death! (G.)

But I asked, what will be the triumphant song of all the friends of God and man, in what may be truly called this "age of gold?" It will be a similar song to that which Israel sung when the sea had swallowed up their enemies, and when they found themselves emancipated and at liberty,—no longer Pharaoh's bondmen, but the Lord's free men, delivered from the furnace of iron, from the house of bondage, from the oppressor's lash, and the tyrant's gripe: "*Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? who is like unto thee? Glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders. Thou stretchest out thy right hand; thou in thy mercy hast led forth the people which thou hast redeemed.*" "*Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God*

Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints. Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name, for thou only art holy: for all nations shall come and worship before thee: for thy judgments are made manifest." *

Then shall that animating prediction be applicable to the condition of the emancipated negro, and to his improved circumstances: "*For ye shall go forth with joy, and be led forth with peace: the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the briar shall come up the myrtle tree: and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign, that shall not be cut off.*" †

> "The groans of nature in this nether world,
> Which heaven has heard for ages, have an end,
> Foretold by prophets, and by poets sung,
> Whose fire was kindled at the prophets' lamp,
> The time of rest, the promis'd Sabbath, comes."

I shall now proceed to mention, *some of the probable means, by which the utter extinction of Slavery shall be consummated.*

When our Divine Lord foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, he intimated that certain infallible signs would precede the event, so that all wise observers might know that it was "nigh at hand,

* Exodus xv. 11—13. Rev. xv. 3, 4.

† Isaiah lv. 12, 13.

even at the doors."* I am not about to fix any precise period *when* the abolition of Slavery will take place, as I consider such attempts unwarranted by the style of scripture prophecy, and a proof of pride or weakness. I am of opinion, with Prideaux, that *providence is the only infallible expositor of prophecy:* he says, "It being of the nature of such prophecies [which relate to the extirpation of anti-christ] not thoroughly to be understood, till they are thoroughly fulfilled."† This sentiment is supported by the following beautiful parable, uttered by our Lord, in reference to that approaching catastrophe: "*Now behold, and learn a parable of the fig tree: When its branch is yet tender, and shoots forth its leaves, ye see and know of yourselves that summer is near at hand. So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand, even at the door.*" "*And there shall be* SIGNS *in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars, and upon the earth, distress of nations, with perplexity, the sea, and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming upon the earth.*"‡ I ask whether this is not a correct picture of the SIGNS of the present period? Was there ever a time, in regard to politics, trade, commerce, and religion, when there was more "distress of nations," more "per-

* Matthew xxiv. 33.

† Prideaux's Connections, vol. II. book iii. page 219.

‡ Luke xxi. 26.

plexity;" when the hearts of men so failed them with fear; or when such portentous expectations were indulged, as to the final results of various events which are now taking place at home—in the colonies of the empire—and, in fact, in every part of the world? Are there not visible "SIGNS *in the sun, and the moon, and the stars,*" considering these to be the symbols of distinguished rank, authority, and government. The nations are shaken to their bases, and political measures are taking place, which will affect the future welfare of millions, in all the succeeding generations of men. But I shall notice these only, in so far as they appear to bear upon the accomplishment of the prediction in relation to the extinction of that merchandize—the traffic in "SLAVES, and souls of men." At present, the heartless oppressors of these slaves are saying, in the pride and atheism of their hearts, "*With our tongue will we prevail: our lips are our own: who is Lord over us!*" and is it not most evident, from "*the signs of the times,*" that the answer to these infidel taunts is also fulfilling: "*For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him.*" *

Some of the remarkable *signs* of the present times, are of a most awful nature, and others of an animating kind. Of the former description I may mention the dreadful hurricane, which, a few

* Psalm xii. 4, 5.

months since, occasioned the destruction of so much property, and the loss of so many lives, in the island of Barbadoes. Listen to the "Negro's Complaint":—

> "Is there, as ye sometimes tell us,
> Is there One who reigns on high?
> Has he bid you buy and sell us,
> Speaking from his throne, the sky?
> Ask him, if your knotted scourges,
> Matches, blood-extorting screws,
> Are the means which duty urges,
> Agents of his will to use?
>
> Hark! he answers—wild tornadoes,
> Strewing yonder sea with wrecks;
> Wasting towns, plantations, meadows,
> Are the voice with which he speaks.
> He foreseeing what vexations
> Afric's sons should undergo,
> Fix'd their tyrant's habitations
> Where his whilwinds answer—No!" *

Another of these tremendous signs is, the *awful insurrection* lately broken out in the island of Jamaica, which has already been attended with such immense loss to the planters, and with the destruction of so many of the discontented negroes. And who, that knows any thing of the awful cruelties which have been exercised upon the negroes in that island, for so many years past, and the almost indescribable wickedness and profaneness that prevail among its inhabitants, espe-

* Cowper.

cially the *whites*, can be surprised that the hand of God is gone out against them? "*Because*," says the prophet, "*they have cast away the law of the Lord of hosts, and despised the word of the Holy One of Israel: therefore is the anger of the Lord kindled*; *and he hath stretched forth his hand against them, and hath smitten them: and the hills did tremble, and their carcases were torn in the midst of the streets. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still.*"

If, to the above mentioned enormities, I add the *implacable malice* which they have lately discovered against the Baptist missionaries in Jamaica, evidently thirsting for their blood; is it too much to expect that the divine hand will be upon them, in a similar manner as when it fell upon the Jewish nation, at the time of Jerusalem's destruction:—"*Who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and* HAVE PERSECUTED US: *and they please not God, and are contrary to all men,* FORBIDDING US TO SPEAK TO THE GENTILES, THAT THEY MIGHT BE SAVED, *to fill up their sins alway: for the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.*" * Their persecuting the ministers of Christ was the "filling-up" sin! (H.)

I consider another of the awful signs, and which is a certain prognostic of direful calamities in the colonies, at least for a season, the *spirit of contumacy and rebellion, on the part of the West India body, both in the colonies and in England, towards*

* 1 Thess ii. 15, 16.

His Majesty's government; and this merely because some ameliorating measures have been adopted in regard to the negroes. That any class of subjects, and that too in the metropolis of the empire, should have pronounced an act of the king's council, "unjust and oppressive," is sufficiently alarming; but that these mendacious epithets should be employed, merely because they were commanded to provide their "own property" with suitable protection, and sufficient food; and that their "cattle" should not be so overworked, and under-fed, as to reduce their value in the market, shews the malignant feelings of their hearts, when any thing is attempted, in order that the captive might be delivered from their rapacious gripe. It is not difficult, however, to perceive how this resistance to the wise and humane provisions of the king and his ministers, may tend to the more speedy destruction of the system. There is a maxim, the truth of which the history of the world confirms, that "*God infatuates whom he intends to destroy.*"

I said there were some signs of the times, of the most *animating* kind: I allude to such as these:—1. *The recent emancipation of upwards of* TWO THOUSAND *slaves,* which had been escheated to the king, and therefore called "crown slaves." This is to be regarded as a symptom of the desire, and probably of the intention, of His Majesty's present ministers, to put an end to the whole system of slavery. 2. The late "*Orders* (I.) *in Coun-*

cil," which, instead of recommendations, as in all former instances, contain positive commands to the governors of the crown colonies, and expressive hints to the legislatures of the *chartered* colonies to ameliorate the condition of the negroes, from a day named in those orders. May not this be regarded as expressive of their determination, no longer to trust to the hollow professions of the planters, that they are themselves opposed to slavery in the abstract, a state of things which never has, nor can possibly exist, and that they will, as speedily as possible, ameliorate the circumstances of the negroes. 3. *The avowed and fixed intention of the government, to relieve, by a remission of part of the sugar duties, those colonies which will carry their "Orders" into full effect,* while they will grant no relief to those which resist them.

To these cheering signs, may be added—4. *The general feeling of the British public, in regard to the crime of Slavery,* and that its immediate and total abolition ought to be carried into effect; as expressed by their presenting, in the last session of parliament, to the legislature, almost 6,000 petitions. And, in the last place, that the *public press,* in several instances at least, begins to advocate the *right* of the negro to freedom.

I add to these signs, that most animating fact, that so many thousands of the negroes have, of late years especially, been made *the subjects of the renewing and saving grace of God.* I am not acquainted with the state of this fact among other

societies, but in regard to the Baptist missionaries, they have indeed, in a most remarkable manner, been made "fishers of men." They have been directed, by their divine Lord, how to cast the net of the gospel on the right side of the ship, and they have drawn thousands—many thousands of converted negroes, from the vortex and whirlpool of ignorance and vice, to the shores of spiritual knowledge and holiness of life. During the last ten years, there have been from 10 to 12,000 negroes baptized, upon a credible profession of "repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ," and received as members of the churches in the island of Jamaica. There were connected with the Baptist Mission, before the late insurrection, about 30,000 persons, all (with the exception of a very few *whites*) free and enslaved *negroes*. Is not this a proof, that Jehovah has heard the voice of their groaning, and granted them emancipation of the highest kind: even the glorious liberty of the children of God? What an illustrious proof of divine sovereignty, that has thus called the oppressed negro to freedom, whilst their haughty tyrants have been left, by the righteous judgment of God, to the dominion of their sins! "*I thank thee, O Father,*" said the Lord Jesus Christ, "*Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight.*" Thus "He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the beggar

from the dunghill, to set them among princes, and to make them inherit the throne of glory: for the pillars of the earth are the Lord's, and he hath set the world upon them."* "For he hath looked down from the height of his sanctuary; from heaven did the Lord behold the earth; to hear the groaning of the prisoner, to loose those that are appointed to death."† "Who is like to the Lord our God, who dwelleth on high, who humbleth himself to behold the things that are in heaven and in the earth. He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the needy out of the dunghill, that he may set him with princes, even the princes of his people: Praise ye the Lord!"‡ (K.)

Again, it is a most remarkable and encouraging *sign of the times*, that we should have, at such a time as this, one of the most *patriotic monarchs* that ever sat even on the British throne. I cannot refrain from quoting an extract from the declaration made to the Council at the Court of St. James's, on the 26th June, 1830, by our noble King, William IV. (whom, with his royal consort the Queen, may the God of all grace bless and preserve, and make their reign long, prosperous, and happy)—"I WILL," said His Majesty, "UNDER THE BLESSING OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE, MAINTAIN THE REFORMED RELIGION, ESTABLISHED BY LAW; PROTECT THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES; AND PROMOTE THE PROSPERITY AND HAPPINESS OF ALL

* 1 Sam. ii. 10 † Psalm cii. 19, 20.

‡ Psalm cxii. 5—9.

CLASSES OF MY PEOPLE."* O that HE, "by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice," may now put the thing into the king's heart, to "promote the prosperity and happiness" of that unhappy class of his people, the oppressed negroes in the British colonies, by granting them instant emancipation.

From all the considerations which I have mentioned, I feel myself warranted in adopting our Lord's language to his disciples, in application to the groaning and weeping descendants of the kidnapped, and robbed, and spoiled, and murdered sons and daughters of Africa, and to conclude in relation to the prediction concerning the total abolition of slavery, that "*this generation shall not pass away, till all these things be fulfilled.*† Hear, then, for your comfort, ye *sable* brethren of the human race—ye most oppressed of the family of man—Hear the Saviour of the world saying unto you, HE that hath "all power, both in heaven and in earth;" and who sits as "KING IN ZION,": — "LIFT UP YOUR HEADS, FOR YOUR REDEMPTION DRAWETH NIGH."‡ (L.)

I shall conclude this Lecture, by noticing some of THE USES to which its principles are applicable.

1. The certainty that Slavery in the bodies of men will be utterly extinguished, should excite

* Morning Herald, June 28, 1830.

† Matthew xxiv. 34. ‡ Luke xxi. 28.

us to the MOST ZEALOUS USE OF EVERY MEANS which is within our power, likely to contribute towards that extinction. "Until," says Toplady, "I have tried every means to accomplish any purpose, I know not which of them God has designed to bless." The foreknowledge of God has no influence upon man to destroy his free agency; and the predestinating counsel of Jehovah does not interfere with man's accountability. The most firm believer in the doctrine of a divine superintending providence over all events, will be the most active person in attending to all divine commands; knowing, from the scriptures, that God has joined the end and the means so firmly together, that they can never be separated; "for the sluggard that will not plough by reason of the cold, shall beg in harvest, and have nothing." The apostle Paul had an absolute assurance from an angel of God, when he and his companions were exposed to the peril of shipwreck, that the life of no one on board should be lost; yet when he saw the sailors about to leave the wreck, by letting down the boat, he instantly said, "Except these [sailors] abide in the ship ye cannot be saved." That the crew would be all saved was certain, from the promise of God; but that their safety was essentially connected with the *nautical* skill of the sailors, was equally true. The judicious Dr. Doddridge calls this passage of scripture, "a remarkable illustration of the obligations we are under to *use the most proper means* for

security and success, even while we are committing ourselves to the care of divine providence, and waiting for the accomplishment of God's *own promises*. For it would be most unreasonable to imagine, that he ever intended any promise to encourage rational creatures to act in a wild irrational manner: or to remain inactive, when he has given them natural capacities of doing something, at least, for their own benefit. It is in exerting these, that we are to expect his powerful aid; and all the grace, beauty, and wisdom of the promise would be lost, if we were to take it in any other view: to abuse it in a contrary view, is, at best, *vain and dangerous presumption*, if all pretence of relying upon it be not *profane hypocrisy*." *

I hope I have proved, from the inspired scriptures, that the extinction of Slavery is absolutely certain, because God has decreed it, and his word hath declared it. So far, however, from this expectation tending to unnerve our arm, or relax our exertions, let it stimulate us to a renewed use of all those moral and constitutional efforts which are likely to lead to so desirable a result. If it be by abstinence from the produce of the abused sugar-cane; if it be by associating together for the purpose of diffusing correct information upon the evils of slavery; if it be by using the public press yet more extensively; if it be by more urgently, and more numerously petitioning the

* Family Expositor.

legislature; or by adopting a measure as yet untried, that of presenting a most earnest petition to our noble patriot king! Let us, I say, while certain that slavery will come to its end, and that none shall help it; come forth "to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."* Let us never cease supplicating the British government, to perform this act of justice and mercy towards more than 755,000 of our fellow-men and fellow-subjects, until they shall fix a day, beyond which no child shall be born in slavery; and determine that no person, of either sex, at present in bondage, shall continue any longer in thraldom and misery.

2. The certainty that slavery is doomed to total extinction should lead all pious persons to "*pray without ceasing*," *that God would succeed the means employed to better the condition of the negroes, and to work their speedy release.* We have several scripture examples of the prayers of the godly being encouraged by the certainty of the blessing sought being promised. David thus expresses himself:—"*For thou, O Lord God of hosts, God of Israel, hast revealed to thy servant, saying, I will build thee an house: therefore, hath thy servant found in his heart to pray this prayer unto thee.*"† So Daniel:—"*I, Daniel, understood by books the number of the years, whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish the seventy years in the destruction of Jerusalem. And I set my face unto*

* Judges v. 23. † 1 Samuel vii. 27.

the Lord God, to seek by prayer and supplications, with fasting, with sackcloth, and with ashes." * To make the revealed purposes of Jehovah, the ground of importunate prayer, is to act according to his will. "*Yet for all these things will I be enquired of by the house of Israel, to do these things for them.*" † It has been well said, "Prayer moves the hand that moves the universe." "*I said not,*" said Jehovah, "*unto the house of Jacob, seek ye my face in vain.*"

There is every encouragement then for us "to seek by prayer and supplication," that our fellow men may be speedily emancipated from their grievous thraldom of slavery. Nor should we forget especially to pray, that whether the present race of negroes live to enjoy this, or whether their posterity shall possess the blessing, that they should all know a liberty of an higher kind; liberty from the bondage of sin and Satan:—"*For if the Son make you free,*" said the Lord Jesus, "*ye shall be free indeed*":—

"But there is yet a liberty, unsung
By poets, and by senators unpraised,
Which monarchs cannot grant, nor all the powers
Of earth and hell confederate take away.
A liberty which persecution, fraud,
Oppressions, prisons, have no power to bind;
Which whoso tastes can be enslaved no more.
'Tis liberty of heart derived from heaven,
Bought with His blood, who gave it to mankind,

* Daniel ix. 2, 3. † Ezekiel xxxvi. 37.

And sealed with the same token. It is held
By charter, and that charter sanctioned sure
By the unimpeachable and awful oath
And promise of a God.

* * * *

Grace makes the slave a freeman."*

3. As the total extinction of slavery is certain, then *those persons especially who call themselves Christians, and who hold their fellow-men in bondage, should instantly declare their slaves to be free.* "*And I heard,*" says John, "*another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her my people, and be not partakers of her plagues.*"† This was addressed to persons who were traffickers in "*beasts, and sheep, and horses, and* SLAVES, *and the souls of men*"; and, therefore, supposes that persons calling themselves the followers of the Lamb, will be found, when the destruction of that awful merchandize shall take place, within the walls of that city, which, with all who remain in her, shall be burnt with fire. How seriously should this solemn call sound in the ears of *christian* slave-holders! Should not "the Society for propagating the Gospel" instantly emancipate those of their fellow subjects whom they have converted into slaves, and still hold in bondage? And should not the Moravian Missionary Society, from a regard to religion, justice, and humanity, at once let the oppressed go free? (M.) And should not those rich Protestant Dissenting gentlemen, and others,

* Cowper † Rev. xviii. 4.

who hold slaves, or manage slave estates, forego every secular advantage, and disentangle themselves from every engagement which prevents them from proclaiming liberty to the captives? In a letter written from Jamaica, in February, 1831, one of the Baptist Missionaries says—" I wonder how such good men as Mr. ——— and Mr. ——— can have any thing to do with such a horrid system."

I shall mention an instance of an eminent minister, who cleared himself from a participation in the crimes of the slave trade. This was the late Rev. John Newton, who, for some time after his conversion, was employed as the captain of a slave-ship. He says, " However, I considered myself as a sort of *gaoler* or *turnkey*, and I was sometimes shocked with an employment that was perpetually consonant with chains, bolts, and shackles. In this view, I had often petitioned in my prayers, that the Lord in his own time would be pleased to fix me in a more humane calling. My prayers were now answered."

The next instance is of that pious lady Mrs. Isabella Graham, who was left with a young family at Antigua, and of whom it is said in her memoir, that, after she became a widow,—" On examining into the state of her husband's affairs she discovered there remained not quite two hundred pounds sterling in her agent's hands. The circumstances afforded an opportunity for the display of the purity of Mrs. G.'s principles; and

her rigid adherence to the commandments of her God in every situation. It was proposed to her, and urged with great argument, *to sell the two Indian girls, her late husband's property.* No considerations of interest, or necessity, could prevail upon her *to make merchandize of her fellow creatures, the works of her heavenly father's hand; immortal beings!* One of these girls accompanied her to Scotland, where she was married, the other died in Antigua, leaving an affectionate testimony to the kindness of her dear master and mistress."

I am happy to add, that I have heard from our Missionaries, that several persons in Jamaica have, lately, from the power of the gospel upon their hearts, given up their *slaves,* who like Mrs. G. could not any longer "hold property in their fellow creatures—immortal beings." One of these is the persecuted Baptist Missionary, Mr. William Whitehorn, who, on his conversion, two or three years since, immediately liberated his domestic slaves. (N.) Worthy examples these for the imitation of all who profess themselves to be the disciples of Christ. Should not such persons in particular, who profess to owe to, and to expect every blessing from, the divine compassion, to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said:—"OUGHTEST THOU NOT TO HAVE HAD PITY ON THY FELLOW-SERVANT, EVEN AS I HAD PITY ON THEE?"

APPENDIX.

No. 1. Page iv.

As one proof of the correctness of this statement I quote an extract from a speech of the lamented patriot, the late Sir Samuel Romilly, delivered by him on the memorable night of the abolition of the Slave Trade, a speech which was received with such distinguished applause, that the delivery of one animated passage was followed by three distinct plaudits, an event which never perhaps occurred before in the House of Commons. Towards the conclusion he introduced the following brilliant apostrophe:—" When I look at the man [Napoleon Bonaparte] at the head of the French monarchy, surrounded as he is with all the pride of power, and all the pride of victory, distributing kingdoms to his family, and principalities to his followers; seeming as he sits upon his throne to have reached the summit of human ambition, and the pinnacle of earthly happiness;—and when I follow him into his closet, or to his bed, and contemplate the anguish with which his solitude must be tortured by the recollection of the blood he has spilt, and the oppressions he has committed; and when I compare with these pangs of remorse the feelings which must accompany my honourable friend [Mr. Wilberforce] from this house to his home, after the vote of this night shall have accomplished the object of his humane and unceasing labours; when he shall retire into the bosom of his delighted and happy family; when he lay himself down upon his bed, reflecting on the innumerable voices that will be raised in every quarter of the world to bless his name; how much more enviable his lot in the consciousness of having preserved so many millions of his fellow creatures, than that of the man with whom I have compared him, on a throne to which he has waded through slaughter and oppression! Who will not be proud to concur with my honoured friend in pro-

moting the greatest act of national benefit, and securing to the Africans the greatest blessing which God has ever put it in the power of man to confer on his fellow creatures."—*The Legal Observer, or Journal of Jurisprudence, for April,* 1832, p. 383.

(A.) Page 8.

That such a charter as that which constituted the "Royal African Company" should have been granted by such a licentious profligate monarch as Charles II., as one of the first acts of his reign, is not at all surprising. Nor is it wonderful that no remonstrance on the part of the then obsequious parliament should have been made; nor, as far as appears, any *protest* left respecting it. A charter to enslave *freemen* on the coast of Guinea was quite in keeping with the "Act of Uniformity," passed in the same year, by which more than 2,000 Ministers were ejected from their parishes; and the "Act for compelling Quakers to take an oath," which exposed them to great hardships; and the "Conventicle Act." for tormenting Nonconformists, and preventing their separate meetings, should have been also passed in the same year. I can easily conceive that Milton would have felt so indignant on account of the proceedings of this "Royal African Company," as to have produced the most emphatic lines introduced at the commencement of this Lecture, in page 4.

(B.) Page 9.

The bill for the abolition of the Slave Trade was passed on March 25, 1807. By this act it was enacted that no slave should be imported into our colonies after March 1, 1808.

(C.) Page 10.

It is said (page 10) that from 1780 to 1830 there had been an increase in the number of slaves in Jamaica of 81,000. Lest this should convey an erroneous idea, it should also be known that "there have been imported into that island alone, since its conquest by Britain, no less than 850,000 Africans; and if

we add to this number 40,000 previously brought by the Spaniards, we have a total of 890,000, exclusive of all the births which have taken place since that period, and yet two years ago, from the oppressive hardships under which the slave population have laboured, they were reduced to 33,000."—*The Negro's Friend, No.* 19, *Page* 5.

A paper has been circulated, which will throw still further light upon this dreadful topic of the rapid diminution of human life in the colonies, entitled "A Statement of the Decrease of the Slave Population in the Sugar Colonies," signed Thomas Fowell Buxton, and dated April 4, 1832, and said to be drawn up from official returns. The following statement is the "RECAPITULATION":—

Antigua . .	Decrease in	11 years	868
Berbice . .	ditto	9 ditto	1,844
Demerara . .	ditto	12 ditto	13,367
Grenada . .	ditto	12 ditto	2,597
Jamaica . .	ditto	12 ditto	19,163
Montserrat . .	ditto	11 ditto	131
Nevis . .	ditto	11 ditto	192
St. Christopher's .	ditto	10 ditto	69
St. Lucia . .	ditto	13 ditto	1,942
St. Vincent's .	ditto	10 ditto	1,248
Tobago . .	ditto	10 ditto	2,803
Tortola . .	ditto	10 ditto	143
Trinidad . .	ditto	13 ditto	6,068
Decrease in the above 13 Colonies, the average being $11\frac{1}{13}$ years . .			50,435
Mauritius . .	Decrease in	$10\frac{3}{4}$ years	10,767
			61,202
DEDUCT. Increase in the two following Colonies, viz.—			
Dominica .	in 9 years	. 11	
Barbadoes .	in 12 years	. 5,986	
			5,997
Total Decrease in the Slave Population in the Sugar Colonies, on an average of 11 years			55,205

(D.) Page 10.

At the Annual Meeting at Exeter Hall, on the 23d of April, 1831, Mr. O'Connell said,—" But the speech of Mr. Burge, had filled him with such disgust and indignation that he could not then, [on the evening when Mr. Buxton's motion was before the house,] have spoken calmly. '*What,*' said Mr. Burge, '*would you come in between a man and his freehold!*' I started," said Mr. O'Connell, " as if something unholy had trampled on my father's grave, and I exclaimed with horror,—*A freehold in a human being!*"—*Anti-slavery Reporter, vol.* iv, *page* 268.

(E.) Page 13.

The following extracts from Blackstone's Commentaries the intelligent reader will perceive bear strongly upon the state of the question between the planter and the negro, admitting the argument to be settled, that whether considered as an *alien*, born out of the King's dominions, or as *natural born* within the dominions of the kingdom of England, all the negroes in our colonies, under one or other of these designations, are *subjects* of the British Crown. They are from the chapters entitled, " The Rights of Persons," and the " Absolute Rights of Individuals."—*Book* 1.

" The first and most obvious division of the people is into *aliens* and *natural-born subjects.* Natural born within the dominions of the crown of England; that is, within the ligeance, or as it is generally called, the allegiance of the king; and aliens, such as are born out of it. Allegiance is the tie or *ligamen* which binds the subject to the king, in return for that protection which the king affords the subject."

" Next to personal security, the law of England, regards, asserts, and preserves the personal liberty of individuals. This personal liberty consists in the power of loco-motion, of changing situation, or moving one's person to whatever place our own inclination may direct; without imprisonment or restraint, unless by due course of law, concerning which we

may make the same observations as upon the preceding article, that it is a right strictly natural; that the laws of England have never abridged it without sufficient cause."

"A man's limbs are also the gifts of a merciful Creator, to enable him to protect himself from external injuries in a state of nature. *To these, therefore, he has a natural inherent right, and they cannot be wantonly destroyed or disabled without a manifest breach of civil liberty.*"

The nature of the government of Jamaica is thus described by Blackstone, in his chapter "Of the countries subject to the laws of England." "Charter governments, are of the nature of civil corporations, with the power of making bye-laws for their own immediate regulation, *not contrary to the laws of England;* and with such rights and authorities as are specially given them in their charters of incorporation." "It is particularly declared by statute 7 and 8 William III. c. 22, that all laws, bye-laws, usages, and customs, which shall be in practice in any of the plantations, repugnant to any law, made or to be made in this kingdom relative to the said plantations, shall be utterly void and without effect."

(F.) Page 37.

On this verse my late excellent friend, the Rev. Andrew Fuller, in his *common-sense,* "Expository Discourses on the Apocalypse," remarks, "The *kings* are joined in their lamentations by the '*merchants,*' and who seem to be those who have made a trade of religion; which, however it may include many amongst the laity, must refer more immediately to the mercenary part of the clergy. The most notable *article* in the list of her commodities is 'the souls of men.' There is doubtless an allusion to Ezek. xxvii. 13, but 'the persons of men,' can there mean only *slaves,* whereas the souls of men are here distinguished from *slaves. Tyre* dealt only in *men's bodies,* but *Rome* in their *souls.* I know not what else to make of the sale of indulgencies, and pardons; of the buying and selling church-livings; of confessions, prayers for the dead, and of every other means of extorting money from the ignorant."

(G.) Page 39.

As so much odium has been cast upon the Baptist Missionaries, and especially upon the Rev. Mr. Burchell, and his colleagues at Montego-bay, it seems proper somewhat more than a mere allusion should be made to their characters and labours.

In February 17, 1830, a Missionary, Mr. James Mann, died. He had been associated with Mr. Burchell. Let a most respectable gentleman, on whose estates Mr. Mann laboured, be heard, in pronouncing his elegy, which was addressed to the Rev. J. Dyer, Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society.

" It gives me great pleasure to have it in my power to afford you the following satisfactory evidence of the conduct of your Missionaries in Jamaica, as extracted from a letter of my brother to me, dated August 28; and that the following statement may and should carry the more weight with it, I think it right to say, that he has been a resident in that island for upwards of two years, and that both he and I, having a considerable interest at stake there, must necessarily feel much alive to every circumstance likely to disturb the peace and well-being of that colony. He begins by speaking of your Missionary at Falmouth, Mr. Mann.

" 'I cannot help expressing my astonishment, that men placed in the situation of Mr. Mann, holding strongly upon the affections of the people by the medium of religion, should use their influence so wisely, because so moderately, *that they scarcely seem to clash with the prejudices of the planter. Can there be a greater proof afforded, of the temperate exercise of power over these uneducated people's minds, than that, though every eye is upon the alert to detect an abusive influence, and every imagination is at work to construe some disturbance amongst the negroes, as attributable to the Baptists, no proof has yet been given, founded upon any thing like liberality or fairness, that they have ever worked upon any other feeling than that of religion.* Through good and through evil report they travel on, availing themselves of the assistance of the proprietor, wherever the least encouragement is held out to them, and disconnecting themselves from local as well as general politics.' He then goes on to say,

that, in compliance with my desire, he had made arrangements with your Missionary, Mr. Mann, to go once a week to my estates, distant from the place of his residence seven miles, in order to preach, and teach the negroes, for which purpose a part of Wednesday is appropriated. I need now merely add, from the great good, moral and religious, which I anticipate from this labour of love amongst them, how much I should deplore any steps being taken by the Legislature in Jamaica, and to be sanctioned by his Majesty's ministers at home, likely in the remotest degree to frustrate what I am convinced can alone tend to improve the condition of the slave, and raise him in the scale of our common humanity."

The following was printed in the Baptist Missionary Herald in June, 1831, which will shew the spirit of opposition which had begun to manifest itself:—" At Montego-bay, Mr. Burchell continues to be subject to vexatious annoyance, from those ' who love darkness rather than light.' As if to shew how fully they answer to this inspired description, they have actually seized the lamps in the chapel, under the pretext of some new local impost laid on the building, and which Mr. B. properly declined paying till he could receive directions from home. Steps will of course be taken to ascertain how far the perpetrators of these dishonourable proceedings can act thus with impunity; but, surely we may hope, the day approaches in which effectual measures will be taken, both at home and abroad, to secure religious worship from insult, and those who maintain it from oppression."

(H.) Page 44.

The following is copied from the " Despatches and Correspondence, respecting the Slave Insurrection in the West India Colonies," ordered to be printed 29th March, 1832; and is an extract from No. 8, entitled " Copy of a Despatch from Viscount Goderich to the Earl of Belmore, dated Downing Street, 1st of March, 1832," and will afford high gratification to all the friends of the Redeemer, and cause "abundant thanksgivings to God," that the affairs of the Colonies, at this crisis, should be confided to so judicious and christian a nobleman as Lord Goderich.

Speaking of the malice against the Baptist Missionaries, his Lordship says, "It is not, however, merely to a misconception of religious truth, but to the direct instigation of some of the missionaries, that the recent insurrection is ascribed in some of the documents which your Lordship has transmitted. I have observed, with great satisfaction, the efforts which you so judiciously made, to guard the persons to whom it would belong to sit in judgment on the missionaries, against the influence of religious prejudices; and I trust that the caution which you have given, will effectually prevent the manifestation of any intemperate or hostile spirit towards them in any subsequent stage of the proceedings. I must distinctly avow my conviction that the improbability of the charge is so extreme, that nothing short of the most irresistible evidence could induce a belief of it. The missionaries who engage in the office of converting the slaves in our colonies, cannot, with charity or justice, be supposed to be actuated by any views of secular ambition or personal advantage. They devote themselves to an obscure, and arduous, and ill-requited service; they are well apprized that distrust and jealousy will attend them, and that the path they have chosen, leads neither to wealth nor reputation. If in their case, as in that of other men, motives less exclusively sacred than those which are avowed may exercise some influence on their minds, it were irrational either to feel surprize, or to cherish suspicion on that account. The great ruling motive must in general be that which is professed, since in general there is no other advantage to be obtained, than the consciousness of having contributed to the diffusion of christianity throughout the world. To suppose men who act habitually on such a principle, either so insensible to the restraints of conscience, or so perverted in their estimate of right and wrong, as to foment insurrection and civil war, for the subversion of slavery; or to believe them insensible to the extreme danger and suffering in which, by engaging in such an enterprize, they must involve those for whose benefit the contest was to be undertaken, would argue rather an heated and prejudiced mind, than a discerning judgment, and a correct acquaintance with human character. When, therefore, I consider that no motive can be rationally assigned, which should have induced the missionaries to em-

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bark in so guilty and desperate an undertaking, I cannot but earnestly trust, that the trial of any of their number, who may be charged with a participation in this rebellion, may have been postponed until comparative tranquillity should have succeeded to the first panic; and that such trials may have been conducted, not before a military tribunal, but with all the regular forms of law. *Should any such missionary have been convicted, and be awaiting the execution of his sentence on the arrival of this despatch, your Lordship will not permit that sentence to be carried into effect, till His Majesty's pleasure can be known.*"

(I.) Page 45.

In the letter of Lord Goderich to the Colonies, dated Downing Street, December 10, 1831, his lordship says—"I am anxious to convey to them an adequate impression of the necessity which exists, for us to take at length some effective steps towards the redemption of the pledges given, with the concurrence of the West India body, in 1823, and of the solicitude which we have felt to consult the interests of the planters, simultaneously with those of the slaves, and to accomplish, by such means as should be the least unacceptable to the owners of West India property, an object which it has become impossible to postpone, without compromising the dignity and consistency of the imperial legislature, and occasioning danger to all parties concerned."

"If His Majesty's present advisers have resolved to pursue no further this course of warning and entreaty, it is not that they are in any degree less anxious to conciliate the goodwill, whilst they consult the real interests of the colonists, but only because they feel that the language of admonition has been exhausted, and that any further attempt to produce an impression upon the legislature, by the same means alone, could add nothing of the respect of those bodies for the authority of the Crown, whilst it would be in vain to expect that it could contribute any thing to the accomplishment of the object in view."

"It cannot be too distinctly explained, that the measure to be submitted to Parliament, will be so framed, that the indispensable condition of receiving the consequent benefit, *will be the fact of a statute having passed the colonial legislature, simply, and without qualification in terms, or limitation of time, declaring the order in council to possess the force of law in the colony.*"

(K.) Page 48.

The following affords a specimen of the kind of instruction which have been given by the Missionaries, and of the mental character of the persons admitted by them to baptism.—

"The contributor of the following brief article, was once a little sceptical about the great success of the Baptist West-India Missionaries, on account of the vast number of supposed conversions; but, having been permitted to see their labours and the good effected, he begs leave to give as a sample a few of the many queries and answers which the missionary and the candidate for baptism respectively put and received, prior to that ordinance.

"What is sin? "All that don't fitten." Another, "All the badness we do 'foretime." Who is Jesus Christ? "The Son of God." And what has He done for our salvation? "Him 'tand for we." Another, "Him get himself wound for we." Do you repent of sin? "Ebery ting me do 'foretime, me sorry for to me heart." How did you know yourself to be a sinner? "Me tink me a sinner; for me hearee de Bible read." Do you love Jesus? "Me lub me Massa Jesus; me wish me always at Him feet." Why do you love the Saviour? "For Him come down and be crucified, and Him 'till pray." Can you do good of yourself? "By de power of Jesus." Why do you wish to be baptized? "Massa Jesus leave de word, and me wish to follow him track." But if any one should mock you afterwards, what would you do?" "Me take him hand, and me say, how you do?" What does the minister break the bread for, and pour out the wine? "To mind upon it, and 'member upon it, how Massa Jesus

body broke for we, how Him precious blood 'pilt for we." Why do you wish to partake of the Lord's Supper? "It bring feeling over me mind; for Him wounded for me sin." One of them having been asked if she loved God, replied in the affirmative; and on being further asked, whether she loved all the brethren and sisters, answered, "Hi Massa! me no lub me broder and me sisters, who me see ebery day, when me lub God who me neber see."—*Missionary Herald, January*, 1832.

(L.) Page 49.

I had a few months since an opportunity of speaking to the Rev. Mr. Wray, who has been a Missionary more than twenty years in Demerara and Berbice. He was the intimate friend and brother of the faithful Smith, the murdered Missionary. I asked Mr. Wray, whether from the knowledge which he had of the negroes he thought their emancipation would be attended with any injurious consequences: he instantly replied, "*If I had the power I would give them all emancipation to-morrow.*" I was pleased with his frank and explicit reply; but should have been better satisfied had he not said, "*to-morrow*," but "*to-day*;" because I know that when, in cases of extreme importance, persons have said, like a Roman soldier, "serious things to-morrow;" the events of "the day," on which it is said, may prevent, as in that instance, the possibility of attending to "serious things to-morrow." This has always been the plea of the British Legislature respecting slavery: "It ought," it has said, "certainly to be abolished; but not 'to-day,'—'to-morrow!'" This is the spirit of the Government at the present moment. Let us, say they, first prepare the slaves by *ameliorating* measures for liberty; and then "to-morrow" we will grant them *emancipation*. Alas! I fear that the "to-morrow" opportunity, for setting the oppressed negroes free by law may never arrive; therefore, I earnestly and respectfully say, to all persons concerned, "Do it *to-day*."

(M.) Page 54.

I am happy to have it in my power to introduce the sentiments of the Rev. Joseph Fletcher, D.D. of Stepney, on the sin of Slavery, as delivered in a Sermon preached at Spa-fields Chapel, on the 3rd instant, on behalf of the Moravian Missions, which makes the remarks the more valuable, as the Rev. P. Latrobe, and his father, the Rev. C. J. Latrobe, both contend, in their recent correspondence with me, that the slaves belonging to the *Unitas Fratrum*, are their "legal property." Dr. F.'s text, was Rom. i. 14—"*I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians: both to the wise and the unwise.*" Applying his observations to slavery, he said this debt of obligation to serve persons of all descriptions, by preaching the gospel to them, was enforced by the command of Jesus Christ; and after alluding to the late Orders in Council, and the Instructions to the Governors of the Colonies by Lord Goderich, which he pronounced to be truly christian in their sentiments and spirit, and noble and elevated in their style and composition! he said (as I am told by an intelligent gentleman, who took down the words at the time) "This debt and obligation are binding upon those who hold persons in bondage, and whom *they proudly and unjustly call their property*, and as unjustly have made them slaves! It is the duty of their masters to impart unto them that knowledge of the gospel, which is able, through faith in Christ Jesus, to make them the Lord's free-men."

(N.) Page 56.

The following letter, signed by six of the Baptist Missionaries, against whom no proceedings had been taken, in vindication of themselves, their brethren, and the Society, against the malicious slanders propagated by the slave-holders, is copied from the "Jamaica Watchman," of the 25th of February, 1832.

"*To the Editor of the Watchman.*

"Sir—Considering the present state of public opinion, as induced by heavy charges alleged against the 'Sectarians,'

relative to the late rebellion; it is probable that those by whom our characters are appreciated, and doctrines understood, might inquire why we have not earlier appeared in defence of the one, and explanation of the other? Our delay has not arisen from fear of investigation, or reluctance to defend the doctrines we inculcate: but long accustomed to revilement and false accusation; considering the improbable and contradictory nature of the charges alleged, together with the total ignorance manifested by those who made them, both of our sentiments and discipline; and feeling happy in a conscious rectitude of our motives and conduct, we were disposed to pass over in silence such unfounded allegations. But having exercised our patience, until the lawless rage of those, who are alike inimical to the laws of God and man, has demolished ten or eleven of our chapels, and thus destroyed full £16,000. worth of property belonging to the Baptist Mission in this island, we deem it high time, on the part of ourselves, and our brethren with whom we are not able at present to confer, to offer the following remarks, with a view to vindicate our characters, and repress such disgraceful depredations.

"Our missionaries here, and the society at home, have been reviled and calumniated by every species of abuse that ingenuity could invent, or malice promulgate. Every epithet has been employed that could blacken the character, or misrepresent the motives, both of the society and their agents. We have been charged with preaching doctrines of a seditious and dangerous character, and of propagating, among the slave population, principles and sentiments tending to disobedience and insubordination. *This charge we* FLATLY DENY, *and call on our accusers for* PROOF. The doctrines we maintain, we are prepared, at any proper time, modestly but fearlessly to defend! But, not thinking it necessary to trouble the public at present with an extended statement of our belief, nor considering a newspaper the most proper medium for a confession of faith, it may suffice to remark, that our religious doctrines, however misrepresented by our enemies, differ not from those contained in the authorized compositions of the Established Church; nor, as they regard the present question, from those of any other body of true christians.

"Our doctrines are not only charged with destroying the relative obligations between master and servant, but of leading to robbery, sedition, incendiarism, and murder! How they can tend to such evils, more than the doctrines of the Established Church, we are at a loss to ascertain, since the fundamental doctrines of our belief are to be found in her articles.

"We are said to be sent hither as spies and incendiaries; encouraged by our society to propagate sedition; and, finally, to accomplish the destruction of the colony. Charges so ridiculous, must carry with them, to every unprejudiced mind, their own refutation. With reference to our society, the following quotations from the Instructions given to every missionary, on leaving England, will clearly evince that their object is not to spread anarchy and confusion, but, without any interference whatever with the political constitution of the colony, to seek the happiness of the slaves, by presenting to them the blessings of christianity, in the life that now is, as well as that which is to come; and inculcating attention to all the social and relative duties of life.

"'We enjoin it upon you ever to remember that the office you have voluntarily undertaken, is wholly of a *spiritual* nature. Leaving to others the acquisition of property, and the management of temporal affairs, you go forth in the service of *Jesus Christ*, and to seek the salvation of immortal souls.

"'It is matter of the first importance, that you carefully abstain from all interference whatever in political affairs, or with the civil business of the town and neighbourhood in which you reside. To the island of Jamaica this direction applies with peculiar force. Be careful, therefore, that your conduct, without any mixture of a worldly or temporizing spirit, be such as shall give no just occasion of offence, and that none may be able to bring any accusation against you, save in the matter of the Lord your God. As you are going amongst a people, many of whom are in a state of slavery, it will be incumbent upon you to use great caution, both as to your language and conduct, that there may not be the least ground for the charge of interfering with their civil relations. On all persons in the condition of slaves, you will diligently and plainly enforce the following apostolic precepts: Eph. vi. 5—8, *Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters*

according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers; but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart: With good will doing service, as to the Lord, and not unto men. Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. Col. iii. 22—25, *Servants obey in all things your masters according to the flesh, not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God. And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance; for ye serve the Lord Christ. But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done, and there is no respect of persons.'*

"We might leave these instructions to speak for themselves, simply requesting the public to observe that no missionary *could* deviate from them, without incurring the discountenance of his associates here, and separation from the society in England. But lest it should be alleged, that although we have received such instructions, yet, the many cases in which Baptists are said to have been implicated in the late rebellion, prove that we have not acted accordingly, we beg to suggest some considerations, which we think should induce the public to pause, before they draw this inference.

"The number of slaves connected with our chapels, in the districts chiefly disturbed, is very large, much larger, we believe, than the number connected with any other places of worship in that neighbourhood; so that if only an equal proportion of Baptists were implicated, their number would necessarily exceed that of other denominations.

"But as to the real number of persons calling themselves Baptists, actually engaged in the rebellion, we have as yet no authentic information. Their number, in fact, have not been ascertained; nor are our brethren at present in a situation to discover it. The statements made in the Cornwall Chronicle, Courier, &c., on this point, have been so mixed up with others already proved false, that they are plainly unworthy of credence. And even of those actually implicated, and who call themselves Baptists, many will, we are satisfied, be found, on impartial inquiry, to have no connection whatever with our

churches, nor even to attend at our chapels; for it is a fact, well known to most religious persons, that besides a great number of casual hearers, such as are found in all denominations of christians, there exist a multitude of people in different parts of the island, who designate themselves Baptists, but yet have no connection whatever with the Baptist Mission.

"But suppose that some of our members have really been involved, which we fear is the case, it deserves inquiry, what proportion of this number *voluntarily* engaged in it; because, it is notorious, that many negroes were driven to join the rebels by their threats, or induced by their relative connections with them.

"Besides, let it be remarked, that the more intelligent and crafty of the rebel * chiefs, would be strongly induced to use the name of any Missionary, as an argument to prevail on others to join them. This remark applies especially to Mr. Burchell's name, because, being off the island at the time, he could not frustrate such an attempt; so that the guilt of any Missionary cannot be inferred from that circumstance, since his name might have been thus used, without his consent or knowledge.

* I could have wished our Missionaries had not called men "rebels," who were only struggling for the "right which *every man*," as Blackstone says, (see page 61) "*has to his own limbs!*"

"Oh! most degrading of all ills that wait
On man, a mourner in his best estate!
All other sorrows virtue may endure,
And find submission more than half a cure;
Grief is itself a medicine, and bestowed
To improve the fortitude that bears the load,
To teach the wanderer, as his woes increase,
The path of wisdom, all whose paths are peace;
But slavery!—Virtue dreads it as her grave;
Patience itself is meanness in a slave;
Or if the will and sovereignty of God
Bid suffer it awhile, and kiss the rod,
Wait for the dawning of a brighter day,
And snap the chain the moment when you may.
Nature imprints upon whate'er we see
That has a heart and life in it,—BE FREE."—*Cowper.*

"Moreover, the fact ought certainly to be borne in mind, that the evidence hitherto laid before the public, has, for the most part, been indirect, and second-hand. In nearly every case of crimination, the negroes are said to have stated, *not* that they themselves had heard either of the Missionaries say they were to be made free at Christmas, *but* that they had been '*told*' that Mr. Burchell or Mr. Knibb, &c. had said so.

"We cannot be expected, in this article, to answer to specific charges alleged against our brethren, whom distance and other circumstances prevent us from consulting; but, on the above grounds, we beg the public, for the present, to suspend their judgment; at the same time, expressing our conviction that their suspense will be of short duration, as legal proceedings will probably be soon commenced, on one side or the other, which may afford them an opportunity of forming a more correct opinion.

"We only add, that there are thousands of respectable and intelligent persons, capable of perceiving the real tendency of our preaching and conduct, who are among our regular leaders, and many of whom are slave-holders!!* Let such persons be enquired of by those who wish to obtain a just idea of our proceedings, and the objects they have in view. To them we fearlessly appeal, being fully assured, that our innocence will be established, in proportion as the truth is told.

"We are, Sir, your obedient Servants,

JOSHUA TINSON	SAMUEL NICHOLS
JOSEPH BURTON	JOHN CLARKE
HENRY C. TAYLOR	JOHN R. ANDREWS."

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* This is the first time that I ever heard there were *slave-holders* among the members and leaders of the Baptist churches in Jamaica; nor have I any reason to think, that the secretary or any member of the committee of the Baptist Missionary Society was aware of the fact. A few years since, when a Missionary had purchased two slaves, though from a motive of humanity, he was directed to give them their freedom immediately; and a motion was proposed and adopted—"*That any missionary possessing slaves, should thereby dissolve his connection with the Society.*"

I exceedingly regret that any of my brethren, of whom I have thought so highly, should, in carrying up the superstructure of a church of Christ, have used as materials, not only "*gold, and silver, and precious stones,*" but also, *wood, and hay, and stubble.*" I consider that this circumstance alone, involves in it so much guilt in those who encouraged it, knowing as they do, "*men stealers,*" are considered by the law of God to be the "*lawless and disobedient,*" whom, with sinners of the vilest description, are declared to be acting, "*contrary to sound doctrine*"; (1 Tim. i. 10, 11) that it fully accounts for all the evils that have come upon us as a Society! I shall take the earliest opportunity to bring this matter under the notice of the Committee, as the Missionaries have, in this matter, acted in direct opposition to the instructions which they received from the Society, that they should "*be careful their conduct should be without any admixture of a worldly or temporizing spirit.*"

THE END.

J. Messeder, Printer,
201, High Holborn.

Slavery in America.

No. I.—July, 1836.

THE EDITOR'S ADDRESS TO THE READER.

In commencing the present publication, the editor is desirous of stating the principles on which it will be conducted, and the objects it is designed to subserve. It has originated in the deep interest recently awakened amongst British Christians in the character and extent of the slave system existing amongst their American brethren. The real nature and operation of this unhallowed system has been but lately known. A presumption favourable to its character was derived from the religious profession of its apologists and defenders. The fact that Christian men and Christian ministers gave it their countenance, and were deeply implicated in its support, led to a persuasion that its spirit must be mild, and its progress unmarked by those atrocities which had characterized the slavery of our own colonies. But recent communications have clearly established the painful and humiliating fact, that in America, the land of boasted freedom and religious privilege, the inherent depravity of the slave system has been signally displayed in effecting one of the most disastrous triumphs over the charities of our nature and the principles of our faith which history records. Its effect upon the slave and his master, upon the social community and the Christian church, is such as fully to identify it with that monstrous system of wickedness against which the energies and prayers of British Christians have been so lately arrayed. The knowledge of these facts has enkindled a deep and absorbing interest in a large portion of the religious people of this empire, and the inquiry is now becoming general, *What can we do to rescue Christianity from reproach, and to save our American brethren from the natural consequences of their guilt in upholding this horrid system of impiety and wrong?* It is to meet this inquiry, and to aid in the adoption of such measures as are calculated to arouse the conscience and to call forth the religious principles of the people of the United States, that this periodical is commenced.

It will treat slavery as a palpable violation of the divine law,—as an act of injustice towards man, and of impiety towards God, a sin to be repented of and forsaken, rather than an evil to be mitigated or a misfortune to be mourned over. The imperative obligation of Christians to seek its destruction will be urgently enforced, and the delusive character of the pleas which are urged in defence of silence and inactivity will be fearlessly exposed. At the same time it will be the anxious aim of the editor to avoid every expression that shall be unnecessarily offensive and irritating. He will endeavour to unite a temperate and conciliatory address with an uncompromising advocacy of those principles with which slavery is essentially incompatible.

In his delineation of the American slave system, the editor will scrupulously adhere to facts: truth needs not the aid of fiction in order to the accomplishment of its benevolent design; much less can its interests be advanced by the inventions of falsehood, or the reports of slander. The assistance he has engaged, and the sources of information which are open to him, leave no doubt on his mind of his being able to present to his readers an accurate and full-length portraiture of the slave system as it is interwoven with the social compacts and religious operations of America. It will be his especial aim to point out its injurious influence on the religious sensibilities and character of the people of that country, for which purpose an extensive correspondence will be conducted with Christian ministers and other gentlemen residing there.

The present publication is also designed to be a magazine of information from which American abolitionists and their countrymen at large may learn what is taking place amongst us in reference to this great moral question. The movements of religious bodies in their intercourse with America, together with the resolutions passed at various meetings throughout the country, will be faithfully recorded; and no effort will be spared by which the moral influence of British Christians may be made to bear on the extinction of an evil which defaces the beauty and enfeebles the energies of the transatlantic churches.

While the editor's attention will be principally directed to American slavery, it will not be confined to it. He will supply intelligence respecting anti-slavery operations throughout the world, and will omit no opportunity of enforcing upon Christians, at home and abroad, by every argument derived from religious principle and political expediency, the sacred duty of immediate and total emancipation.

To such as approve of his design, the editor appeals for support. Should the public patronize his undertaking, he will rejoice in the opportunity afforded him of again advocating a cause, for which he formerly sacrificed

health, and endangered his ministerial existence. But should it be otherwise, he will have the satisfaction of having endeavoured, to the extent of his ability, and in the only mode of which his present circumstances admit, to discharge a duty which conscience deems imperative, and in which all the purest sentiments of his heart find an appropriate sphere of operation.

BRIEF NOTICES OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CAUSE OF ABOLITION IN THE UNITED STATES.—No. I.

The origin of the present Anti-slavery movement in the United States of America cannot be traced farther back than 1829, when the talented and intrepid William Lloyd Garrison publicly declared himself the zealous and uncompromising advocate of universal immediate emancipation. Previously to that period, many individuals had pleaded the cause of the oppressed slaves in North America with great fervour and ability, but none had distinguished himself more than Benjamin Lundy, whose self-denying labours in behalf of oppressed humanity have won for him the admiration of all who have marked his course.

In August, 1829, William Lloyd Garrison issued proposals for publishing his celebrated newspaper, "The Liberator." This production, full of energetic appeal and heart-stirring eloquence, was eminently calculated to awaken public attention to the great moral enterprise in which he had engaged, and to which he had solemnly devoted his talents and his life. He took his stand on the inalienable rights of man, and the essential sinfulness of slavery, and fearlessly proclaimed the doctrine of "immediate and entire emancipation." It was Mr. Garrison's intention to have published his paper at Washington, "the mother of abominations" in all that respects American slavery, but was prevented from carrying his design into effect by the removal of "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," edited by his friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Lundy, to the seat of the national government. He therefore determined to unfurl "the Standard of Emancipation in the eyes of the nation *within sight of Bunker Hill, and in the birth-place of Liberty*"—Boston.

The first number of "The Liberator" was issued on the first of January, 1831, and forms an epoch in the history of American Slavery. In this powerfully-written paper he says: "I shall not array myself as the political partizan of any man. In defending the great cause of human rights I wish to derive the assistance of all religions and of all parties." "I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population." "I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead."

In a beautiful address to the slaves he says:

> "Not by the sword shall your deliverance be;
> Not by the shedding of your masters' blood;
> Not by rebellion, or foul treachery,
> Upspringing suddenly, like swelling flood:
> Revenge and Rapine ne'er did bring forth good.
> God's *time is best!* nor will it long delay:
> Even now your barren cause begins to bud,
> And glorious shall the fruit be! Watch and pray;
> For, lo! the kindling dawn that ushers in the day!"

In the succeeding number Mr. Garrison says: "We do not give up our country as sealed over to destruction, nor our countrymen as incorrigibly wicked. We have unshaken reliance in the omnipotence of truth. We still believe that the demands of justice will be satisfied; that the voice of mercy will melt the most adamantine hearts; and that the land will be redeemed and regenerated through an enlightened and energetic public opinion. As long as there remains a single copy of the Declaration of American Independence, or of the Bible, in our land, we will not despair."

Steady to his purpose, depending on the goodness of his cause and the divine blessing—in the face of opposition unparalleled for its malignity, extent, and continuance, in modern times—in prison and out of prison—and with the prospect of a violent death continually before him, this extraordinary man has for six years been the pole-star of abolition to his countrymen; and has succeeded in establishing the cause of human rights among them on an imperishable basis.

After twelve months of unceasing labour, privation, and suffering, Mr. Garrison had the happiness to unite with a few other noble-minded individuals, on the 1st January, 1832, in the establishment of "THE NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY." This was an important point gained to the cause of aboliton, inasmuch as this Society became the nucleus of other associations of a similar character, and finally led to the formation of that magnificent institution, "THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY."

The great principles enunciated, and the objects set forth, in the preamble and constitution of the Society, enforced in a powerful address to the public, became the text book of the abolitionists throughout the land. The following passages, extracted from that address, will show the spirit in which its managers proposed to carry on its operations.

"The object of our Society," say they, "is neither war nor sedition. Although the sufferings of that class of our brethren for whose rights we plead, are immeasurably greater than would be deemed sufficient with any other people to gird on the armour and march to the field of battle and of blood; yet, we hope ever to imbibe the spirit of Him who says, 'Resist not evil'—'they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.' Governed by such a spirit, the weapons of our warfare can never be carnal. The only influence we can exert must be that of *moral suasion*, and not of *coercion*. In the truth, and the God of truth alone, we trust for the success of our exertions; and with the truth, and in the name of the God of truth, we plead for the cause of humanity."

"The fundamental principle upon which our constitution is based, is OUR SAVIOUR'S GOLDEN RULE: '*All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.*' Hence the grand articles of our creed: 'That God hath made of *one blood* all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth;'—'that all men are created *equal;* that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; and that among these are life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness."

"We believe that slavery is an evil *now;* and, of course, the slaves ought to be *now* emancipated * * * * * every principle which proves slavery unjust, an evil, and a curse, equally demonstrates the duty of *immediate* manumission."

Such are the principles and spirit in which the New England Anti-slavery Society entered upon its noble career. Uncheered by the countenance of the influential—unsupported by the gold of the wealthy—unsustained even by the prayers of the church—execrated at the south, and despised at the north—it cir-

culated the truth; it brought "to light the hidden works of darkness;" it put the brand of moral reprobation on the slave system; and, under the divine blessing, has already achieved a great triumph for humanity.

At the first anniversary meeting of the Society it was resolved: "That the formation of a National Anti-slavery Society is essential to the complete regeneration of public sentiment on the subject of slavery, and to the speedy overthrow of that iniquitous system; and that the board of managers be authorized to call a national meeting of the friends of abolition for the purpose of organizing such a Society, at such time and place as they shall deem expedient."

In the report of the managers presented to this meeting is the following passage: "The immediate abolition of slavery will purify the churches at the south, which are now red with innocent blood, and 'filled with all unrighteousness.' It is impossible that religion should prosper, when the pastors and members of churches trade in the souls of men! 'How is the gold become dim! How is the most fine gold changed! The whole head is sick, the whole heart is faint.' Now abolish slavery, and the gospel will have free course, run, and be glorified; salvation will flow in a current broad and deep; and for a short time only can it be reproachfully said, that there exist two millions of slaves in a Christian land."

In the early part of the year 1833, Mr. Garrison was deputed to this country on an Anti-slavery mission. It is needless to add how well he executed the duties devolved on him. Whilst here he effectually exposed the nature, operations, and tendencies of the American Colonization Society. He showed that, notwithstanding all its specious pretences, it was founded on prejudice against colour, and was practically, if not essentially, a pro-slavery institution. He took with him, on his return to his native land, the celebrated "Protest" against it, signed by Wilberforce, Macaulay, Buxton, Cropper, George Stephen, and other leading abolitionists. The publicatton of that important document in the United States fell like a thunder-bolt on that infamous scheme. Its most active, intelligent, and conscientious supporters are rapidly withdrawing themselves from its pernicious influence, and arraying themselves on the side of the abolitionists. Such men as Birney and Thome, Jay and Smith, have given in their adhesion to the principles of the American Anti-slavery Society. The two first were slave-holders in Kentucky, and both have manumitted their slaves, and are now efficient labourers in the cause of negro emancipation. Judge Jay has written an elaborate work on Colonization and Abolition, in which he fully detects and exposes the character of the former, and establishes the claims of the latter to the zealous support of American philanthropists. Gerrit Smith, until a recent period a pillar of the Colonization Society, has now become the munificent supporter of its antagonist, the American Anti-slavery Society. Other triumphs of a similar nature might be recorded, but these are given to show the class of men who are now rallying round the standard of immediate and entire emancipation in America, and who are destined to deliver their country from the disgrace and curse of slavery.

It was during this year, also, that the New York City Anti-slavery Society was formed, and "The Emancipator," a weekly abolition publication, issued. This new auxiliary in the good cause was chiefly supported by that eminent philanthropist, Arthur Tappan; and is now the official organ of the American Anti-slavery Society, having a very extensive circulation throughout the whole country, and exercising a most powerful influence, by the admirable spirit and

ability with which it is conducted, over the public mind. In its declaration of principles, after having asserted the inherent right of every human being to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and denounced slavery as "unjust, cruel, oppressive, and dangerous," and as a direct violation of the divine law, '*Thou shalt not steal*," it says: "This paper will advocate THE ENTIRE AND IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION OF ALL SLAVES. Such a course will be advocated, because it is *the only just, wise, safe, and advantageous course* which can be pursued. *Facts* will be adduced to support appeals; appeals will be made in the spirit of kindness; kindness will be sustained by the force of conviction; conviction will be grounded on the power of truth; truth will be persevered in, until labour shall cease."

In pursuance of the resolution of the New England Anti-slavery Society, a convention was called, and was attended by sixty-two delegates from various states, who met together at Philadelphia for the purpose of forming a National Anti-slavery Society. The sittings of this convention lasted three days, during which every branch of the great subject of emancipation was fully and ably discussed. Every day's proceeding was opened and concluded with solemn prayer, and was eminently characterized by the spirit of fraternal love and unanimity.

Among the various resolutions passed by the convention it is most gratifying to find the following, viz.: "Resolved—That this convention, acting under a sense of dependance on Almighty God for the accomplishment of the object they have assembled to promote, do affectionately recommend to the Christian church throughout the land, to observe the LAST MONDAY EVENING OF EACH MONTH in a religious manner, to seek and implore the divine aid in behalf of the enslaved and the free people of colour."

This emphatic recognition of the divine agency as necessary to the prosperous issue of their cause, forcibly appeals to the pious and prayerful sympathies of British Christians; and it is earnestly hoped, that not a few of them will unite with their transatlantic brethren on *the last Monday in each month*, to implore the divine blessing on their "work of faith and labour of love."

At the conclusion of its labours the following Declaration of Sentiments was unanimously adopted, and under feelings of the deepest responsibility signed by the members of the convention. A more important and eloquent exposition of Anti-slavery principles was perhaps never written. No hesitation is, therefore, felt in recording the whole of it in these pages. It is worthy of being inscribed in letters of gold.

THE Convention assembled in the city of Philadelphia, to organize a National Anti-Slavery Society, promptly seize the opportunity to promulgate the following Declaration of Sentiments, as cherished by them in relation to the enslavement of one-sixth portion of the American people.

More than fifty-seven years have elapsed since a band of patriots convened in this place, to devise measures for the deliverance of this country from a foreign yoke. The corner-stone upon which they founded the Temple of Freedom was broadly this—"That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness." At the sound of their trumpet-call, three millions of people rose up as from the sleep of death, and rushed to the strife of blood; deeming it more glorious to die instantly as freemen, than desirable to live one hour as slaves. They were few in number—poor in resources; but the honest conviction that Truth, Justice, and Right were on their side, made them invincible.

We have met together for the achievement of an enterprise, without which, that of our fathers is incomplete, and which, for its magnitude, solemnity, and probable results upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs, as moral truth does physical force.

In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them.

Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. Ours forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage—relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds.

Their measures were physical resistance—the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the moral encounter. Ours shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal taskmasters.

But those, for whose emancipation we are striving,—constituting at the present time at least one-sixth part of our countrymen,—are recognized by the laws, and treated by their fellow-beings, as marketable commodities—as goods and chattels—as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress;—really enjoy no constitutional nor legal protection from licentious and murderous outrages upon their persons;—are ruthlessly torn asunder—the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother—the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants;—and, for the crime of having a dark complexion, suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, and the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in heathenish darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offence.

These are the prominent circumstances in the condition of more than Two Millions of our people, the proof of which may be found in thousands of indisputable facts, and in the laws of the slaveholding States.

Hence we maintain—

That in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth;—and, therefore,—That it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burden, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.

We further maintain—That no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother—to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandise—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social, and moral improvement.

The right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. To invade it, is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah. Every man has a right to his own body—to the products of his own labour—to the protection of law—and to the common advantages of society. It is piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely the sin is as great to enslave an American as an African.

Therefore we believe and affirm—That there is no difference in principle, between the African slave trade and American slavery;—

That every American citizen, who retains a human being in involuntary bondage, is, according to Scripture, a man-stealer;—

That the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law;—

That if they had lived from the time of Pharaoh down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity;—

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are, therefore, before God, utterly null and void; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments, and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments—and that, therefore, they ought to be instantly abrogated.

We further believe and affirm—

That all persons of colour who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives as others; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, shall be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves—

Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man;—

Because Slavery is a crime, and therefore it is not an article to be sold;—

Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim;—freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to the right owner;—t is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself;—

Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property; it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free labourers; and

Because if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

We regard as delusive, cruel, and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the empancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery.

We fully and unanimously recognise the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its limits. We concede that Congress, under the present national compact, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States, in relation to this momentous subject.

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave trade between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.

We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States, to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the southern States;—they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves;—they authorize the slave-owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression;—they support a standing army at the south for its protection;—and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver.

This relation to slavery is criminal and full of danger—it must be broken up.

These are our views and principles—these, our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the over-ruling justice of God, we plant ourselves npon the Declaration of our independence, and upon the truths of Divine Revelation, as upon the Everlasting Rock.

We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town, and village of our land.

We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and rebuke.

We shall circulate, unsparingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the Pulpit and the Press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

We shall encourage the labour of freemen over that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions; and

We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

Our trust for victory is solely in God. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never. Truth, Justice, and Humanity, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

Submitting this Declaration to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of liberty all over the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it; pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth—to deliver our land from its deadliest curse—to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon—and to secure to the coloured population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans—come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputations—whether we live to witness the triumph of Justice, Liberty, and Humanity, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent, and holy cause.

David Thurston
Nathan Winslow
Joseph Southwick
James Frederick Otis
Isaac Winslow
David Cambell
Orson S. Murray
Daniel S. Southmayd
Effingham L. Capron
Joshua Coffin
Amos A. Phelps
John G. Whittier
Horace P. Wakefield
James George Barbadoes
David T. Kimball, Jun.
Daniel E. Jewett
John Reid Cambell
Nathanael Southard
Arnold Buffum
William Green, Jun.
Abraham L. Cox
William Goodell
Elisha Wright, Jun.
Charles W. Denison
John Frost
George Bourne
Evan Lewis
Edwin A. Atlee
Robert Purvis
Bartholomew Fussell
David Jones
Enoch Mack, 2d
James Loughhead
John M'Cullough
Edwin P. Atlee
James M. M'Kim
William Lloyd Garrison
Ray Potter
John Prentice
George W. Benson
Samuel Joseph May
Alpheus Kingsley, Jun.
Edwin A. Stillman
Simeon Smith Jocelyn
Robert Bernard Hall
Beriah Green
Lewis Tappan
John Rankin
Aaron Vickers
John R. Sleeper
Lucius Gillingham
John Sharp, Jun.
James Mott
James White
Jonathan Parkhurst
Chalkey Gillingham
John M. Sturling
Milton Sutliff

James M'Crummell
Thomas Shipley
Levi Sutliff
Thomas Whitson

Signed in the Adelphi Hall, in the City of Philadelphia, on the 6th day of December, 1833.

These brief notices of the origin and progress of the abolition cause in America demonstrate its purely benevolent and religious character, and the peaceful means by which it expects to accomplish its purpose. It is neither sectarian nor political in its spirit or designs. It aims at the overthrow of the most intolerable and iniquitous system of slavery which exists in the world. The men who conduct it are wise in counsel, and decisive in action; and notwithstanding the fierce and brutal spirit with which they have been continually assailed, it is clear that, from the success which has hitherto attended their labours, the doom of slavery is sealed.

SLAVE TRADING AT NEW YORK.

[From the *New York Emancipator*.]

The Russian Flag.—It seems that the Emperor of Russia is determined that *his* flag shall not be used with impunity in carrying on the accursed slave-trade. Reader! what think you of "Hail Columbia, happy land," when the Imperial Autocrat of all the Russias deems it necessary to authorize the following notice to be published in the newspapers of this republic? Has it come to this, that pirates—those enemies of the human race—the slave pirates, the most debased of all pirates, shall make their rendezvous in our harbours, fit out their vessels under our own eyes, and then put to sea in defiance of our laws and magistrates? It is even so.

"Consular Notice.—Certain individuals, who, in defiance of the laws of their own country, still continue to engage in the African slave-trade, having given cause for suspicion that they intend to make use of the Russian flag as a protection against the right of search and seizure, mutually assumed and conceded by the powers participating in the treaty for the suppression of this nefarious traffic, the undersigned, the Russian Consul General at New York, being specially instructed by his government, gives hereby public notice to all persons whom it may concern, that the Russian flag can in no case be resorted to without the previous permission of the Imperial government, and without legal authorization in due form, and in strict accordance with the laws of the empire; that any proceeding to the contrary shall be considered as a fraud, exposing the persons guilty of it to all its consequences; and that no slave trader, in any circumstances whatever, when seized under the Russian flag, or otherwise, can invoke the aid of the Imperial government to screen him from just and well-merited punishment.

"Russe du Consulate General, New York, April 2, 1836.

"Alexis Eustaphieve."

STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES' SLAVE POPULATION.

It is commonly supposed that the slavery of the United States is not, like that of the West India sugar colonies, eminently destructive to human life. By many it is thought to be rather friendly to man, as a mere animal. A careful inspection of the census will show this to be a mistake. It will show a system by which nature's geometric power of increase is brought into full play to create a *supply* of life adequate to an enormously enhanced *consumption*. It will reveal some of the secrets of the internal slave-trade, and indicate with certainty a catastrophe, to which we are approaching.

To place the necessary data before the reader, we give, first, a synopsis of the slave and free colored population, with the ratio of slaves to free whites in 1820 and 1830.

SLAVE, FREE WHITE, AND FREE COLORED POPULATION.—No. I.

States and Territories.	Slaves. 1790.	Slaves. 1800.	Slaves. 1810.	Slaves. 1820.	Slaves. 1830.	Free Whites. 1820.	Free Whites. 1830.	Ratio of Slaves to F. Whites 1820.	Ratio of Slaves to F. Whites 1830.	Free Colored. 1790.	Free Colored. 1800.	Free Colored. 1810.	Free Colored. 1820.	Free Colored. 1830.
Maine	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	6	297,406	398,260	0	Less than 1 per cent	538	818	969	929	1,171
N. Hampshire	158	8	. . . .	. . . .	5	243,375	268,721	0	"	630	856	970	786	602
Vermont	17	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	234,861	279,776	0	0	255	557	750	903	881
Massachusetts	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	4	516,547	603,359	0	Less than 1 per cent	5,463	6,452	6,737	6,740	7,045
Rhode Island	952	381	108	48	14	79,491	93,261	Less than 1 per cent	"	3,469	3,304	3,609	3,554	3,564
Connecticut	2,764	951	310	97	25	267,301	289,603	"	"	2,801	5,330	6,453	7,850	8,047
New York	21,324	20,343	15,017	10,088	76	1,333,445	1,868,061	"	"	4,654	10,374	25,333	29,279	44,869
New Jersey	11,423	12,422	10,851	7,557	2,254	257,558	300,266	2.9	"	2,762	4,402	7,843	12,460	18,303
Pennsylvania	3,737	1,706	795	211	403	1,019,040	1,309,900	Less than 1 per cent	"	6,537	14,561	22,492	30,202	37,930
Ohio	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	6	576,711	928,329	"	"	. . . .	337	1,899	4,723	9,568
Indiana	. . . .	135	237	190	3	145,758	339,399	"	"	. . . .	163	393	1,230	3,629
Illinois	. . . .	. . . .	168	917	747	53,837	155,061	"	"	. . . .	. . . .	613	457	1,637
Michigan	. . . .	. . . .	24	. . . .	32	8,722	31,346	"	"	. . . .	. . . .	120	174	261
Tot. in F. States	40,375	35,946	27,510	19,108	3,575	5,034,052	6,865,342			27,109	47,154	78,181	99,287	137,507
Delaware	8,887	6,153	4,177	4,509	3,292	55,282	57,601	8.1	5.7	3,899	8,268	13,136	12,958	15,855
Maryland	103,036	105,635	111,502	107,398	102,994	260,222	291,108	41.2	35.3	8,043	19,587	33,927	39,730	52,938
Dis. of Columbia	. . . .	3,244	5,395	6,377	6,119	22,614	27,563	28.2	22.2	. . . .	783	2,549	4,048	6,152
Virginia	293,427	345,796	392,518	425,153	469,757	603,324	694,300	70.4	67.6	12,766	20,124	30,570	36,889	47,348
N. Carolina	100,572	133,296	168,824	205,017	245,601	419,200	472,843	48.9	52	4,975	7,043	10,266	14,612	19,543
S. Carolina	107,004	146,151	196,365	258,475	315,401	237,440	257,863	109	122.3	1,801	3,185	4,554	6,826	7,921
Georgia	29,264	59,404	105,218	149,656	217,531	189,570	296,806	78.9	73.3	398	1,019	1,801	1,763	2,486
Kentucky	11,830	40,343	80,561	126,732	165,218	434,826	517,787	29.1	31.9	114	741	1,713	2,759	4,917
Tennessee	3,417	13,584	44,535	80,107	141,603	339,979	535,746	23.3	26.4	361	309	1,317	2,727	4,555
Alabama	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	41,879	117,549	85,451	190,406	49	61.7	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	571	1,572
Mississippi	. . . .	3,489	17,088	32,814	65,659	42,171	70,443	77.8	93.2	. . . .	182	240	458	519
Louisiana	. . . .	. . . .	34,660	69,064	109,588	73,383	89,231	93.9	122.8	. . . .	. . . .	7,585	10,960	16,710
Missouri	. . . .	. . . .	3,011	10,222	25,091	55,757	114,795	18.3	21.8	. . . .	. . . .	607	347	569
Arkansas	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	1,617	4,576	12,570	25,671	12.8	17.8	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	59	141
Florida	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	15,501	. . . .	18,385	. . . .	84.3	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	844
Total S. States	657,437	857,095	1,163,854	1,519,020	2,005,475	2,831,789	3,660,548	53.6	54.7	32,357	61,241	108,265	134,707	182,070
Grand Total	697,812	893,041	1,191,364	1,538,128	2,009,050	7,865,841	10,525,890	19.5	19	59,466	108,395	186,446	233,994	319,577

The ratio of the aggregate increase of the slaves in the slave states from 1820 to 1830 was 2.8 per cent., per annum; if we compare the increase of individual states with the increase by this ratio, we shall have the following result: —

Loss from 1820 to 1830, in		Gain in the same time, in	
Delaware	2,661	Georgia	19,949
Maryland	38,797	Tennessee	35,842
District of Columbia	2,300	Alabama	62,259
Virginia	91,549	Mississippi	22,337
North Carolina	25,071	Louisiana	18,407
South Carolina	25,849	Missouri	11,595
Kentucky	2,104	Arkansas	2,441
	188,331	Florida	15,501*
			188,331

Thus in 10 years were 188,331 slaves transferred from the northeast to the southwest. A part of this transfer is due to emigration, but another cause will be shown by the following tables.

No. II.

PARTICULARS OF COLOURED POPULATION IN 1830.

	DISTRICTS.	AGES. Under 10.	Of 10 and under 24.	Of 24 and under 36.	Of 36 and under 55.	Of 55 and under 100.	Over 100.
SLAVES.	Delaware	1,088	1,470	475	163	91	5
	Maryland	34,882	33,995	17,177	11,464	5,373	103
	Dist. of Columbia	1,610	2,294	1,154	766	290	5
	Eastern Virginia	147,824	118,648	75,073	52,179	22,340	256
	Western Virginia	19,383	17,190	9,043	5,710	2,090	21
	North Carolina	90,838	75,607	40,307	27,118	11,484	247
	South Carolina	103,344	90,117	62,399	43,680	15,679	182
	Georgia	76,469	68,170	39,967	25,143	7,612	170
	Kentucky	62,475	54,795	27,374	15,606	4,852	111
	Eastern Tennessee	6,675	6,256	2,755	1,616	570	15
	Western Tennessee	47,606	41,320	20,728	10,923	3,050	89
	Alabama	43,223	39,222	22,188	10,056	2,807	53
	Mississippi	21,897	21,634	13,930	6,628	1,527	43
	Eastern Louisiana	18,888	25,146	22,443	11,003	2,905	60
	Western Louisiana	8,426	9,393	6,875	3,689	736	24
	Missouri	9,483	8,969	4,257	1,937	427	18
	Arkansas	1,648	1,650	794	385	98	1
	Florida	5,061	4,951	3,391	1,716	401	1
	Total	700,820	620,827	370,330	229,782	82,332	1,404
FREE.	New Jersey	13	32	819	834	549	7
	Pennsylvania	55	208	47	36	52	5
	Illinois	242	246	137	99	18	5
	Delaware	5,151	4,618	2,749	2,282	1,029	26
	Maryland	16,221	13,412	9,409	8,677	5,083	136
	United States	96,004	91,217	60,191	46,598	24,934	655

* A part of these were received with the territory, but the error is not material.

No. III.

ADULTS RELATIVE TO A GIVEN NUMBER OF CHILDREN,

DERIVED FROM NO. II.

	DISTRICTS.	AGES. Under 10.	Of 10 and under 24.	Of 24 and under 36.	Of 36 and under 55.	Of 55 and under 100.	Over 100.
SLAVES.	Delaware	10,000	13,511	4,366	1,498	836	46
	Maryland	10,000	9,746	4,924	3,264	1,540	29
	Dist. of Columbia	10,000	14,248	7,168	4,758	1,801	31
	Eastern Virginia	10,000	8,026	5,079	3,530	1,511	17
	Western Virginia	10,000	8,869	4,665	2,946	1,078	11
	North Carolina	10,000	8,323	4,437	2,985	1,264	27
	South Carolina	10,000	8,720	6,038	4,227	1,517	18
	Georgia	10,000	8,915	5,227	3,288	995	22
	Kentucky	10,000	8,770	4,282	2,498	777	18
	Eastern Tennessee	10,000	9,372	4,127	2,421	854	22
	Western Tennessee	10,000	8,680	4,354	2,294	641	19
	Alabama	10,000	9,074	5,133	2,327	649	12
	Mississippi	10,000	9,880	6,376	3,027	697	20
	Eastern Louisiana	10,000	13,313	11,882	5,825	1,538	32
	Western Louisiana	10,000	11,148	8,159	4,378	873	28
	Missouri	10,000	9,458	4,489	2,043	450	19
	Arkansas	10,000	10,012	4,818	2,336	595	6
	Florida	10,000	9,783	6,700	3,391	792	2
	AVERAGE of above	10,000	8,859	5,284	3,279	1,175	20
	Illinois	10,000	10,165	5,661	4,021	744	207
FREE.	Delaware	10,000	8,965	5,337	4,430	1,998	50
	Maryland	10,000	8,268	5,801	5,349	3,134	84
	United States	10,000	9,501	6,270	4,854	2,597	68

It is unfortunate for our purpose that the census includes in the same class slaves from ten to twenty-four years of age; nevertheless, a glance at the latter table will show a great excess of adults at the south-west, and, with exceptions rather apparent than real, a corresponding deficiency at the north-east. In regard to slaves between the ages of ten and thirty-six, the actual deviation from the average is as follows:—

EXCESS.		DEFICIENCY.	
Delaware	406	Virginia	16,523
Maryland	1,838	North Carolina	12,556
District of Columbia	1,171	Kentucky	6,189
South Carolina	6,357	Tennessee	5,709
Alabama	279	Missouri	186
Mississippi	4,597	Georgia	13
Louisiana	25,230		
Florida	1,185		41,176
Arkansas	113		
	41,176		

This immense disturbance of the natural state of the slave population could not have been produced by emigration. We do not pretend that it is the exact measure of the internal slave trade, it is far short of that. For, every child born in Louisiana, Mississippi, or South Carolina, of slaves brought into the state between 1820 and 1830, diminishes the excess; while, on the other hand, the removal from Maryland or Virginia of those who would have been parents there, in the same time, tends to hide the deficiency in those states. Indeed, if the slave trade be excessive, the consequent want of young children will make an apparent excess of adults in the slave-selling states, which ex-

plains the excess in Delaware and Maryland, states that have sold more slaves for their population than any others.

The slaves, though they increase a little faster than the whites in the slave states, do not increase so fast as the whites in the whole country. The ratio of increase is the ratio of deaths less the ratio of births. The ratio of children under ten must be nearly the same as the ratio of births. Now, there are 47,134 slave children under ten more than there should be by the ratio of white children of the same age to the whole white population. Consequently the ratio of deaths must be much greater than among the whites, to make that of increase less. And this, too, while the colored are so much more *long-lived* than the whites, that, of the free colored people in 1830, there were 655 over 100, while of the whites there were only 539.

Again, the waste of life is shown by comparing the slave population with what it would be by the ratio of the free colored, the number of children being given :—

	Under 10.	Of 10 and under 24.	Of 24 and under 36.	Of 36 and under 55.	Of 55 and under 100.	Over 100.
Ratio of free colored..	700,820	665,875	439,389	340,161	182,016	4,781
Actual slave population.	700,820	620,827	370,330	229,782	82,332	1,404
Deficiency.....		45,048	69,059	110,379	99,684	3,377

Total deficiency, 327,547. If the ratio of free colored adults is too high by all those who had bought their freedom, it is too low by all those who had been taken off by seafaring, a much larger number, as will appear by comparing the sexes of the free colored. We affirm, then, that this deficiency represents a mass of more than 300,000 human beings, who *were prematurely* WORN OUT *on the cotton and sugar plantations.*

By referring to the free colored population of the present slave states, it will be seen that there has been no considerable emancipation since 1810. The rate of increase from 1790 to 1800, was nearly 7 per cent. per annum; from 1800 to 1810, it was nearly 6 per cent.; from 1810 to 1820, it was little more than 2 per cent.; and from 1820 to 1830, it was 3 per cent.; but a trifle greater than the increase of the free white population during the same time.

By referring to the ratios of slaves to free whites, it will be seen that in the Carolinas and all the slave states west of the mountains, the slaves gained upon the whites. In South Carolina and Louisiana in 1830 there were more than 122 slaves to every 100 whites. The ratio of slaves to whites was greater still in particular districts of those and some other states. In the parish of Jefferson La. there were 4907 slaves to 1596 whites. In Charleston district, S. C., exclusive of the city, there were 46,548 to 7,976 whites; and in the parish of St. John's Colleton, 9,480 slaves to 532 whites, or about eighteen slaves to every individual white. In Georgia the slaves have increased rapidly, and exceed the whites in some of the counties, especially on the coast, but their relative number in the state was diminished by the large immigration of whites.

The census of 1830 shows a few slaves in the free states. In Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Indiana, there can be no slaves except those of sojourners from slave states. Massachusetts, then including Maine, abolished slavery by her *Bill of Rights*, in 1780; New Hampshire did the same by her constitution in 1792; and Vermont in 1793. The new states, made of the north-west territory, were prevented from holding slaves by the ordinance of Congress of 1787. In Illinois, however, slaves are held by indenture, who cannot be sold out of the state, nor in it, except by their own consent, and have the privilege of being flogged by a magistrate. The same is perhaps true of the slaves in Michigan. Pennsylvania made all the children born of slaves after 1780 free when they should arrive at the age of twenty-eight. A few of the old stock are yet in slavery, and some under twenty-eight, which seem to have been illegally increased since 1820 by accessions from slave states. New York enacted that those born of slaves after July 4th, 1799, should serve only till twenty-eight if males, and twenty-

five if females. Again she enacted that those born after 1817, should serve only till twenty-one; and in 1827, all the old stock, born before 1799, should be free at once. There may still be some of the servants under twenty-eight or twenty-one. Connecticut and Rhode Island made the children born after 1784 serve only till twenty-five. In New Jersey a similar Act began to take effect in 1804.

All the fearful effects of slavery, which are so clearly revealed by the census of 1830, are now going on upon a still larger scale. The production of cotton has doubled within the last ten years, and that of sugar has increased still faster. Every cent's advance in the price of either of these commodities, gives fresh impulse to the lash, which, even ten years ago, was sending to an untimely grave more than THIRTY THOUSAND HUMAN VICTIMS a year!

FACTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

Some years ago, a Baptist of Vermont was appointed a delegate to a number of Baptist associations. When he arrived in Philadelphia, he professed his intention to attend several of the associations in Virginia; and was especially anxious to comprehend the true character and operations of slavery. In that city he met with some brethren who understood the arcana of that hell-born contrivance; and by them he was warned not to be imposed upon by the external glitter, and the comfortable drapery of the menial attendants about the mansion-house, assumed during the meeting of the association, and then carefully laid aside for a similar festival; but he was enjoined privately to visit the "Negro Quarter," as the miserable huts of the coloured citizens are familiarly called. Thus adequately instructed, he proceeded on his journey.

About one-fourth of the time, which he had specified for his absence, had elapsed, when the Green Mountaineer was at the deacon's house in Philadelphia, and accounted for his speedy return by a statement to this effect. He had travelled on, gradually becoming more and more dissatisfied with the scenes which he daily witnessed, until he arrived about the Appomattox river, where he was received at the house of one of the slave-driving nabobs, on the evening prior to the meeting of the association. The next morning after breakfast, he proposed to take a walk, and by a circuitous route, unperceived, he obtained access to the "worn-out slaves." From them he speedily heard the heart-rending recital of their awful prison-house; the female violations, the unceasing stripes, the direful privations, and the frenzied despotism which were ever their inalienable portion. He also became acquainted with the audacious measures which were always adopted to impede among them all moral and religious instruction. About eleven the horn resounded, and "the working hands" returned from the field to breakfast. The hard corn dough, which a hog can scarcely masticate, and insipid hommony, which hunger itself almost rejects, were their only food; and time until sunset would not be allowed to swallow any more even of that unsavoury compost. The men corroborated, in full all the circumstances which the elder females had described; and the Vermont preacher retired from his coloured associates in the true *fanatical* humour which characterized the primitive puritans.

About one o'clock a number of ministers and delegates to the association having arrived, they were invited to a sumptuous dinner. The New-Englander was offered his choice of the whole; but his stomach was so *evangelically delicate*, that he could not eat. To all the apologies, entreaties, and apparent sympathies which encircled him, he finally ventured to make this homely reply: "My conscience will not permit me to partake of this food, while the people who work for it never taste a mouthful of necessary sustenance from one end of the year to the other. If I eat anything, it will be a plate of that hommony, or a slice of that corn bread, which the coloured people had for their breakfast." A bag of rattlesnakes let loose amongst them could not more have disturbed the men-stealers.

The test was decisive and complete. Immediately after he was admonished to go away the greatest distance possible that night, as, if he staid, he would surely be killed; and for his own safety, he was also advised not to attend any one of the Virginia associations. As the consequence, the Christian fled from the American Sodom and Gomorrha, to detail the facts to his brethren in Philadelphia.—*Bourne's Picture of Slavery.*

INTERNAL SLAVE TRADE.

[*From the New York American.*]

Mr. Editor—On looking into the National Intelligencer of the 10th February instant, I find that the House of Representatives has resolved that "Congress ought not to interfere *in any way* with slavery in the District of Columbia." Ayes 163, nays 47.

The same copy of the Intelligencer contains the following advertisements, viz.

CASH IN MARKET.

I wish to purchase a number of *servants* of *both* sexes, for which I will pay the highest market price. Persons wishing to sell, will do well to call at my residence near the National Hotel. Letters addressed to me through the Post-office shall receive the earliest attention.

WILLIAM H. WILLIAMS, Washington.

CASH FOR 200 NEGROES,

Including *both* sexes, from *twelve* to twenty-five years of age. Persons having servants to dispose of, will find it their interest to give me a call, as I will give higher prices than any other purchaser now in this MARKET. I can at all times be found at the Mechanics' Hall, kept by B. O. Sheckle, and formerly kept by Isaac Beers, Seventh street, a few doors below Lloyd's tavern, opposite Centre Market. All communications promptly attended to.

JAMES H. RICH, Washington City.

CASH FOR 500 NEGROES,

Including *both* sexes, from 12 to 25 years of age. Persons having servants to dispose of will find it to their interest to give us a call, as we will give higher prices in cash than any other purchaser who is now or may hereafter come into the MARKET.

FRANKLIN & ARMFIELD, Alexandria.

You may perhaps wonder, Mr. Editor, what gentlemen in the district of Columbia can want so many servants for. One advertises for an indefinite number—another for 200, and a third for 500! Please to take notice, that in two of these advertisements, reference is made to "THIS MARKET." The market alluded to is the district of Columbia, the SLAVE MARKET of the United States; and these gentlemen who want so many servants are SLAVE TRADERS. Of the value of this trade to the metropolis of the American Republic, you may form some idea by the amount paid by the traders for the privilege of carrying it on. I quote from the laws of the CITY OF WASHINGTON, page 249: "For a license to trade or traffic in slaves for profit, whether as agent or otherwise, *four hundred dollars.*" But you may perhaps wonder again, Mr. Editor, what these gentlemen traders do with all their servants. Let us again recur to the National Intelligencer of the 10th instant. We there find the following notice:

ALEXANDRIA AND NEW-ORLEANS PACKETS.

Brig *Tribune*, Samuel C. Brush, master, will sail as above on the first of January; brig *Isaac Franklin*, W. Smith, master, on the 15th of January; brig *Uncas*, Nath. Boush, master, on the 1st of February. They will continue to leave this port on the 1st and 15th of each month throughout the shipping season. They are all vessels of the first class, commanded by experienced and accommodating officers, will at all times go up the Mississippi by steam, and every exertion used to promote the interest of shippers and comfort of passengers. Shippers may prevent disappointment by having their bills of lading ready the day previous to sailing, as they will go promptly at the time.

Servants, that are intended to be shipped, will at any time be received for *safe keeping* at 25 cents per day.

JOHN ARMFIELD, Alexandria.

29th Dec. tf.

Here we have, Mr. Editor, THREE SLAVERS constantly engaged in the trade, and owned by one dealer. Would you know how these slavers are fitted up for the accommodation of *servants?* Mr. J. Leavit, of New-York, visited the brig Tribune, one of the above, in 1834, and published an account of his visit. He says, "The hold is appropriated to the slaves, and is divided into two apartments. The after-hold will carry about 80 women, and the other about 100 men. On either side were two platforms running the whole length, one raised a few inches, and the other about half way up to the deck. They were about five feet and a half or six feet deep. On them they lie as close as they can stow away."

DISCUSSION BETWEEN MR. GEORGE THOMPSON AND THE REV. R. J. BRECKINRIDGE.

An important and deeply interesting discussion on the subject of American slavery has recently taken place in Glasgow, between Mr. George Thompson, the intrepid and able champion of the negro race, and the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, an American Presbyterian minister. It was continued during five evenings, and has been reported in the Glasgow Chronicle and the Patriot newspapers. We understand that the whole will be published in a separate pamphlet, which we shall take the earliest opportunity of introducing to our readers. At present we have only space to express our admiration of the pre-eminent ability and entire self-command which Mr. Thompson displayed throughout the discussion, and to tender him our thanks for the large mass of valuable information with which he has supplied the public. Never was a cause more triumphantly defended, nor the sophistries and evasions of an acute and merciless opponent more completely exposed. It would afford us pleasure to be able to record our approbation of the spirit in which Mr. Breckinridge conducted his part of the discussion. But truth compels us to say, that we have been grieved and disgusted at the rancorous hostility towards his opponent, which his speeches betray. He evidently sought to destroy the public reputation of Mr. Thompson, rather than to exhibit the real character of American slavery. No opportunity was lost of aiming a mortal blow at the character of one whose intrepid, disinterested, and successful exertions, on behalf of suffering humanity, entitle him to the respect of every virtuous mind. It is humiliating to see a Christian minister, more especially one who appears amongst us as a representative of a highly respectable and religious body in America, so completely surrendered to the influence of a bad passion. Our own impression in reading the report of the discussion has been, that Mr. Breckinridge must have brought to this country feelings of deep mortification, arising from Mr. Thompson's successful exposure of the delusive and wicked nature of the colonization scheme; and that his spleen mastered his judgment, and vented itself in a manner discreditable to his character, both as a gentleman and a Christian. The result of the discussion may be inferred from the following extract from a note, addressed to Mr. Thompson, by one of the most respectable ministers in Scotland, who had been present during the debate: "My dear Sir,—How are you? Glad and grateful, I dare say. God has given you and your cause victory and triumph. Poor Breckinridge! what a crushed man!"

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BAPTIST UNION.

It is well known to the anti-slavery public that the Annual Meetings of the Baptist Union have been looked forward to for some months with a feeling of very deep and general interest. The conduct of the deputation recently appointed by that body to visit the Baptist churches in America having given rise to discussions which involved the consistency and character of the body itself, it was feared either that public principles would be abandoned, or that personal collisions of a most injurious and exceptionable kind would ensue. Happily, however, these evils have been entirely avoided, and a series of measures has been adopted which do full justice to the anti-slavery feeling of the Baptist body, and promise to accomplish extensive good amongst the sister churches of America. The attendance at the meetings of the *Union*

was more numerous than on any former occasion. Representatives were present from all parts of the country, and a deep and thrilling interest was universally felt in the topic which was expected to engage the attention of the brethren. The ministers and messengers met on Monday, Tuesday, and Friday, the 20th, 21st, and 24th of June, and the public meeting was held on the 22nd. Several hours were occupied each day in discussing the relation sustained by the body to the American churches, and the extent to which it involved the English Baptists in the guilt of the slave system, so inconsistently sanctioned by a large portion of their transatlantic brethren. A considerable number of the ministers and messengers urged an immediate termination of the correspondence into which the *Union* had entered with the American Baptists, but others who were equally decided in their abhorrence of slavery pleaded that the law of Christ had not yet been fully obeyed—that remonstrance, faithful, earnest, solemn remonstrance, should be tried; and that on the effect of such remonstrance must depend the steps which should be taken. It was contended by the deputation that the American Baptists had not refused to receive communications from the *Union* on the subject of slavery, but that they (the deputation) on their own responsibility had abstained from introducing the topic at Richmond. It was ultimately agreed to try the effect of a firm and earnest appeal, and to suspend future proceedings on the result. All parties united in reprobating an intercourse which involved the condition either implied or expressed, that the Baptist Union was not publicly to protest against the wickedness of slavery, and openly to give to the abolitionists of America the benefit of their countenance and support. This sentiment was expressed in the third resolution, which was adopted by the brethren with the clear understanding that, if the executive of the Convention should refuse to lay the communications of the *Union* before the body which it represented, or that if the Convention should return an answer inconsistent with the immutable principles of righteousness and the sentiments of Christian charity, all intercourse should cease with the slaveholding or slavery-sanctioning churches of America.* The resolution was as follows:

That the connexion with the Baptist churches in the United States contemplated by this Union, and actually resulting from its proceedings, consists wholly in the maintenance of a beneficial correspondence, having for its object the advantage of both parties, by an unfettered expression of opinion on all subjects connected with Christian consistency, the advancement of religion, and the glory of God.

As to the conduct of the deputation in America, different opinions were entertained. A large majority of the brethren deeply regretted that they had not identified themselves with the cause of abolition in that country by a public advocacy of its principles. No doubt, however, was entertained that they had acted conscientiously in the silence which they maintained, neither was an unkind or a disrespectful word addressed to them. All spoke their sentiments freely; and those who dissented from the propriety of their measures, and deemed them injurious to the anti-slavery cause, yet gave them credit for the honesty of their decision. The second resolution was designed to embody these sentiments:

That we affectionately congratulate our esteemed brethren, Drs. Cox and Hoby, on their appearance amongst us this day, and tender to Almighty God our grateful sense of his goodness in having preserved them during their absence, and in returning them safely to their native land. That we desire to record our conviction of the diligence, zeal, and ability with which they prosecuted the denominational objects of their mission, and to convey to them our warmest thanks for the valuable information which they have supplied on these points. That having sent our brethren to promote, amongst other objects, the sacred cause of negro emancipation, we rejoice to learn that they did on very many occasions convey to the ministers and churches of the Baptist body in America, our abhorrence of the slave system amongst them; but that with the full assurance of the integrity of our brethren in the course which they adopted on this subject, we regret that the state of society rendered it advisable in their judgment, in order to the attainment of the more

* Patriot, June 27. Baptist Mag. 319.

strictly denominational objects, to refrain from introducing it in public meetings, and to withhold from the Abolition Society their encouragement and support.

The fourth resolution does full justice to the consistency of the Baptist denomination, by expressing in no measured terms its condemnation of the slave system, as it is unhappily allied with and influences the churches of America.

That this meeting presents its Christian acknowledgments for the kindness shown to its Deputation by the churches in America—both those of other denominations and those of our own—especially those meeting in the Triennial Convention of Baptist churches. That it holds in high admiration their munificent and well-sustained exertions for the dissemination of the Gospel, and for the education of Christian ministers and missionaries; and most cordially rejoicing in the large bestowment of the Divine blessing upon their widely extended labours, it receives with pleasure the kind invitation to continued intercourse addressed to them by their transatlantic brethren.

That whilst this meeting records with gratitude to Almighty God the fact, that many hundred of Baptist pastors and churches have entered their solemn protest against slavery, yet it cannot but refer with deep regret to the wide and dreadful prevalence of the system in America, and cannot but regard the repeal of all such laws as do in any way enforce or protect it, as an object of the greatest importance, demanding the vigorous exertion of all Christian pastors and churches, and their earnest perseverance in the use of those means which wisdom and piety may suggest for the immediate and universal extinction of an evil so disgraceful to any people possessing the Word of God. With increased solicitude does this meeting press this painful subject, inasmuch as it appears, that even pastors and members of churches are the possessors of slaves, many of whom are their own brethren in the Lord,—thus themselves inflicting upon those who are united with them in the same ordinances of the Gospel; those cruel wrongs which are inseparable from a state of slavery, and incompatible with the maintenance of Christian fellowship.

That this meeting refers with regret to the deep-rooted prejudice which so extensively prevails in America, against free persons of colour, by which many and grievous injuries are inflicted upon them: amongst these, more especially does it refer to that law which is understood to prevail in one or more of the States, which prohibits any one from teaching "any person of colour, slave or free, to read or write,"—a law directly opposed to every feeling of humanity, and to every principle of the Gospel, it, therefore, entreats the ministers and churches of Christ, in whom is neither "Jew nor Greek, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free," to cast from them such ungenerous and unholy prejudice, and to put the enslaved people in possession of their social rights, in the seats of learning, the fellowship of citizens, and the sanctuaries of the Most High.

That this meeting refers with confidence to the great experiment of emancipation in the colonial dependencies of the British empire, from which have proceeded many and great benefits; and expresses its conviction, that whatever evils have arisen, have sprung, not from the liberty that has been given, but from the restrictions by which it was accompanied.

That this meeting, convinced of the paramount importance of the objects to which these Resolutions relate, most earnestly, most respectfully, most affectionately, and most solemnly requests that large and influential section of the Christian church, the Baptists in the United States of America, whose churches contain (it is computed) more than 600,000 members, and whose rise and progress from the days of Roger Williams display so much of the grace and power of the Redeemer—by their sense of equity, by their love of liberty, and by their hope of salvation, to rouse themselves to the great but plain duty of securing first the rights of their oppressed and degraded fellow-subjects, and then of withholding no effort from the general cause of humanity and freedom, until the jubilee of universal emancipation is proclaimed.

This resolution is to be forwarded to the executive of the triennial convention, accompanied by a letter from the committee of the Union. Its transit will be followed by many prayers; and we hope in some future number to have to record the proofs of its salutary influence. The Baptist denomination has now taken a position worthy of itself. As it was foremost in the struggle against West India slavery, so it has now set an example which other churches must imitate, or else incur the reproach of being indifferent to the interests of humanity, and the honor of the Christian name. May their zeal abound—may a holy emulation be enkindled, till the whole moral force of British Christians shall be directed against this monstrous form of wickedness, which, lurking in the very precincts of the church, extends over all its operations an enfeebling and paralysing influence.

RESOLUTIONS OF SEVERAL ASSOCIATED BODIES ON THE SUBJECT OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

At the Annual Meeting of the Congregational Union of Scotland, very numerously attended by ministers and members of the Congregational churches, and held in Argyle Square chapel, Edinburgh, on Thursday evening, the 5th May, 1836, the Rev. G. D. Cullen, of Leith, in the chair. After the ordinary business had been transacted, the following resolutions on the subject of American Slavery were moved by the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D.D., of Glasgow, seconded by the Rev. David Russell, D.D., of Dundee, and unanimously adopted:

1. That, as a meeting of the Congregational Union of Scotland, we are not to be considered, in regard to any sentiments we express, or any resolutions we adopt, as sustaining an official and representative character, or as assuming any kind or measure of authority, which would be at variance with the great distinguishing principle maintained by us, of the mutual independency of the churches of Christ; that, in the resolutions which follow, we speak for ourselves, whilst, at the same time, we have abundant ground for entertaining the most confident assurance, that they are in full accordance with the views, and wishes, and prayers of the great body of the brethren throughout the country with whom we are associated.

2. That, in the spirit of those Christian principles which are the foundation of our personal hopes, the elements of our spiritual life, and the charter of our New Covenant liberties, we look back, with devout thankfulness to the God of Providence, to the decision of our legislature, by which, after a long and arduous struggle, the slave trade was branded with the stigma, and condemned to the punishment, of felony; and, in the same spirit, we contemplate the more recent act, following up the abolition of that nefarious traffic, by which a final termination has been put to slavery itself throughout all the colonial dependencies of the British empire—an act by which a seemly and glorious consistency has been imparted to our character and institutions as a free people, and a dark cloud has been dispelled, which had long brooded over our beloved land, heavily charged with the vengeance of offended heaven.

3. That at the time when this act was passed—an act demanded alike by the claims of humanity, justice, religion, and sound policy—one, and not the least of the sources of our grateful joy was, the sanguine anticipation of the beneficial influence which might be exerted on the counsels and conduct of other people, by the example of a nation occupying, through divine favour, so exalted and commanding a position as our country does, amongst the governments, not of Europe only, but of the world—an influence of which our high estimate led us to cherish the delightfully cheering hope, that, at no distant period, "every yoke should be broken," and, in all lands, "the oppressed should go free."

4. That we cannot but regard with feelings of special interest our transatlantic brethren in the United States of America, congratulating them on their participation with ourselves, through the kindness of the same universal Ruler, in the precious blessings of a common freedom and a common Christianity; holding in admiration the amount of Christian liberality and Christian effort evinced by them, in the dissemination of the word of God, and of the education requisite for the use of it through every part of their own territory, as well as for the complete evangelization of the world; but that in proportion to the delight we have experienced in hearing of such triumphs of Christian principle amongst them, have been our astonishment and concern, that both their freedom and their religion should be so sadly tarnished by the incongruous association with them of slavery, to so vast an extent, in all its hideous forms of traffic and oppression, and in regard to millions of immortal fellow-creatures, dependent upon them; the systematic proscription by severe penal laws of all that instruction which might impart, to the victims of corporeal thraldom, the knowledge which enlightens and saves the soul, and the liberty wherewith Christ makes sinners free; and our wonder and sorrow are rendered the more intense by the information, that so many Christian men and Christian ministers stand chargeable with what we are constrained to denominate the sin of slave-holding and slave-dealing, in direct contravention, as we hold it to be, of those principles and precepts, which it is the very object of the Christian ministry to expound and inculcate, and of the Christian character to exemplify.

5. That "God having made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the whole earth"—and all, sprung from a common origin, having become partakers in a common guilt, the objects of a common redemption, we sincerely lament the extensive and deeply-rooted prevalence of a prejudice so unworthy the generosity of free-

men, and of the humility and dignity of Christians, as that against colour—a prejudice by which so many millions of fellow-men are placed under an unmerited and disgraceful opprobrium, are excluded from intercourse, are prevented from availing themselves of such advantages as might enable them to evince their fair average of intellectual endowment and moral capabilities; and so to assume the position in society to which they might thus establish their claim; and even, in many instances, doomed to retain the stigma of marked separation in those ordinances of Christian communion, where all distinctions ought to be merged in the common characters of fellow-sinners and fellow-saints.

6. That we cannot adopt, as the principle of our conduct, the spirit of the first murderer, "Am I my brother's keeper?"—but in the better spirit of that religion which associates in one holy and blessed fraternity "all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours," and which imperatively prohibits our "suffering sin upon our brethren," we feel it our incumbent duty to expostulate most affectionately, most respectfully, but most earnestly, with our transatlantic fellow-Christians, imploring them to lay to heart, in this matter, their duty to God the common Father, to Christ the common Saviour, to their kindred of the human family, and especially to those members of the redeemed family of God, who, with themselves, shall form a part of the "multitude which no man can number, out of all people, and kindreds, and nations, and tongues, that shall stand at last before the throne, and before the Lamb;" to rouse themselves from their lethargy, and, in the power of the principles of our common faith, with the largeness of heart which Christianity inspires, the regard to humanity and justice which the Royal law demands, and that practical consideration of the true interests of their country which a sound policy dictates, to unite their efforts and their prayers in breaking asunder the yoke, both of cruel bondage and of degrading prejudice—in rolling away the reproach that lies at once on their national and their Christian reputation—and so bringing down upon themselves, upon their churches, and upon their country, the blessing of Him who, in immediate connexion with such deeds of justice, and such "works of charity, and labours of love," and in token of his gracious approval of them when done for his name, has said—"Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily: and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be thy rearward."

7. That, in such way as may be deemed most expedient and efficient by the Committee of the Congregational Union, these resolutions be transmitted to our brethren of the Congregational churches in the United States of America, with assurances of our most cordial affection, and with earnest prayers that they may be received on their part in the same fraternal spirit in which, we are deeply conscious, they have been dictated on ours, and that, by the divine blessing, they may, in some small measure at least, contribute to the realization of the inexpressibly interesting and momentous objects to which they relate.

G. D. Cullen,
Chairman.
John Watson,
Secretary to the Union.

Resolutions on the subject of Negro Slavery in America, passed at the Association of Baptist Churches in the counties of York and Lancaster, held at Sutton in Craven, May 24 and 25, 1836.

Resolved unanimously,

1. That this Association, unfeignedly thankful to Almighty God for the love, the zeal, and the prosperity by which the Baptist churches in America have been so highly distinguished, offers to them its congratulations on this behalf, and fervently prays that their numbers may be multiplied, and their joy and comfort in the Holy Ghost increased.

2. That, nevertheless, it is with inexpressible sorrow we hear that negro slavery not only prevails amongst them, but is also advocated by some of their number; and that, even in the house and worship of God, a marked and invidious distinction is made between members of the same churches, merely on account of colour.

3. That as God has made all nations of "one blood," and is the "Father of the spirits of all flesh," it is our solemn and decided conviction, that the holding of property in the persons of immortal and responsible beings, is diametrically opposed alike to the spirit of Christianity, which is "love;" to its great law, which requires us "to do to others as we would they should do to us:" and to its unvarying tendency, which is to emancipate both body and soul.

4. That in particular, as Christ has redeemed all his people by his blood, has declared their equality as brethren, and prayed that they might be one, as He and his Father are one; we firmly believe, that all needless and degrading distinctions amongst them, especially in the exercises of religion, are as much opposed to his mind, as they are

unseemly in themselves, and injurious in their effects.

5. Therefore, though the subject doubtless involves many difficulties, which claim and engage our sympathies toward our American brethren, we do hereby, in the name of our common Lord and in the spirit of our common faith, call upon them most seriously to consider the subject, and to make every possible exertion to remove these deplorable evils; and thus to shake off an incumbrance which oppresses their energies, and to wipe away a stain which tarnishes their glory.

6. That the moderator forward copies of these resolutions for insertion in the Baptist Magazine, and in the Patriot newspaper, and likewise for publication in New York.

(Signed) J. D. Marsh, Moderator.

*** This Association is the largest in England, and comprises a union of sixty churches, containing nearly 6000 members.

At a Meeting of the Ministers of the Leicestershire Association of Baptist Churches, held at Leicester, June 13, 1836,

It was resolved,

1. That we have heard with extreme regret of the wide prevalency of slavery among the professed followers of the Redeemer in America, and especially those of the Baptist denomination; and that we feel we should be guilty of a breach of duty towards God, and of Christian sympathy towards our enslaved brethren, were we to refrain from recording our abhorrence of this sin.

2. That the unnatural antipathy and the invidious distinction which obtain in America towards persons of colour, whether free or enslaved, extending even to the house of God, and occasioning a disgraceful division at the table of our common Lord, indicates a deeply diseased social condition, while the disgusting influence of the system of slavery stands out in the most affecting light in the fact that ministers of the gospel, with the deacons and members of churches of Christ, can not only buy and sell their fellow-men, but dare lift up their voices in defence of this hideous enormity, with its long train of calamities and horrors.

3. That while the churches in America can tolerate the sin of slavery in their midst, we must receive with great suspicion the reports which reach us of their religious revivals, believing, as we do, that their conduct must repel, rather than attract, the Spirit of God, and that it has a fatal tendency to promote infidelity both in the church and in the world.

4. That nothing would afford us sincerer pleasure than to hear that the question of slavery was occupying the deliberate consideration of all professing Christians in America, whose hands are stained by it, and that the firm but affectionate remonstrances of the British churches was causing them to relax their hold of this inhuman system, while we unfeignedly regret that the deputation from Great Britain sent out by the Baptist Union should have retained silence on this subject; conduct which, in our opinion, no considerations of expediency or feelings of policy could justify.

5. That with these impressions we decline to extend the hand of fellowship to those societies in America calling themselves churches of Christ, while the abomination of slavery is cherished among them; and that we think it a violation of consistency to receive any deputation from these assemblies to the churches of Christ in Great Britain.

6. That these resolutions be printed in the "Patriot" newspaper, and that they be transmitted through the proper medium to the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society in America.

(Signed, at the request of the whole)
J. P. Mursell, Chairman.

At a Meeting of the ministers and representatives of the Baptist Churches of St. Mary's, St. Clement's, and Orford Hill, Norwich, and those of Lynn, Yarmouth, Dereham, Swaffham, Worsted, Aylsham, Neatishead, Ingham, Foulsham, and Cossey, in the county of Norfolk, held at St. Mary's, Norwich, on the 20th of June, 1836; the Rev. W. Brock in the chair:

Resolved,

1. That we feel ourselves called upon, by circumstances connected with the recent measures of the Baptist Union of London, emphatically to declare our solemn and deliberate conviction that the system of slavery is utterly and irreconcilably at variance with the religion of Christ; and, consequently, that all who profess and call themselves Christians, and yet continue to participate in that awful system, are maintaining a conduct just as opposite to the sacred dictates and the benign influences of the gospel, as is darkness to light.

2. That in this conviction, while on the one hand we remember with gratitude the distinguished part which our denomination has taken in the overthrow of slavery throughout the British dominions, we cannot but feel on the other hand the deepest sorrow and humiliation to learn from the official report of the American churches, that they have not only taken no clear and decided stand, as a religious body, against

the crying evils of American slavery, but that their "southern brethren are generally, both ministers and people, slave-holders." And that this fact is alleged by their General Board, in justification of their declining to listen to the affectionate and faithful remonstrance of our London ministers in December, 1833—because such interference would be regarded by their slaveholding brethren as an impeachment of their Christian character; and we are yet more grieved by their invidious and anti-Christian exclusion of all colored persons from communion with whites at the table of the Lord, and by consequence, from Christian fellowship generally.

3. That so long as such shall continue to be the position deliberately maintained by the American Baptists, in reference to slavery—such their avowed estimate of its relation to Christian character—and such their determination to submit to no remonstrances on the subject—so long shall we feel it to be our corresponding and imperious duty, sorrowfully but firmly, to decline any fraternal union with them, either by sending address or deputation to their body, or by giving to their deputation expected at our impending public meetings, any other reception than that dictated by Christian courtesy and English hospitality, accompanied, however, by affectionate expostulation, and by our fervent prayer that it may speedily please our Heavenly Father to show them "a more excellent way."

(Signed) William Brock, Chairman.

At a meeting of Baptist Churches forming the Suffolk and Norfolk Old Association, assembled at Clare, Suffolk, on the first Tuesday and Wednesday in June, 1836;

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1. That in common with many of our brethren in various parts of the kingdom we regard American Slavery as existing in the churches of our denomination with feelings of the deepest abhorrence, and consider the iniquitous traffic of man in his fellow-man alike incompatible with the eternal principles of righteousness and the benevolent spirit and precepts of our holy religion.

2. That we have blushed for human nature, but more for Christianity, when we have heard that members and pastors of American Baptist Churches hold their fellow-men and fellow-Christians in all the degradation of perpetual bondage, and (if we are rightly informed) refuse to hail them as "brethren beloved," even at the table of the Lord, disdaining to celebrate the Saviour's love with those who, though of sable skin, are equally with themselves the objects of redeeming mercy, and have the same right to share in all the privileges and sympathies of the communion of saints.

3. That as we are unwilling to be "partakers of other men's sins," we cannot desire any Union with the American Baptist Churches, unless they will listen to the remonstrances against this crying abomination, which Christian duty must elicit from British Baptists.

THE LOVE OF LIBERTY.

In Georgia, about three years ago, there lived a man, black but noble, a giant in strength, and in form an Apollo Belvidere, about thirty-five years of age, a slave, with a wife and four children, also slaves. The love of liberty burned irrepressibly in his bosom, and he determined to escape, and free his wife and children at all hazard. He had heard of Canada, as a place where the laws made every man free, and protected him in his freedom. But of its situation, or the road thither, or the geography of the intermediate country, he knew nothing. A Quaker who resided near him, being privy to his design, resolved to aid him in its accomplishment; and accordingly carried the slave and his family fifty miles in a wagon by night. In the day time they lay concealed in the woods, and on the second night the same man carried them fifty miles further. At the end of the second night, he told the black man that he could do no more for him, having already endangered both his life and property. He told the slave that he must not travel on the highway, nor attempt to cross a ferry, but, taking him by the hand, he committed him to God and the north star. This star he was to take as his guide, and it would lead him at length to the land of British freedom. The poor slave bade adieu to his benefactor, and, after skulking in the day and travelling by night, he at length came to an unexpected obstacle. It was a broad river (the Savannah), of whose existence he had not the least knowledge. But as nothing remained but to cross it, he tied his two young children on his back, and between swimming where it was deep, and wading where it was shallow, his two elder sons swimming by his side, he at length made out to reach the opposite bank; then returning, he brought over his wife in the same manner. In this way he passed undiscovered through the states of South and North Carolina and Virginia, crossed Pennsylvania without even knowing that it was the land of the Quakers; and finally, after six weeks of toil and hardship, he reached Buffalo. Here he placed his wife and children in the custody of a tribe of Indians in the neighbourhood, for the poor man will always be the poor man's

friend, and the oppressed will stand by the oppressed. The man proceeded to town, and, as he was passing through the streets, he attracted the notice of a colored barber, also a man of great bodily power. The barber stepped up to him, put his hand on his shoulder, and said, "I know you are a runaway slave, but never fear, I am your friend." The man confessed he was from Georgia, when the barber said, "Your master inquired about you to-day, in my shop, but do not fear, I have a friend who keeps a livery-stable, and will give us a carriage as soon as night comes, to carry your family beyond the reach of a master."

As the ferry-boat does not run across the Niagara river in the night, by day-break they were at the ferry-house, and rallied the ferryman to carry them to the Canada shore. They hastened to the boat, and just as they were about to let go, the master was seen, on his foaming horse, with pistol in hand, calling out to the ferryman to stop and set those people ashore, or he would blow his brains out. The stout barber, quick as thought, said to the ferryman, "If you don't put off this instant, I'll be the death of you." The ferryman, thus threatened on both sides, lifted up his hands, and cried, "The Lord have mercy on me! It seems I am to be killed any how; but if I do die, I will die doing right," and cut the rope.

The powerful current of the Niagara swept the boat rapidly into deep water, beyond the reach of tyranny. The workmen at work on the steam-boat Henry Clay, near by, almost involuntarily gave three cheers for liberty. As the boat darted into the deep and rapid stream, the people on the Canada side, who had seen the occurrence, cheered her course, and in a few moments the broad current was passed, and the man with his wife and children were all safe on British soil, protected by British laws!

PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOR.

The river Juniatta is crossed between M'Connelsburgh and Bedford. It is here a quiet stream meandering along at the foot of mountains 500 feet high, clothed with foliage, and presenting many a bold projection and many a romantic glen. A storm here suddenly burst upon us, and the rain fell in torrents. Our driver was in no hurry to proceed, and the delay afforded an opportunity for witnessing the injustice so often practised upon the blacks. A very respectable-looking, well dressed young woman had been waiting for the stage, and had paid her fare to go forward by it to the place of her residence. While we stood at the inn door, a gentleman, on examining his chaise, found it was out of repair, and thought it desirable to send forward his lady and two children in the stage, who accordingly got in. On hearing a plaintive entreaty, and a harsh, angry, repulsive reply, my attention was drawn to the coloured woman, who was earnest in imploring permission to go; when the following dialogue took place:—"I hope you will let me go, sir?" "I tell you, you can't." "But, sir, you have taken my money!" "Well, you can't go." "You have received my money, sir, and I think I ought to be permitted to go, as I want very much to get home to-night." "You can't go, I tell you; there is no room for you." "I think there is room, sir." "There's no room for you, and you shan't go."

Not a voice was heard during this altercation to plead for a poor unfriended girl, respectable and pleasing both in manners and person. I was astonished that the lady's intercession was not employed. Yet, perhaps, it was her prejudice, which the stage master consulted; or, perhaps, it was that of the lady's lord, who would not submit to the indignity of having his wife and children fellow-passengers with a coloured person. However that may have been, when the driver's preparations convinced me I could witness no more, I took the liberty to interpose, saying in reply to the last decision, "there is no room for you,"—"I think we can make room for the young woman: at all events *she shall have my place.*" Grieved as I felt at the thought of evils inflicted on this portion of my fellow-creatures, many of whom, too, are fellow-Christians, I could hardly forbear smiling at the dilemma into which the parties felt themselves so suddenly thrown! Stupid as the blacks are said to be, I can only say, the young woman very quickly, but with great propriety, availed herself of the opportunity, and the coach-door being open for my entrance, she got in. I had no intention to be left behind; and, therefore, immediately followed. The gentlemen standing round the coach seemed to be taken by surprise; it was doubtless a singular occurrence; but before their presence of mind returned, the driver was in sufficient self-possession to move off, and leave the discussion to those most concerned. I remarked two things when we had adjusted ourselves in the coach: first, there *was* room in the stage, as we had not after all the full complement of passengers. Moreover, the lady, who would not have interfered to prevent the young woman from being left behind, though, so far as I could see, she herself was the cause of it, was willing enough to let the good tempered girl have the trouble of nursing all the way, and of trying to please and keep quiet one of the children.—*Baptists in America.*

3

ANTI-SLAVERY CRISIS.

POLICY OF MINISTERS.

By Geo. Thompson

ANTI-SLAVERY CRISIS.

POLICY OF MINISTERS.

REPRINTED FROM THE ECLECTIC REVIEW, FOR APRIL, 1838.

WITH A POSTSCRIPT

ON THE

DEBATE AND DIVISION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ON THE 29TH AND 30TH OF MARCH.

LONDON:—WILLIAM BALL,

PATERNOSTER ROW;

W. OLIPHANT, EDINBURGH; G. GALLIE, GLASGOW; AND FINLAY, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

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ANTI-SLAVERY CRISIS.

1. *Jamaica under the Apprenticeship System.* By a Proprietor. London: Andrews, 167, New Bond-street. 1838.
2. *A Bill intituled an Act to amend the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in the* British *Colonies.*
3. *A Bill intituled an Act for putting an end to the Apprenticeship of those who were formerly Slaves in the* British *Colonies.* Presented by Lord Brougham and Vaux.

THE anti-slavery question has again reached a crisis. Every thing now depends, under God, upon the firmness and consistency with which those who conduct the present great effort maintain their principles and press their claims. All is within their reach. We cannot look abroad over the face of the country, and interrogate the countenances of men, without feeling a deep conviction of the irresistible moral strength of the anti-slavery party. There must, however, be no wavering; no compromise; no political expediency. Two bills are before the public. The one a cheat, a mockery, an unjust and impracticable measure. The other, a bill, for abolishing the apprenticeship on the 1st of August next. The former, must be rejected; the latter, supported and *carried.*

We have in former numbers condemned in unequivocal terms the policy of ministers upon the anti-slavery question, and recent events have afforded us no opportunity of changing the tone of our remarks. We are still constrained to censure, to condemn. They have not, in our opinion, discharged the sacred duties confided to them by the imperial act of abolition. The country has just ground of complaint against them; and, though, it might be difficult for the mere politician to bring himself to vote the administration guilty of culpable and criminal neglect, their delinquencies will not be the less obvious to those who have for years regarded the emancipation of the slaves as a religious object, and surrendered twenty millions of their money to appease the cravings of the tormentors of the species.

Without repeating our condemnation of the abolition act, let us inquire, what the country had a right to expect from the government charged with the execution of its provisions? The country had a right to expect the following things:—The reservation of the compensatory millions till the negro was free, or, at least, till laws *really* and not *professedly* adequate to the carrying out of the provisions of the imperial act were passed. The rigid examination of all colonial enactments, and the prompt and decisive rejection of such as were repugnant to the spirit of the English act. The judicious selection of men to fill the all-important stations of special justices, with such provisions and pro-

tections for them in the colonies, as would give them a chance of being able to do their duty. In the event of the death, removal, or dismissal of any special justice, the appointment of a man, in all respects, qualified to fill the vacancy. That in the event of a discovery of any gross abuse, the colonial secretary would go to the verge of his authority to correct it; and if then unable, come down to parliament for additional powers, or propose a bill to accomplish the object. That while well paid commissioners were sitting, to award millions of British money to a slave-holding oligarchy, men would be set apart to watch the progress of an experiment involving the freedom and happiness of the 800,000 negroes for whose special benefit the great measure of abolition had been passed. The scrupulous enforcement of the provisions of the imperial act, respecting registration and classification. The prevention of fraud and oppression in the appraisement of the unexpired term of the negro's apprenticeship. The interpretation according to its spirit and design of those portions of the imperial act, which refer to food, time, labour, and indulgencies. That the horrid rites of the treadmill; the flogging of women; the cutting off of their hair; and the foul practices of hospitals, would be put down as soon as known. That due care would be taken of the young, the aged, the infirm and the diseased; and, finally, that such steps should be taken as would have secured to the negroes during their apprenticeship the benefit of that preparatory education, the necessity of which was so loudly insisted on by the advocates of a transition state.

Have these just expectations been realized? We answer without hesitation, 'No.' The twenty millions were distributed while the eyes of the Government were wide open to the most direct and flagitious violations of the spirit and letter of the imperial act. In the case of Mauritius two millions of money were paid as compensation, when the fact was fully known to the government, that tens of thousands of the negroes in that island had been feloniously imported, were illegally held in bondage, and were entitled to unconditional freedom under the Slave Registration and the Consolidated Slave Trade Acts. To this hour, the negroes of Mauritius are deprived of the liberty to which they are entitled upon every principle of law and equity. With reference to the colonies at large, laws were declared 'adequate and satisfactory,' which placed the apprentice in a condition, in many respects, worse than his former state of slavery. The analysis of the laws of Jamaica before the Select Parliamentary Committee, the laws of the other chartered colonies, and the regulation of the Crown Colonies, abundantly demonstrate this. The selection of special justices, seems to have been regulated by a desire, that they should become the companions and servile tools of the masters, rather than the guardians of the rights of the apprentices. Half

pay officers, inured to flogging, and accustomed to enforce the sternest discipline, were, in the first instance, sent out in large numbers; and as these died off, or quitted their new service in disgust, the governors were permitted to fill their places with plantation managers, mercantile clerks, discharged wharfingers, and men of notoriously depraved habits. Such are the men who under the imperial act have been vested with almost despotic power to coerce the negroes of the colonies. So far from the prompt correction of abuses, we find the colonial secretary speaking of the eight hours' system, by which the negro is robbed of the time necessary to grow his provisions as an '*inconvenience*,' in which it was 'more wise' to '*acquiesce silently*,' than run the risk of widening the breach between the planters and the colonial office: and we have the written declaration of the Marquis of Sligo, that in 1836, he sent home, in one dispatch, a statement of thirty cases of the flogging of females, and that no attention was paid to his representions by the colonial office. If the efforts of the governor of Jamaica, to awaken the concern of the officers of the crown in this country, were thus unavailing, we need not feel surprised at the indifference with which the untitled and unofficial friends of the negro have been treated in Downing-street. The proofs are at hand to show, that, while the paid agents of the planters have found ready and courteous audience of the colonial minister, and have even been caressed and loaded with assurances of confidence and friendship, the disinterested advocates of the negro have either been coldly entertained, or rudely repulsed. Appearances have justified the belief, that there has been a collusion between the colonial office and the West Indians, and that the feeling of the country in favour of emancipation, has been taken advantage of, to enrich the pockets, without diminishing the power of the slave-holders, and the abolitionist used as a cat's-paw to pick the pockets of a generous people.

Had the liberty of the negro been effected, we might have been content to remain silent respecting the enormous sum of money transferred to the coffers of Planters, Proprietors, and Mortgagees; but, as the matter stands, justice to ourselves requires, that we state the object for which that money was voted, and that we claim the fulfilment, on the part of parliament, of that contract which has been so faithfully implemented by the people of this country. The money, then, was voted to purchase for ever from the planter, the right of oppressing his fellow-men, —to bestow upon the negro 'all the rights and privileges of a 'freeman.' It was paid that 'on the 1st of August, 1834, 'Slavery should be utterly and for ever abolished.' We quote the language of Lord Stanley, and the words of the Imperial Act. The money was placed at the disposal of the government, for the object stated, and one of our grounds of complaint is,

that instead of being used as a means to effect the end proposed, it has contributed to make the condition of the negro worse than it was before. We cannot but think, that had the money part of the business been wisely (we speak of worldly wisdom only, denying altogether the right of the master of slaves to compensation) managed either by the parliament or the government, the negro might have been placed in a condition the very opposite to that in which we now find him. But instead of requiring, in the first place, satisfactory proof of injury sustained; and, in the next place, the delivery in good condition of the thing purchased, the compensation was awarded without a shadow of loss being proved, and before the negro was free from the dominion of his master. It is difficult to account for the infatuation of Government in this matter. Though dealing with a class of men who, through many generations, had been over-reaching the British people, and taxing their pockets for the maintenance of an inhuman system, the trustees of the nation's wealth, paid down million after million, with an appearance of confidence seldom exhibited in pecuniary transactions with men of unimpeachable integrity. Instead of saying to the planters, 'If you will not 'follow the example of Antigua, but determine to have the ap-'prenticeship, be it so; but we will keep the compensation money 'as long as you keep the apprenticeship, and eventually award it only 'for such of your negroes as are living proofs of a kind and mer-'ciful treatment;' it was paid down with pitiful credulity and unseemly haste, before one tangible proof had been furnished of fulfilling even the conditions of the apprenticeship clause, and the wretched negro was left in the hands of his tyrant, to be worked, fettered, scourged, and polluted, through six long years of unrequited and involuntary service. Thus has the nation been deluded and defrauded. No part of the twenty millions has been given for the purposes of education and training—none to provide for the innocent and helpless children—none to succour the lame, and sightless, and strengthless amongst the negro population. No; the men, who with reckless prodigality distributed twenty millions amongst the magnificent white paupers of the Colonies, provided not a teacher for the ignorant, not a nurse for the infant, not a hospital for the diseased; gave not a pound or penny to feed the hungry, or clothe the naked, or rescue from starvation the fatherless or the widow. They passed by the poor, and gave to the rich. Our nation's treasure was given, not to make restitution to the plundered, but to compensate and gild the crimes of the plunderer.

If the language we have now used be deemed severe, we have only to refer to the work placed first at the head of this article, for the evidence of the justice of all that we have written.

We proceed to lay before our readers the testimony of one,

who is every way entitled to credit and respect. We are not now about to incur the charge of retailing the stale calumnies of Aldermanbury, or the ravings of fanatical missionaries. We are about to review the evidence deliberately and voluntarily furnished by the late Governor of the island of Jamaica.

'Jamaica under the Apprenticeship System;' by a Proprietor, is the work of the Marquis of Sligo, and contains, as we are told in the introduction, 'the result of the experience acquired during 'a residence of some duration in that island.' His Lordship has arranged his facts and observations under the following heads, viz. Administration of Justice; Grand and Petit Jurors; Gaols, Workhouses, &c.; Special Justices and their protection; Valuations; Hospital Abuses; Non-registration of Slaves; Opposition to Apprenticeship System by the House of Assembly; General Opposition to the New System; Working of the Apprenticeship System; Management of Estates.

We have met with no work on the system of Negro apprenticeship containing a more clear and temperate statement of facts, or furnishing more convincing evidence of the absolute necessity for abolishing the unnatural and cruel system called by that delusive name. We earnestly recommend it to the perusal of all who need an antidote to the sophistries and mis-statements of an insidious article in the January number of the Edinburgh Review, attributed to a gentleman filling a situation in the Colonial Office.

Several circumstances combine to invest the work before us with peculiar interest and importance. It is the production of a Nobleman and a Jamaica proprietor, who once filled the chair of the West India Association, and who cannot therefore be suspected of unfriendly feelings towards that body. It is the work of one who, having been the Governor of Jamaica for four months prior to the 1st of August, 1834, and for eighteen months subsequently, enjoyed unequalled opportunities of testing the value and practicability of the system of apprenticeship; and as a judicious and enlightened reformer of Colonial abuses, Lord Sligo ascertained to what extent it is possible to obtain the assistance of a Jamaica planting community, in originating and carrying on schemes of preparation for freedom. The work acquires additional value from the fact that, until very recently, its noble author was in favour of the continuance of the apprenticeship system under certain regulations.

The Marquis of Sligo commenced his administration of affairs upon the island of Jamaica, in the month of April, 1834.

'Considerable apprehension,' he says, 'was felt at that time, respecting the probable conduct of the negroes on the eventful 1st of August; a feeling, however, in which those who did not see how it could be the interest of the slaves to interfere with the progress of an enactment so manifestly for their benefit, did not participate.

Anticipations of a general massacre of the whites were entertained by many alarmists; and, among the great majority of the planters, a deep-seated, but indefinite fear prevailed extensively.'

The following passages are sufficient to refute a volume of the calumnies which have been heaped upon the heads of the negroes, and contain a volume of arguments in favour of their immediate and entire emancipation. It should not be forgotten that the negroes entertained the belief that the 1st of August would introduce them to a condition of *freedom*—with those limitations only, which had been pointed out to them. Their joy, therefore, is to be estimated not by their subsequent actual sufferings, but by their previous high anticipations.

'The memorable 1st of August at length arrived, and instead of being marked by the flowing of blood, insurrection, and disturbance, as anticipated, it was celebrated and made memorable, by the most extraordinary, nay, the almost universal, attendance of the negroes at the different places of worship. The chapels of which are of considerable size, were opened for Divine Service five or six times during the day, and were each time crowded, to an inconvenience in such a climate, by a succession of negroes, till all present had been enabled to offer up their expressions of gratitude to the Supreme Being for their newly acquired privileges. It is said, and generally believed, that *not a single drunken man appeared during the whole of that day in the streets of any of the principal towns.* On the subsequent days, more particularly that on which they were to return to their work, no cause for complaint was given, excepting in one instance. In the parish of St. Anne's alone, was there exhibited any disposition on the part of the negroes to secede from their usual labours.

'It is curious to remark, that such a spirit of insubordination should have occurred nowhere excepting in a parish in which the resident gentry had shown themselves previously to be the most opposed to the British views in Lord Mulgrave's time, and in which the 'Colonial Union' may be said to have originated.

'The terrors of the planters as to the conduct of the negroes having thus subsided, they postponed the period of their anticipated alarms till the Christmas holidays; but it appeared that in this respect they were again mistaken. The anniversary of the 1st of August was next fixed upon as the time of danger; subsequent events have shown how completely deceived in their calculations were these gentlemen, who silenced all who differed in opinion with them by saying, 'We, who have been so long in the island, must know its state better than you, who have so lately reached it;—you don't know the character of the negroes.'

Under the head of 'Administration of Justice,' Lord Sligo has laid bare the imperfections and iniquities of the existing system of jurisprudence, and demonstrated the necessity of a thorough change in the constitution of the local courts. He strikingly

illustrates the gross partiality of the laws, and observes that where the laws profess to be equal in their application,

'*The spirit in which they are administered in* Jamaica gives them a totally different character:—the truth is, that there are no sympathies between the two classes—the magistrates, and those on whose conduct they have to adjudicate: and that, without imputing any corrupt motives to the one, the result is most unfavourable to the other.'

In proof of the truth of this assertion, he puts on record the following fact.

'In the act to establish regulations for the government of gaols and houses of correction, an especial clause was inserted to prevent the apprentice being exempted from the operation of any part of that law which equally affected all free people. No objection was taken to this clause when the bill was enacted, as nothing could be fairer on principle, or more beneficial in practice, if impartially administered. But how has it worked? Whether from no white or free people having committed any offence since it was passed, or from this generally received opinion, of which I especially complain, that it could not have been intended for them—not one person of that class has been placed on the treadmill, or in the penal gang, with the exception of policemen under sentence of a court-martial, or those sent there by the judge of assize. None have been committed by the local magistracy. This being the effect, it is a matter of utter indifference whether the cause be corruption, ignorance, or prejudice; the effect ought not to be permitted to exist; and it is for this very reason that it becomes so desirable that no additional power should be given to the magistrates, either individually or in a court of quarter-session assembled, until that body shall have been found to consist of persons brought up under a different system.'

On the subject of the Grand and Petit Juries we find the following remark.

'Without accusing the gentry, who generally form those bodies, of any intentional opposition to the law, there is no doubt that if any individual, professing opinions not in unison with their own, goes into a court of justice for relief, the chances against his success would greatly preponderate. In this belief, there are few of the gentlemen of the island who do not participate; but there is not one who would not *anticipate with certainty* a verdict, even in a doubtful case, in favour of those whose political sentiments coincided with their own.'

The following cases show the extent to which party-feeling and prejudice against the coloured population prevail in Jamaica.

'In the case of the indictment of the magistrates and supervisor of the workhouse of St. John's, (for a series of the grossest cruelties committed upon male and female apprentices,) it was proved that the grand jury of Middlesex threw out the bills without examining all the witnesses who were tendered to them for the prosecution; they might have been justified in finding the bills on the evidence of *one* witness; but

surely they ought by no means to have ignored them without a close examination of *every* witness who could possibly have proved the facts alleged. It is somewhat singular, that money to any amount would have been wagered, on the day of the opening of the Supreme Court, that these bills would not be found; but there was so little difference of opinion on that point, that not a single bet was actually taken up.

'Phillips, the driver of St. Andrew's workhouse, was tried and found guilty of flogging a woman, Jane Henry, because she would not submit to his desires; it was then proved that this species of debauchery and punishment of females was of frequent occurrence. Yet the supervisor, who ought to have known the fact,—*who must have known of it*, —was kept in his office, as before, *and the custos even persuaded the parish to pay the expenses of his defence.* It might naturally have been supposed that the man would have been dismissed at once; and he would have been so, had not the custos and magistrates approved of his conduct.'

Speaking of the liabilities of the apprentices, Lord Sligo remarks:—

'An overseer, a book-keeper, a policeman, an estate constable, or even any idler riding out for amusement, sees a black man walking along the road with a bundle, or, what is most frequent, a basket of provisions on his head;—he stops him, questions him—and if the man does not give an explanation *satisfactory* to the inquirer,—if the negro does not succeed in giving *what he considers* to be sufficient explanation, —he takes him up, *for which he is entitled to a certain premium*, and brings him generally before the nearest *local* magistrate for examination; and in order to get the reward to which he is entitled for apprehending a runaway, urges the man's committal to the workhouse. The man, generally, has not the means at hand of proving to the magistrate who and what he is; and that officer, naturally not wishing to let a runaway escape, commits him on suspicion. As soon as he reaches the workhouse, *he is at once chained to some other* fellow-prisoner by a collar round his neck, and he is *sent out, in* the penal, or chain gang, to clean the streets of the town, or do any other work, in which the parish penal gang happens to be employed. He is then, as the law directs, advertised for four successive weeks in the Colonial papers, for the purpose of being claimed; and, during all that time, works for the benefit of the parish, and perhaps at the end turns out to be a free person. In that case, he has undergone an unjust and severe punishment.'

Under the head of 'Gaols, Workhouses, &c.,' we are brought acquainted with scenes of the most revolting character. The whole West India system seems to have been invented for the purpose of torturing and polluting the black population. It is difficult to imagine what would be the state of things in Jamaica, were the whites permitted for a few years only to pursue unchecked their process of contamination.

'*Young girls, of premature age, and probably of excellent character, sent in on suspicion, or for some trifling indolence, or for turning out late*

to work, are seen working in chains in these penal gangs, cleaning the streets. Thus any germ of modesty they might possess is destroyed. One of these girls is probably chained to a thief, or woman of infamous character; if she has been heretofore pure in her conduct, the chances are strongly in favour of her being corrupted by the vices of her companions. Once seen amongst the criminals in the streets, disgrace attaches to her name, though she has really been guilty of no offence, except one of the most trifling nature, proceeding from the carelessness of youth; and yet, for this cause, *she is made to associate with all the vilest criminals* of the chain gang. The strongest representations were made by the Governor to the different Custodes, informing them that he had been directed by the Secretary for the Colonies to call their attention to this circumstance, in the hope that they would except young females, of the above description, from this disgraceful punishment; *but it has never been asserted, that, in a single instance, the practice was in consequence abandoned.*'

'The custom of *cutting off the hair* of all female apprentices, has been lately adopted in these establishments, on the plea of health and cleanliness. During the time of slavery, when it was more the interest of the proprietor to take care of these people, than it is at present, it never was done; this, therefore, cannot be looked upon in any other light than *as a contrivance to make up for the other annoyances, which, owing to the Abolition Law, it is no* longer in their power to inflict on their apprentices. It is well known, that the hair of the negro is a close woolly oily substance, in no way resembling the hair of a white person. Cutting it off is a serious injury, *as it deprives the brain of its natural protection under a tropical sun.*'

'We now come to the worst feature of the workhouse system,—the most palpable and barefaced violation of the Abolition law; namely, *the flogging of females* within the walls of those establishments. The extent to which this was carried, and the number of cases which were discovered, and reported, by the Governor, in messages to the House of Assembly, were perfectly astonishing. No notice was, however, taken of them by that body, except appointing a committee to inquire into the truth of the statements. No remedy was even suggested. There cannot be the slightest doubt but that this abuse prevailed in every workhouse in Jamaica. *So large a proportion of the black population passes through these receptacles, that the moral effect of the process becomes an object of the highest importance.*'

Sickness in the West Indies is treated as a crime. The unfortunate creatures who are visited from God with painful and protracted diseases, instead of care and kindness, and the application of restoratives, and the privilege of repose and freedom from mental inquietude, are regarded as offenders of the worst class, and made to endure the added infliction of insult, imprisonment, separation from their relatives, and even coercion and starvation. We regret we have not room for the entire chapter under the head of 'Hospital Abuses.' The following extracts will however reveal scenes of atrocious cruelty which we cannot doubt will draw down

upon the diabolical system of which they form a part, the destructive lightning of British indignation.

'Into these generally small buildings, males and females, lunatics, aged people, and those with contagious diseases, are all huddled together. There is generally no second room, or any other conveniency, such as health or even decency requires, for the diurnal necessities of its inmates. These poor creatures all sleep on a guard bed, which extends along one side of the room, without any bed-clothes whatever, though the land breeze is piercingly cold at night, and the blacks are peculiarly sensitive to its effects. To add to the misery of the place, the doors are generally kept locked,—always said to be so by the doctor's directions, in order to prevent its occupants from injuring their health by walking about. They are often kept thus locked up the whole of the twenty-four hours, with the exception of half an hour each morning and evening, when the doors are opened in order to allow the patients to receive from their friends their own provisions. There is much reason to fear that this species of confinement is frequently ordered, for the purpose of annoying and persecuting the poor unfortunate apprentices. The stocks are had recourse to, in addition, for the same purpose; people with sore legs are often placed in them, in order, as alleged, to prevent them from walking; when it must strike every person, that inflammation is much more likely to ensue, if the diseased limb is placed between thick boards, than if the individual were allowed to walk about the hospital room at his own discretion.

'In the case of Parsons, the overseer on the estate of Mr. Richard Barrett, it was proved that a poor woman, whose death was the subject of examination, was found by the magistrate, who made the discovery, lying on a heap of filth, occasioned by her own illness, which had never been removed since she was placed in a perfectly helpless state in that bed; also, that *her own daughter had sat for hours at the door, imploring in vain for permission to be locked in with her mother, in order to attend and clean her!!!*'

'On the exertions of Special Justices,' remarks Lord Sligo, '*depends the whole success* of the apprenticeship system.' Let us then see to what extent these '*exertions*' are likely to be put forth, and with what chance of 'success.'

'During the two first years of the apprenticeship, more than twenty Special Justices fell victims to the climate and to their own exertions, and many more resigned, from finding that the emolument was not sufficient for their support; or sickened by the opposition they met with from the planters; or in consequence of their bodily strength being unequal to the severe labour imposed on them.'

The salary given to a Special Justice, is, in the opinion of Lord Sligo, quite 'insufficient to meet his necessities.' Instead of £300 a year, the sum at first allowed, or even £450, the present salary, 'it ought not to be less than £700 a year.' Owing to the expenses inevitable on first landing in the West Indies, he

'Becomes embarrassed at the outset, and is obliged to pay a portion of his salary for the liquidation of his debt. If he has the misfortune, not uncommon, of losing one of his horses when on duty, he gets into difficulty still farther; and unless he has a private fortune, with which his expense as a Special Justice has nothing to do, he cannot long maintain his independence. The stipendiaries are compelled on this account, as well as in consequence of the scarcity of inns, to have recourse to the hospitality, so proverbial in Jamaica, of the planters, *and then it is difficult for him to do his duty honestly in a house where he has been received with kindness.*'

After describing the manner in which the magistrates are deprived of 8½ per cent. on their salaries, by the method adopted, of paying them through the Commissary, Lord Sligo adds:

'In addition to these various hardships, the manner in which they are regarded by the planters is another very serious cause of annoyance. Unless a magistrate be a notorious partizan of the planter, nothing is too bad for him: whereas, for those who are what are called 'Busha 'Magistrates,' that is, under the influence of the overseers, nothing is too good. Two magistrates have been dismissed, both of them accused of an improper administration of the Abolition Law: for both of these a subscription was immediately and liberally entered into: to one a present of plate was made, and the other received the amount of the subscription in money.'

His lordship proceeds to detail, at considerable length, a number of cases of flagrant injustice in the part of planters towards the more honest and humane among the stipendiary magistracy, amounting together to undeniable proof of the perfect impotency of the latter body, in the prevention of fraud and cruelty upon the negroes. The only good they can accomplish, being of a negative kind, when they refuse to gratify the malice or cupidity of the master, by inflicting the lash upon the bodies of their victims, or sentencing them to extra labour for the profit of the estate. Our readers must be contented with one specimen of the malignant and combined resistance offered to those who seek to discharge the duties of their responsible office.

'Another instance of persecution of the Special Justices which it will be necessary particularly to advert to, happened to fall to the lot of Mr. Baynes. From the time that he took an active part in trying to punish those gross and cruel violations of the law, which took place in the workhouse of the parish of St John's, it was determined that all means of annoyance should be put in force against him. His wife had been recently confined. His persecutors commenced their operations with the wet-nurse, who was an apprentice. Though earning excellent wages in his service, much to the advantage of the probably absentee owner, who knew nothing of the affair, she was suddenly withdrawn from his house. He was, in a similar manner, deprived of the services of his other servants, who were all of the same class. Finally, he was,

by a general concerted plan, *refused a residence in the parish,* and is now actually compelled in consequence to live at a much greater expense, at great inconvenience to himself, and with great injury to the negroes, at Spanish Town, some miles away from his district.'

We have before us 'copies or extracts of correspondence between Lord Glenelg and Lord Sligo relative to the above case, in which Lord Sligo speaks of it as 'a part of a *systematic* attempt 'to resist the authority of the special justices, which had been 'brought into full play in the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale.' In the same despatch he speaks of '*one continuous system of opposition* to the efforts of special justices.' In the same parliamentary paper, we find a formal 'presentment of the grand inquest of 'the county of Middlesex,' Jamaica, in which the conduct of Mr. Baynes is denounced as 'a general nuisance!' And yet, 'on 'the exertions of Special Justices, depends the *whole success* of 'the apprenticeship system!!'

Before we dismiss that part of the subject which has reference to the obstructions multiplied in the way of all who undertake to redress the grievances of the apprentice, we must notice an extraordinary circumstance mentioned by Lord Sligo. It appears that nineteen apprentices belonging to a planter of the name of Giles, in the parish of St. Thomas in the Vale,

'Came unexpectedly in a body to Spanish Town, twenty-one miles from their master's property, for the purpose of seeking protection against their master for several injuries received, and of having him bound over to keep the peace.'

They sought the advice of a humane solicitor in that town, of the name of Harvey.

'Affidavits were immediately taken, which disclosed circumstances of a serious nature on the part of Mr. G., as well as matter for numerous actions against him for injuries to his people and their stock. All that the solicitor could do, was to allay their fears, andprevent future injury by binding their master in sureties of peace. In this an unavoidable delay of five days was incurred by the refusal of the judges to interfere. A new commission to a magistrate was issued; whereupon the oaths were administered Mr. G. was ultimately bound over, and the people returned to their work.'

'By way of retaliation for this interference, proceedings against Mr. Harvey 'for harbouring' were issued before four local magistrates of the parish of St. Catherine, and he was fined 199*l.* 10*s.*'

His lordship's description of the Jamaica House of Assembly is highly instructive.

'The House of Assembly consists for the most part of men who have passed their lives surrounded by slavery, and have accumulated, under its influence, large fortunes from small beginnings.

Let the whole of the proceeedings of the Assembly, since the 1st

of August, 1834, be closely examined, and it will be seen, that in no one instance has that body passed an act in furtherance of the measure of abolition, until *compelled.*

'The assembly refused to contribute, by any local enactment, to prevent *the flogging of females* in the workhouses, and the cutting off their hair for purposes of annoyance. They, also, refused to pass the renewal of the first act in aid, in the original form, until their contumacy was punished by that law being passed in the imperial parliament.'

The following extract will show the amount of credit to be attached to the representations sent from the Assembly of Jamaica to this country.

'The incautiousness of the people of Jamaica, in hazarding the most hardy assertions, and thinking that they will be received as proof, has been remarked before. Instances of the gross mistakes they have thereby made have been given. What, however, must the House of Assembly think of that passage in their statement to Lord Glenelg, (Evidence, pages 302 and 303) wherein they say, 'That *the House repudiates in the strongest terms they can find, the accusation, that whipping of females is practised in Jamaica?*' How can they reconcile that part of their representation with the Report of Mr. Buxton's Committee, wherein it is specifically stated, that many instances of this practice had been discovered by Lord Sligo?* They admitted its occurrence in only two instances, though *proofs on oath, of more than forty, had been transmitted home by his lordship to Lord Glenelg, and* COPIES SENT TO THEM. It would seem, as if they had, by a kind of voluntary self-delusion, persuaded themselves of the truth of their own assertions, and therefore refused to apply any remedy. At all events, *no remedy was applied.*

'Instead of the good opinion of the negroes having been conciliated, and their dislike of their masters, whom they look on as oppressors, having been diminished, a feeling of mutual distrust appears to gain force daily.'

Lord Sligo, in his concluding remarks, states the following objection to the immediate abolition of the present system in Jamaica. We notice it, because we have heard it frequently urged by others. Lord Sligo, we are happy to know, has abandoned it.

'The anti-slavery party, who find that the law has been much abused, and that the humane intentions of the original promoters of this most benevolent measure have been defeated, cry out loudly for an immediate abolition of the apprenticeship. But it appears doubtful, if such a measure would in the end be advantageous to the negro. The success of immediate and total abolition in Antigua, has been quoted as

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* One instance has recently occurred in Spanish Town, and two in the workhouse of the parish of St. David.

an argument in its favour; but the cases are not parallel Jamaica has thousands of acres of waste and unclaimed land, and every acre which is not actually kept in tillage, is soon covered with bush impenetrable to all except the negroes. Into these places, where food can be procured at the least possible expenditure of labour; where, as has been proved before the House of Lords, a man can provide a year's food for a reasonable family by twelve days' labour at his plantain ground, —where from the heat of climate no more clothes are necessary than what are required by decency—where the quantity of unclaimed wood, and of the thatch palm, enables the negro to erect a comfortable hut in a few hours,—into these places will he probably retire, and there lazily pass his life, never issuing from his recess until the want of some luxuries may lead him to bring produce to market, or, perhaps if the market is overstocked, may induce him to labour for a few hours. Under these circumstances no continued labour is to be expected from him. How is the case in Antigua? It is a small island, every acre of which is well known; in which it is said that there exists not a single spring of fresh water, and where the provisions are all imported; where there is no resource but work, with the produce of which the negro goes to market and purchases his daily bread. There the immediate emancipation was a wise measure; but *in Jamaica more time is required to prepare the minds of the negroes for freedom.*'

Let us see what this argument is worth. In the first place, not a tittle of proof is offered that the negroes, if set free from apprenticeship, would betake themselves to the 'waste and unclaimed lands of Jamaica.' The fact is assumed without the slightest warrant. Secondly, it is not unreasonable to believe that, if they do not run away from apprenticeship, with its mockery of their hopes—its unpaid labour—its treadmills, and its thousand other horrors, they would not run away from liberty, with its wages, and privileges, and thousand blessings. Thirdly, if there be already a disposition to flee to the woods, to secure exemption from labour and oppression, and they are only restrained by the vigilance of their task masters, and the terrors of the law, that disposition is likely to be fostered and strengthened by the continuance and multiplication of their wrongs through two additional years. Fourthly, the argument, if it proves any thing, proves a great deal too much. If they would run away now, they would run away equally in 1840; and it will be necessary, therefore, to prepare to hedge them about by some new system of vassalage and vagrant laws, to prevent in 1840 what is dreaded in 1838. But admitting the force of the objection, we would ask if the negro is to be kept under a system so rigorous and inhuman as that which we have been contemplating, for no other reason than to secure to his tormentor the benefit of his uncompensated labour? Shall the man, from whose fierceness and fraud the negro waits the opportunity to flee, turn round upon us and say, 'You shall not redeem your pledge to the

'negro; you shall not have the thing you have paid for; you shall 'not vindicate the honour and sacredness of British law; you shall 'not stay the march of avarice, and lust, and murder, because, by 'so doing, *you may deprive me of my labouring hands*'? If there be ought of mercy in British bosoms, or any self-respect remaining with those who have paid twenty millions of money, we shall no longer be prevented from fulfilling the claims of man, and obeying the laws of God, by being told that 'the interests of the planters' demand the continuance of the system. Rather let the cane-piece cease to bloom, and the verdure of the cotton-tree perish, and our country cease its commerce with the western isles, than that we should grind the faces of the poor, and practise daily a system of wholesale fraud, and invoke the judgments of Him who hath said, 'Vengeance is mine: I will repay, saith the Lord!'

If we would nurture the population of the Antilles into free, happy, and loyal communities, we must adopt another and a better system. They must not be kept as nurseries for young noblemen, or to furnish graves for our brave soldiers, or markets for slaves, or even as countries governed for the special benefit of merchants and planters to emigrate to, and after growing suddenly rich, to return from, leaving the active and permanent inhabitants stationary in wealth, civilization, and political importance. We must ally them by affection and respect; by extending to them equal rights, and the protection of British law, righteously administered. We must win them, and keep them, and regenerate them by acts of benevolence and piety; or we shall not be long without examples of discontent and rebellion, and successful resistance to our authority; nor will it be one colony alone that we shall lose. The lesson practised in one province will not be thrown away upon others; and we may be doomed to pay the forfeit of our richest and loveliest dependencies to a heartless and cruel policy.

But we are told, 'In Jamaica *more time is required* to prepare 'the minds of the negroes for freedom.' We turn to Lord Sligo's book, and we ask if that system can prepare the negroes for freedom, which is fraught only with the seeds of demoralization and death? Whether that is a state of preparation, in which 'the feeling of mutual distrust appears to gain force 'daily;'—in which the negro is doomed to hear himself 'cursed, 'and called 'a damned black rascal, on all occasions;'—in which 'all sense of morality and decency is outraged in the persons of 'his wife and daughters;'—in which there is a systematic 'endea-'vour to diminish the natural and legitimate influence of those 'excellent men the missionaries;'—in which honest and virtuous men and women are sent to places of confinement and labour, where 'scenes of debauchery are of frequent occurrence;'—in which 'so large a portion of the black population pass through

'those loathsome receptacles of crime and cruelty, the gaols and 'workhouses, that the *moral effect* becomes of the highest impor-'tance;'—in which daughters implore in vain permission to discharge the claims of filial affection towards diseased and dying mothers;—in which 'young girls of premature age are, on *sus-'picion of indolence*, chained to thieves and prostitutes,' to the destruction 'of any germ of modesty they may possess.' But we forbear. The interests of humanity and religion, not less than the dictates of justice, demand the extirpation of a system which has for four years legalized, under the name of *apprenticeship*, the abominations which were once execrated under the true name of *slavery*. We commend Lord Sligo's pamphlet to the serious examination of all who seek for authentic information on the momentous question which now agitates the country.

We proceed to notice, very briefly, the Bill of the Colonial Secretary now before the House of Lords. It is not with that bill as an *abstract theory* that we have to do, but as a *practical* measure, intended for a certain latitude, and for certain parties. In estimating its worth, we must be guided by the experience of the past, and our knowledge of the present character and capabilities of those to whom it is proposed to confide it. It is intended, like many previous measures, to benefit the negro. It is a bill to *amend* the abolition act of 1833—to secure to the apprenticed population of the colonies the liberty, exemptions, allowances, privileges, indulgences, and protection to which they are entitled under the Imperial Act. Where is the proof that the present bill will share a better fate than its predecessors! Is it likely to prove more acceptable to the irritable and contumacious despots of the colonies than former bills? Are its features so bland and captivating, that it is certain to find ready access to the confidence and co-operation of those, who have treated every former measure with insult, opposition, and defiance? Does not the bill itself involve the heaviest charges of criminality and incapacity, against the planters, and against official functionaries? Is it more likely to give satisfaction than the resolutions of Mr. Canning, or the act it seeks to amend, which was recommended to their favourable consideration by twenty millions of money?

But we may be told, that the planters are not to be consulted—that the bill will depend for its efficiency, not upon the disposition of the masters and overseers, but upon the wisdom, firmness, and strict impartiality of the governors, and the vigilance, integrity, and independence of the Special Magistrates. Admirable safeguards of the rights and liberties of eight hundred thousand British subjects! The Governors of West India Colonies, with some honourable exceptions, have felt compelled to compound for peace and popularity, by yielding to the wishes

of the community around them; and in those instances where they have, with decision and true British feeling, sought to do their duty, they have been driven home defeated and disgusted. If we have no confidence in the ability of governors to carry into effect palliative measures, neither have we any hope that special justices will be competent to effect such an object. When we look at the general character of these men—at their previous professions, their almost necessary dependence upon the planters, their inevitable partiality, their habitual harshness, their general subserviency, at the constitution of their courts, and the obligation which their brief continuance in office imposes upon them to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, we tremble for the fate of those who have no better shield from persecution and arbitrary power, than the pity and prerogative of the stipendiary justice.

What has been the experience of such of the Special Justices as have made an honest attempt to do their duty? They have been discouraged by the frown of men in similar situations; they have looked in vain for the support of the executive; they have found a want of sympathy, and a still greater want of energy, in the Home Government; they have been covered with the slanders of a polluted and venal press; they have been called to endure privation, proscription, and insult; the presentments of grand juries, threats of personal injury, expensive actions, removals, suspensions, and dismissals. Is there a better lot in reserve for those who shall undertake to carry the *amendment* act of Lord Glenelg into execution? No. An act of entire freedom would, we believe, be less obnoxious than the bill before Parliament. Should it ever go out to the Colonies, the planters will either contrive to render it null and void by regulations and laws of their own, or bear down by persecution, or win over by bribery, those who are entrusted with its execution. But granting to the magistrates, and umpires, and inspectors the power to save the negro from gross outrage and fraud, is it not obviously beyond the power of the most keen-sighted and upright amongst them, to save the negro from those daily insults and acts of petty injustice, which are amply sufficient to render their victim unutterably miserable? Will not the negro be constantly reminded, that he is still the slave of the vile passions of a man from whose proud dominion it would be a crime to flee, and from whose systematic tyranny their is no appeal? Every hour the eye of heaven would be called to witness ten thousand acts of oppression, unpunished, and unknown on earth, save to the perpetrators and the sufferers. One fact will illustrate this. Lord Sligo was, for upwards of twelve months, ignorant of the daily practice of flogging females in the house of correction at Spanish Town, (the seat of the executive government) though the building in which those enormities were

committed was within three hundred yards of the Governor's residence.

We denounce the bill, not only because we believe it to be utterly impracticable—a mockery of the negroes' hopes—but because it seeks to regulate a system essentially and incurably unjust. The West India system is an outrage upon the rights of mankind; a high-handed violation of all the precepts of Christianity; a gigantic robbery upon the industry of the poor; a wicked denial of the blessings of the British Constitution to unoffending, loyal, and grateful subjects. And shall such a system—all attempts to modify or mitigate which have been worse than useless—shall such a system again be made the subject of experiment? Shall another attempt be made to change the spots of the leopard, and teach those to do good who have been ever accustomed to do evil? Yet such an attempt is proposed in the bill of Lord Glenelg. He recommends palliatives which can never execute themselves. There is but one measure that can carry with it from this country an executory principle—a measure proclaiming the negro free to change his master; a measure annihilating, at once and for ever, the unrighteous dominion of the white man over the black man. Such a measure is that proposed by Lord Brougham—a measure 'for putting an end to the 'apprenticeship of those who were formerly (we say, are still) 'slaves in the British Colonies.' The friends of immediate emancipation must be watchful and determined. They must set their faces like flint against the wretched attempt of the Government, to patch up an unholy and anti-Christian system. They must sanction no more waste of legislation—no trusting of power or discretion to the planter. What is done must be done decisively and irrevocably. Otherwise, three years from this time we may be again summoned to leave our homes and occupations, required to put other great measures in abeyance, to reconstruct again the costly machinery of enlightenment and agitation, to effect that which may be now attained, if there be a judicious and uncompromising employment of the moral agency, placed at the disposal of those who have the conduct of the present movement.

We are aware it is contended by many that we are under a contract to give the West Indians the remaining two years of the apprenticeship; and that to disturb the present arrangement would be to violate a national engagement. This opinion we believe to be founded upon an erroneous view of the nature of the arrangement, and the prerogatives of Parliament. The Act of Abolition was a measure demanded by the nation, under a deep religious conviction of the radical injustice and cruelty of the system of colonial slavery, and it was finally determined, that whatever the loss or inconvenience to be incurred, that system should be utterly abolished. The Legislature, without asking

the consent of the master, proceeded to legislate for the freedom of the slave, and decreed that, on the 1st of August, 1834, he should be absolutely and for ever manumitted. Taking, however, the circumstances of all parties into consideration, they resolved to set apart twenty millions, under the name of a compensation fund, to indemnify the owners of slaves for any loss they might sustain, and to apprentice the negro for four or six years, according to his previous occupation, to promote thereby his industry, good conduct, and education. Let it never be forgotten that the entire movement was for *the benefit of the negro*, and that any sacrifice of wealth on the part of the nation, was a sacrifice *voluntarily* made to promote that object. The Parliament, whether giving twenty millions to the master, or enacting the apprenticeship for the slave, were contracting with no party. They were proceeding upon certain independent views of expediency, and did what they did of their own accord and sovereign pleasure. How stands the case now? The money paid to the proprietors of slaves, they find was paid under a mistake; for no loss has been sustained, but, on the contrary, great gains realized, as is proved by the effects of freedom in Antigua. They find, also, that the apprenticeship was wholly unnecessary, and that, with great safety, and immediate advantage to all parties, the negroes might have been made free at once. Lastly, they discover that the system, which was intended to promote the good conduct of the negro, has placed him in a condition of aggravated suffering; and that, if they would vindicate the honour of the British nation, and fulfil the hopes, and maintain the rights of the negro, they must proceed to repeal the apprenticeship clause of the act, and abbreviate its duration by two years.

Can it be successfully argued that the power that at first decreed the extinction of slavery, and *made* the apprenticeship, is not fully competent to carry its own decree into fulfilment, or *unmake* that which is found to be equally unjust in principle, needless in policy, and oppressive in operation? But admitting, for a moment, that the Imperial Act is to be viewed in the light of a contract, just in principle, apparently sound in policy, and having a righteous object in view; yet if it be found, on experiment, not to secure its object, but to work out results the very opposite to those designed, it becomes the immediate duty of its originators to pronounce it null and void, and to substitute such other enactments as the justice and necessity of the case require. We, however, take higher ground. We hold it to be the duty of the British Parliament, in the sight of God, to cease at once from the crime of continuing the negro in a state of unnecessary restraint and uncompensated toil, exposed to the fury of unreasonable and wicked men—to deliver, by the power confided to them, the oppressed out of the hands of the spoiler—to be held back by

no contracts, written or implied, which contravene the laws of God, and deprive men of their sacred and inalienable rights. We have noticed the supposed argument of a contract, because we have reason to believe it has presented a difficulty to the minds of some who are influenced by the loftiest principles, but were, notwithstanding, entangled in the meshes of West Indian sophistry.

The present aspect of the anti-slavery question is most encouraging. During the last month there has been a rapid advance of public feeling upon the subject. The magnificent speeches of Lord Brougham have been carried into every corner of the kingdom, and have enlightened and stimulated tens of thousands who were previously ignorant, and therefore indifferent. Petitions in unprecedented numbers have been nightly presented to both Houses of Parliament. The work of conversion has been proceeding both amongst peers and commoners; and many distinguished men, including several right rev. prelates, have declared their conviction of the necessity of terminating the apprenticeship, and their intention to vote and speak in its behalf. The Marquis of Sligo, with a disinterestedness and magnanimity, which have already won for him the admiration of every British abolitionist, and will not fail to secure for him the blessing of the negro, has nobly resolved to declare his apprentices free on the 1st of August next. The island of Montserrat has resolved to do its duty. Both branches of the legislature have unanimously decided in favour of entire freedom on the 1st of August. The news from Barbadoes justifies the hope that that colony will not refuse to follow the example thus honourably presented.

The attendance at the great meetings recently held at Exeter Hall, afforded occular demonstration the most convincing, of the unparalleled interest awakened by the renewed discussion of the question of negro freedom. While we write four hundred anti-slavery delegates, assembled from all parts of the United kingdom are sitting in solemn deliberation at Exeter Hall. They are of one heart, and of one mind; and when they present themselves before the first lord of the Treasury and the chief Colonial Secretary as they will do this day, (the 28th) we trust they will not hesitate to utter the sentiments of the great nation whose awakened humanity and unquenchable hatred of African oppression they are appointed to represent. We are unfeignedly happy to find that the great leaders of the cause in previous struggles, have at last fully united with the parties who have recently been so honourably conspicuous in rousing the country, and bringing matters into their present cheering position. Mr. Buxton and Mr. Macauley yesterday put their names to a petition for the immediate extinction of the apprenticeship. The venerable Thomas Clarkson has forwarded petitions to both Houses in his individual capacity. Dr.

Lushington has visited and inspirited the delegates, and announced his intention of supporting Sir George Strickland's motion. To humbler names, however, belongs the credit of arousing and gathering and directing the omnipotent moral energy of the country. Counselled against agitating for the immediate extinction of the apprenticeship—warned of the total impracticability of their measures—denied the countenance and support of the men standing high in influence and station—their motives not unfrequently arraigned—opposed by the force of those opinions which had been given against them, and which were industriously proclaimed throughout the land—frowned upon by the members of the cabinet, and made the objects of ridicule by time-serving and callous-hearted politicians—the cry of 'division in the camp'—'Mr. Buxton is against you,' meeting them at every step—they nevertheless went forth to proclaim aloud the wrongs of the captive, and summon the piety and humanity of their countrymen and country-women to the work of undoing the heavy burdens and letting the oppressed go free. Their call was answered. Every where the friends of human rights enrolled themselves under their banners. What money they wanted they obtained. Public meetings never before equalled in numbers, respectability, enthusiasm, and a union of otherwise conflicting parties, were held in every direction. They appealed to the *women* of Great Britain, and six hundred and thirty thousand stood at the foot of the throne to intercede for mercy to their manacled sisters in the British Colonies. Verily they have their reward. Four short months only have elapsed since the sound went forth, and now these same men sit surrounded by the wise and good of the land—their principles espoused, their plans adopted, and their triumph at hand. We regard the extraordinary effects which have followed the labours of the Central Emancipation Committee and their supporters in the country, as additional proofs of what may be effected by plain and upright men, energetically engaged in a good cause. Though scorned by the proud, forsaken by the timid, chided by the prudent, and reviled by the envious, their ultimate success is certain. And whenever that success is achieved, then shall they find themselves surrounded and applauded by those who will embark

> On the smooth surface of a summer's sea
> When gentle zephyrs play with prosperous gales,
> And fortune's favour fills the swelling sails;
> But would forsake the ship and make the shore,
> Should the winds whistle, and the tempests roar.

We await with anxiety the result of the motion to be brought forward by Sir George Strickland. We have heard a rumour that men in high places mean to try their strength with the pe-

titioners for immediate emancipation—to nail their colours to the mast—and stand or fall by their darling bill. Let them beware! Should the Queen's ministers despise a nation's prayer, and mock a fettered race, and deprive their royal mistress of the imperishable glory she would acquire by the great act of righteousness and mercy now called for by the noblest and best of her subjects; should they refuse to listen to the dictates of a generous patriotism, and determine upon consulting only the wishes and 'interests of the planters;' should they persevere in a scheme of delusion and disappointment and delay, they will forfeit the confidence of their sincerest friends throughout the country, and endanger the power they have refused to exercise for the deliverance of the enslaved. Should they, however, resolve upon a measure of full justice to the negro, the path to honour and a nation's heart is before them, and they may establish themselves in the affections of a generous people. A few hours will show. Our prayer is, that her Majesty's ministers may yield to the importunity of the friends of the oppressed—may place themselves at the head of the present great movement, and ere they gather round England's Queen, to see the sceptre of dominion over these and distant isles placed in her hand, afford her an opportunity of doing a great act of national justice. Let them not enthrone her *the Queen of* SLAVES—rather let them enable her, when looking back upon a long reign of peace and prosperity, to say, 'When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; 'and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me: because I 'delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that 'had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to 'perish came upon me; and I caused the widow's heart to sing 'for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me: my judg-'ment was a robe and a diadem.'

POSTSCRIPT.

On Thursday evening, the 29th ultimo, Sir GEORGE STRICKLAND brought forward his motion for the termination of the Apprenticeship on the 1st of August, and was seconded by Mr. Pease. Sir George Grey moved, as an amendment, the second reading of the Slavery Act Amendment Bill. The speakers in favour of the original motion were—Mr. James, a West Indian proprietor; Sir Edward Sugden (who, however, voted against *himself*, and the cause he defended), Mr. O'Connell, and Dr. Lushington. In favour of Sir George Grey's motion, the speakers were—Mr. Plumptre, Lord Howick, Lord John Russell, and Mr. W. E. Gladstone. The debate terminated very abruptly, owing to some sinister circumstances, whether accidental or intentional we will not pretend to determine. When the House divided, the numbers appeared—for Sir George Strickland's motion, 215; for Sir George's Grey's amendment, 269—majority against Sir George Strickland, 54.

Thus Sir George Strickland's motion for the *abolition* of the apprenticeship has been superseded by Lord Glenelg's bill for the *improvement* of the apprenticeship. It is therefore decided, for the present, that the prædial negroes are to be detained in slavery for two years longer, under the weight of those intolerable wrongs which, in too many instances, have made the apprenticeship worse than slavery. Thus, a large class of our fellow subjects, who have committed no crime, nor in any way deserved this evil, are set apart for a prolongation of that slavery from which their more fortunate associates are to be liberated next August.

Struck with the immense injustice and cruelty of this arrangement, an arrangement which we have exerted all our efforts to prevent, we protest against it with all that fervency of indignation which ever has been excited by the deliberate perpetration of unmerited wrong. *We reject* the suggestion of Her Majesty's ministers, that a two years' delay of emancipation may be tolerated, and that such a period is too short to excite our sympathies; for not only may many victims of tyranny perish in these two years by the exercise of those cruelties which have already destroyed many of the negro apprentices; but in the name of our coloured brethren, and on their behalf, we assert, that as the abolition act did plainly declare in these memorable words, 'that all persons now in slavery within the British colonies, shall on 'the 1st of August, 1834, become, and be to allintents and purposes, 'free and discharged of and from all manner of slavery, and shall be 'absolutely and for ever manumitted,' they have every right, and without a moment's delay, to be put in that condition which can enable them to exercise their rights as freemen, and to exert the moral and physical energies of reasonable and responsible creatures.

We assert that the principle of the abolition act is *emancipation;*

we appeal to the meaning of words, and the right interpretation of the English language, and we declare that the detaining the negroes in slavery, and that too after the emancipation of their brethren, will be an act of outrage, violence, and wrong, which would have disgraced the darkest eras of cruelty and oppression.

All remedial measures of the apprenticeship we entirely repudiate and absolutely reject; nor can we ever consent that a middle state between slavery and freedom should be registered as a condition which it is possible to realize. That person whose uncompensated labour is at the disposal of his master, whose services can be put up at auction and sold, who is subject to the severest punishments of stripes and imprisonment, and other means of torture at the command of a magistrate, without trial by jury, who can make no exertions for his family, and has no command of his own time and talents, is to all intents and purposes, *a slave.* These are facts in the apprenticeship which must last as long as the apprenticeship lasts, and which absolutely contradict the fundamental principle of the abolition act itself.

We have no faith in the measures and assurances of Her Majesty's ministers, relating to the apprenticeship; we are fully persuaded that Lord Glenelg's remedial bill would never have been brought forward but to appease the excitement of the British nation; and we have no hope that faulty, incompetent, and useless as it is, it will either be obeyed in the Colonies, or upheld by the Colonial Office. To demonstrate the truth of this sentiment, we need only quote Lord Glenelg's words from a published despatch. "I think it more wise to *acquiesce silently* in the inconvenience which the refusal of the half-Friday in every week may occasion, than to enter into a contest for the redress of that evil, with a distinct conviction that though there is no prospect of success, there is a high probability of widening the breach, which it is my duty as far as possible to close;" from which words the inference is inevitable—that if there was this disinclination to irritate the planter in a small matter, there can be no hope that Lord Glenelg will either desire or dare to carry out the provisions of his remedial bill, which multiplies and aggravates the sources of vexation and irritation between the planter and the apprentice.

We remember, also, with pain, that Lord Glenelg has by an Order in Council, lately introduced a new species of slavery in Hindoostan; that he has allowed the introduction of the Hill-Coolies from the East, as apprenticed labourers in British Guiana, and has thus expanded and extended the principle of slavery which we vainly hoped was extinguished; and thereby too clearly proving that this pretended remedy of the apprenticeship is to be entrusted to the superintendence of one, who to say the least, can scarcely be classed among the benefactors of the coloured race.

We further declare, that if there be any contract in the Act of Emancipation, authorizing the apprenticeship, it was professedly in favour of the negro. By the theory of the apprenticeship, the negro was to be prepared by a moral, social, and religious improvement, for complete emancipation. No improvement, however, either moral, social, or religious, has been attempted by the planters; they have

obstinately resisted all suggestions of the Government to introduce a system of education amongst the coloured race, and no one single measure of the colonial legislature can be quoted, as in any way tending to the social improvement of the negro.

The contract, if any, though ostensibly in favour of the apprentice, has been violated by the planters, the sufferer under this violated contract is the negro; who, besides bearing innumerable acts of additional oppression unknown in the days of avowed slavery, has to undergo wrongs and sufferings, but miserably concealed under the specious name of apprenticeship.

Remembering, moreover, that the remedial bill of Lord Glenelg has to be accepted by masters inflamed with all the vices of slavery, that a spirit of bitter and unrelenting hatred of the coloured race prevails in all classes of colonial society; and that the judges, legislators, jurors, and magistrates, have already exhibited this spirit in its worst form. We not only anticipate that the proposed remedy of Government will be rendered perfectly nugatory, but will stimulate the oppressing party into fresh acts of defiance and outrage, which the colonial office will have neither the desire nor the ability to overcome.

These, and many other considerations of a like nature will be felt with far more force by the negroes than by any other persons who can attempt to describe them; and it is impossible not to fear that this last stroke of cruel injustice—the prolongation of slavery for two years yet to come, may stimulate the sufferers into acts of resistance. We cannot shut our eyes to the possibility of such an event, which, whilst we foresee with painful apprehensions, is not to be attributed to any other cause than the pressure of a grievous, intolerable, and iniquitous tyranny. This is so obvious, that we never should have alluded to it, but in consequence of the insinuations of the ministers, that the blame of such a catastrophe is to be attributed to those who have undertaken to plead the cause of the negro, and to excite hopes that could not be realized.

In protesting against this insinuation we need only remark, that the wrongs and oppressions of slavery need no argument from without to excite the revengeful passions of the human mind; that the cruelties of the apprenticeship are, in themselves, hourly and daily arguments for agitation; and that the best hope of the future endurance of the negro apprentice, may be derived from his knowledge that he has still friends in England to plead his cause, to watch over his interests, and to rescue him from remediless despair.

In conclusion, we would state our conviction that Lord Glenelg's remedial bill can in no respect be considered a settlement of the question, and our belief that those who have entered upon the work of abolition, consider themselves amenable to Almighty God for their conduct in this great question, and dare not, and will not, retire from this contest till they have secured justice for the oppressed apprentices in the British Colonies.

AYES.

(FOR THE TERMINATION OF THE APPRENTICESHIP ON THE FIRST OF AUGUST, 1838.)

Aglionby, H. A.
Alford, Lord Viscount
Alsager, Captain
Alston, Rowland
Archbold, Robert
Attwood, Matthias
Bagot, Hon. William
Bailey, Joseph
Bainbridge, Edward Thomas
Baines, Edward
Baker, Edward
Barnard, Edward George
Beamish, Francis B.
Berkeley, Hon. H.
Berkeley, Hon. Craven
Bewes, Thomas
Blackstone, William
Blake, Martin J.
Blunt, Sir Charles
Bodkin, John James
Boldero, Henry George
Brabazon, Sir William
Bridgeman, Hewitt
Briscoe, John Ivatt
Broadwood, Henry
Brocklehurst, John
Brodie, William Bird
Brotherton, Joseph
Brown, Robert Dillon
Bruges, W. H. Ludlow
Bryan, George
Buller, Sir John Yarde
Bulwer, Edw. Lytton
Busfield, William
Butler, Hon. Colonel
Byng, George
Cantilupe, Lord Viscount
Cayley, Edward
Chalmers, Patrick
Chandos, Marquis of
Chester, Henry
Chetwynd, Major
Chisholm, Alex. William
Clive, Edward Bolton
Collier, John
Collins, William
Colquhoun, Sir J.
Conyngham, Lord Albert
Copeland, Mr. Alderman
Craig, William G.
Cripps, Joseph
Dashwood, George H.
Denison, William J.
Dennistoun, J.
D'Eyncourt, Rt. Hon. C. T.
De Horsey, Spencer Horsey
D'Israeli, Benjamin
Divett, Edward
Duff, James
Duke, Sir James
Duncombe, Thomas
Dundas, C. W. D. (Flint)
Dundas, Hon. John C.
Dungannon, Lord Viscount
Easthope, John
Eaton, Richard Jefferson
Egerton, Sir Philip
Eliot, Lord
Ellis, John
Etwall, Ralph
Evans, George
Evans, William
Farnham, Edward Basil
Feilden, William
Fielden, John
Fenton, John
Ferguson, Sir Ronald
Finch, Francis
Fitzroy, Lord Charles
Fitzroy, Hon. Henry
Fleetwood, Peter Hesketh
Foley, Edward T.
Fort, John
Gibson, Thomas
Gillon, William Downe
Glynne, Sir Stephen R.
Gore, Ormsby J. R. (Caern.)
Gore, Ormby W.
Goring, Harry Dent
Grattan, Henry (Meath)
Greenaway, Charles
Grimsditch, Thomas
Grote, George
Guest, Josiah John
Hall, Benjamin
Halse, James
Handley, Henry
Harland, William Charles
Harvey, Daniel Whittle
Hawes, Benjamin
Heathcoat, John
Hill, Lord A. Marcus Cecil
Hindley, Charles
Hodges, Thomas Law
Hollond, Robert
Horsman, Edward
Hoskins, Kedgwin
Humphery, John
Hurst, Robert Henry
James, William
Jervis, Swynfen
Johnson, General
Jones, John (Caerm.)
Jones, Wilson
Kennaird, Hon. Arthur F.
Langdale, Hon. Charles
Langton, William Gore
Leader, John Temple
Lennox, Lord George (Sussex)
Lennox, Lord Arthur
Litton, Edward
Lowther, John Henry
Lushington, Dr. (Tower Ham.
Lushington, Charles
Mackinnon, Wm. Alex.
Maher, John
Marsland, Henry
Martin, John
Master, Thomas W. C.
Maunsell, Thomas Philip
Meynell, Captain
Miller, William Henry
Molesworth, Sir William
Monypenny, Thomas G.
Morris, David
Muskett, George A.
Nagle, Sir Richard
Neeld, Joseph (Chippenham)
Neeld, John
Noel, Wm. Middleton
O'Brien, W. Smith
O'Connell, Dan.
O'Connell, John (Athlone)
O'Connell, M. J. (Kerry)
O'Connell, Morgan (Meath)
O'Connell, Maurice (Tralee)
Owen, Sir John
Paget, Frederick
Parker, Robert T.
Parker, Thos. A. W
Pattison, James
Pechell, Captain
Peel, Jonathan
Phillips, Sir R. (Haverfordwest)
Philpotts, John
Pigot, Robert
Pollhill, Frederick
Poulter, John Sayer
Powell, Colonel
Powerscourt, Lord Viscount
Protheroe, Edward
Pryse, Pryse
Reddington, Thomas N.
Rice, Edward Royd
Richards, Richard
Rippon, Cuthbert
Roche, Edmond B. (Cork Co.)
Round, John (Maldon)
Rundle, John
Russell, Lord (Tavistock)
Salwey, Colonel
Sanderson, Richard
Sanford, Edward Ayshford
Seale, Colonel
Sibthorp, Colonel
Sinclair, Sir George
Smith, Hon. Robert (Wycombe)
Smyth, Sir G. H. (Colchester)
Somerville, Sir William M.
Stanley, Massey (Pontefract)
Stansfield, William R. C.
Staunton, Sir George Thomas
Stewart, James (Honiton)
Stuart, Henry (Bedford)
Strangways, Hon. John
Style, Sir Charles
Thompson, Mr. Alderman
Thornely, T.
Tollemache, Frederick J.
Townley, Richard Greaves
Trench, Sir Frederick
Turner, Edmund (Truro)
Turner, William (Blackburn)
Verner, Colonel
Vigors, Nicholas Aylward
Villiers, Charles Pelham
Vivian, John Henry (Swansea)
Wakley, Thomas
Walsh, Sir John
Warburton, Henry
Ward, Henry George
Welby, Glynne Earle
Wemyss, James Erskine
White, Andrew (Sunderland)
Whitmore, Thomas Charlton
Wilkins, Walter
Williams, William (Coventry)
Wilshire, William
Winnington, T. E. (Bewdley)
Winnington, H.J. (Worcestersh.)
Wood, Sir Matthew
Wood, George W. (Kendal)
Worsley, Lord
Wyse, Thomas
Yorke, Hon. Elliot Thomas

Tellers for the Ayes, Sir George Strickland and Mr. Pease.

NOES.

(FOR THE CONTINUANCE OF THE APPRENTICESHIP.)

Acheson, Lord Viscount
Acland, Sir Thomas Dyke
Acland, Thos. Dyke (Somersets.)
Adam, Admiral
Adare, Lord Viscount
Ainsworth, Peter
Anson, Hon. Colonel
Arbuthnott, Hon. Hugh
Ashley, Lord
Bagge, William
Baillie, Colonel (Honiton)
Ball, Nicholas
Bannerman, Alexander
Baring, F. T. (Portsmouth)
Baring, Hon. F. (Thetford)
Baring, H. Bingham (Marlboro'
Baring, Hon. W. B. (Staffordsh.)
Barron, Henry Winston
Barrett, Barrett Standish
Bell, Matthew
Bellew, Rich. Montesquieu
Bentinck, Lord George
Bentinck, Lord William
Blackburne, Ireland
Blackett, Christopher
Blair, James
Blake, Wm. John (Newport)
Bolling, William
Bramston, Thomas William
Broadley, Henry
Brownrigg, Studholme
Buller, Edward (Staffordshire)
Burroughes, Henry N.
Byng, Rt. Hon. Geo. Stevens
Calcraft, John Hales
Callaghan, Daniel
Campbell, W. Fred. (Argyle)
Canning, Rt. Hon. Sir. Stratford
Cavendish, Hon. C. (Sussex)
Cavendish, Hon.G.H, (Derbysh.)
Chapman, Aaron (Whitby)
Chute, W. L. William
Clay, William
Clayton, Sir William Robert
Clements, Lord Viscount
Clive, Hon. Robt. Henry (Salop)
Colquhoun, J. C. (Kilmarnock)
Compton, Henry Combe
Conolly, Edward
Coote, Sir Charles H.
Corry, Hon. Henry
Courtenay, Philip
Crawford, William
Currie, Raikes (Northampton)
Curry, William (Armagh)
Dalmeny, Lord
Darby, George
Darlington, Earl of
Dick, Quintin
Dottin, Abel Rous
Douglas, Sir Charles E.
Douro, Marquis of
Dowdeswell, William
Dundas, Frederick (Orkney, &c.
Dundas, Hon. T. (Richmond)
East, James Buller
Ebrington, Lord Viscount
Egerton, Wm. Tatton
Egerton, Lord Francis
Elliott, Hon. J. E. (Roxburgh)
Ellice, Capt. Alex. (Harwich)
Ellice, Rt. Hon. E. (Coventry)
Ellice, Edward (St. Andrew's)
Estcourt, T. (Oxford University)
Estcourt, T. (Devizes)
Euston, Earl of
Fazakerley, John Nicholas
Fellowes, Edward
Ferguson, Sir R. A. (Derry)
Ferguson, Robert (Kirkaldy)
Fergusson, Rt. Hon. R. C. (Kirkc.)
Filmer, Sir Edmund
Fitzalan, Lord
Fitzgibbon, Hon. Colonel
Fitzsimon, Nicholas
Fleming, John
Follett, Sir Wm.
Forester, Hon. George
Freemantle, Sir Thomas
French. Fitzstephen
Gladstone, W. E.
Goddard, Ambrose
Gordon, Robert (Windsor)
Gordon, Hon. Capt. (Aberdeensh.)
Goulburn, Rt. Hon. Henry
Graham, Right Hon. Sir James
Gratton, James (Wicklowshire)
Greene, Thomas
Grey, Sir Charles Edward
Grey, Sir George
Grimston, Lord Viscount
Halford, Henry
Harcourt, Geo. Gran. (Oxfordsh.)
Harcourt, Geo. Simon (Bucks.)
Hastie, Archibald
Hawkins, John Heywood
Hayter, William G.
Heneage, Edward
Henniker, Lord
Herbert, Hon. Sydney
Herries, Rt. Hon. John Chas.
Hinde, John Hodgson
Hobhouse, Rt. Hon. Sir John
Hodgson, Fred. (Barnstaple)
Hodgson, Richard
Hogg, James Weir
Holmes, William
Hope, George W. (Weymouth)
Hope, Henry T.
Houstoun, George
Howard, Frederick J. (Youghal)
Howard, Philip Henry
Howick, Lord Viscount
Hughes, William Bulkeley
Hume, Joseph
Hurt, Francis
Hutton, Robert
Ingestre, Lord Viscount
Ingham, Robert
Inglis, Sir Robert Harry
Irton, Samuel
Irving, John
Jenkins, Richard
Jermyn, Earl
Johnstone, Hope
Jones, Theobald (Derry Co.)
Kemble, Henry
Kirk, Peter
Knatchbull, Rt. Hon. Sir Ed.
Knight, Henry Gally
Labouchere, Rt. Hon. Henry
Lambton, Hedworth
Lascelles, Hon. W. S.
Lefevre, Charles Shaw
Lemon, Sir Charles
Leveson, Lord
Liddell, Hon. Henry Thomas
Loch, James
Lockhart, Alexander M.
Logan, Hart
Lygon, Hon. General
Lynch, Andrew H.
Mackenzie, Thomas (Ross, &c.,
Mackenzie, Wm. F.
Maclean, Donald
Macleod, Roderick
Macnamara, Major
McTaggart, John
Mahony, Peirce
Marshall, William
Marton George (Lancaster)
Maule, Hon. Fox.
Melgund, Lord Viscount
Mildmay, Paulet St. John
Milnes, Richard Monckton
Mordaunt, Sir John
Morpeth, Lord Viscount
Murray, Rt. Hon. John A.
Nicholl, John
Norreys, Lord
Northland, Lord Viscount
O'Brien, Cornelius
O'Callaghan, Hon. Cornelius
O'Ferrall, Richard More
O'Neill, Hon John B. R.
Ord, William
Ossulston, Lord
Packe, Charles William
Paget, Lord Alfred
Pakington, John S
Palmer, C. Fysh (Reading
Palmer, Robert (Berkshire)
Palmer, George (Essex)
Palmerston, Lord Viscount
Parker, John (Sheffield)
Parker, Montague
Parnell, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Patten, John Wilson
Peel, Rt. Hon. Sir Robert
Pemberton, Thomas
Pendarves, Edward W. W.
Philips, Mark (Manchester)
Philips, George R.
Pinney, William
Plumptre, John Pemberton
Ponsonby, Hon John
Power, James (Wexford Co.)
Power John (Waterford Co.)
Praed, W. Mackworth
Price, Sir Robert
Pusey, Philip
Ramsbottom, John
Reid, Sir John Rae
Rice, Rt. Hon. Thomas Spring
Rich, Henry
Rickford, William
Roche, David (Limerick City)
Rolfe, Sir Robert Monsey
Rose, Rt. Hon. Sir George
Rumbold, Charles Edmond
Rushbrooke, Colonel
Rushout, George
Russell, Lord John
Russell, Lord Charles (Beds)
Sandon, Lord Viscount
Scarlett, Hon. J. Y. (Guildford
Scarlett, Hon. Robert
Scrope, George Poulett
Seymour, Lord
Sharpe, General
Sheil, Richard Lalor
Shelborne, Earl of

Sheppard, Thomas
Shirley, Evelyn J.
Smith, John Abel
Smith, Abel (Herts.)
Smith, Robt. Vernon
Somerset, Lord Granville
Speirs, Alexander
Spencer, Hon. Frederick
Spry, Sir Samuel Thomas
Standish, Charles
Stanley, Lord
Stanley, W. O.
Stewart, John
Stuart, Lord James (Ayr)
Stuart, Villiers
Strutt, Edward
Sturt, Henry Charles
Sugden, Rt. Hon. Sir Edward
Surrey, Earl of
Talbot, C. R. Mansell
Talbot, J. Hyacinth
Tancred, Henry William
Teignmouth, Lord
Thomson, Rt. Hon. C. P.
Trevor, Hon. G. Rice
Troubridge, Sir Edward Thomas
Vere, Sir Charles Broke
Verney, Sir Harry
Villiers, Lord Viscount
Vivian Major Charles
Vivian, John Ennis (Truro)
Vivian, Rt. Hon. Sir R. Hussey
Walker, Richard
Wall, Charles Baring
Westenra, Hon. H. R.
White, Samuel
Wilbraham, George
Williams, Robert
Williams, W. Addams
Wodehouse, Edmond
Wood, Charles
Wood, Thomas (Middlesex)
Woulfe, Mr. Serjeant
Wrightson, William Battie
Wynn, Rt. Hon. C. W.
Yates, John A.
Young, John (Cavan)

Tellers, Mr. E. J. Stanley and Mr. Robert Steuart

J. HADDON, CASTLE STREET, FINSBURY.

SPEECH

OF

GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.,

ON THE

DIVISIONS AMONG AMERICAN ABOLITIONISTS,

DELIVERED AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY,
26 AUGUST, 1841.

(*Reprinted, with corrections, from the* GLASGOW ARGUS.)

Mr GEORGE THOMPSON came forward amid loud cheers. He said—I know not that, at any subsequent part of this evening, I could choose a better opportunity for making one or two observations than at this moment. I rise without prompting and without persuasion—I rise spontaneously, and in obedience to my conscience alone, to speak in the sincerity of my heart that which I believe to be dictated, and sternly demanded, by honour, by friendship, by truth, and by justice. Sir, there have been no circumstances in my short life that have been to me the sources of more pain than the circumstances connected with the late unhappy divisions among the Abolitionists of the United States of America. (Hear.) And certainly no one circumstance connected with that unfortunate affair has given me pain in any degree approaching that which I experience, in the contemplation of the present state of the society with which it has been the chief honour of my life to be associated—the *Glasgow Emancipation Society.* (Hear.) Never did I rise in this city under feelings so embarassing or overpowering as at this instant. The place in which we meet—the number of this audience—the aspect of this platform—the absence of those whom I venerate, and not I alone, but whom we all venerate—these things so afflict me, that I could almost wish myself any where than where I am, though, in past times, I have never desired to be any where more than in the city of Glasgow. (Cheers.) I place little value on my own opinion—I desire you to attach no value to my opinion, save that which it merits as the opinion of an individual who has never been bought, or bribed, or menaced into the expression of any opinion which was not sanctioned by his judgment, and felt in his heart. (Cheers.) It has been—I will not say my misfortune—but my painful duty often to differ from my nearest and dearest friends; often have I been called upon in critical moments to denounce, even in the severest terms, the policy of those whom I most respected, and who, if duty would have allowed, I would gladly have followed, and acknowledged in every respect as my superiors. (Cheers.) Nor would I, to find favour, utter one word which truth did not warrant, or to maintain, in the place which he occupied, the nearest or dearest friend I have in this, or in any other part of the world. (Cheers.) I say this to strengthen, if it be possible, the testimony I am about to bear—a testimony such as I trust I shall be able to reflect upon with satisfaction hereafter, careless whether it be a testimony which others are disposed to corroborate, if my own conscience, in the sight of God, tells me it is true. (Cheers.) *I say, then, that the deep conviction of my soul is, that that section of the Abolitionists in the United States which has been repudiated by many of the Abolitionists in this country, and respecting whom, it seems, a vote of want of confidence has been passed in London, is that section of the Abolitionists which deserves pre-eminently the countenance, the confidence, the love, and the earnest support of every lover of human liberty in every part of the world.* (Great cheering.) And upon what do I ground this opinion? Charge me not with presumption when I say that I have a knowledge of the men and women in the

United States who have been thus repudiated, longer in its duration, and more intimate in its character, than that possessed by any other man in this country. (Hear.) The first time I heard of William Lloyd Garrison, who stands at the head of this party, and deservedly so, was from the lips of one who left on my mind the impression that he was a bad man. He was represented to me as a convicted libeller, as the tenant of a dungeon, as a companion of felons, as a man reckless of the safety of others, and seeking to disturb the peace, and to destroy the institutions of his country. This description of Mr Garrison was given me by one to whose voice I have listened in this room, Mr Elliot Cresson, the accredited agent of the American Colonisation Society. He it was who first uttered in my ears the name of William Lloyd Garrison as associated with the epithets I have repeated. Thereafter, I became acquainted with the real character of the man. First, through my friend, Captain Charles Stuart, who had visited America, and was then in London, and who had in his possession all the documents revealing the cause of the imprisonment of Mr Garrison, as well as illustrative of his early history, and the share he had taken in the Emancipation cause. What, then, became of the charges which had been made against my friend? He was "a convicted libeller," because he had denounced an individual of his own State, who, while sustaining a reputation for respectability, had nevertheless embarked his capital in the Slave Trade, and was then carrying on a traffic in human flesh between his own shores and those of Africa. (Hear, hear.) He was the "tenant of a dungeon," because, by the verdict of a pro-Slavery jury, and the sentence of a Slave-holding judge, he was ordained to pay a fine of 1000 dollars, or to be immured in prison on non-payment of the sum; the companion of felons he was—and many men, even holier and better than Mr Garrison, have been the companion of felons, who are now the companions of angels and the spirits of the just, and have been the admired, and cherished, and sanctified of all generations since they quitted their dungeons. (Great cheering.) My opinion of Mr Garrison, therefore, was changed; and soon after, I had the privilege of embracing him in the city of London; and from that period, the early part of 1833, down to this moment, I have been honoured with his friendship, and, I think I may say, with his unlimited confidence. From 1833 I have been intimately acquainted with the working of the Anti-Slavery cause in America. In 1834 I was sent out from this country to America, for the purpose of prosecuting an Anti-Slavery Mission, and during the time I was there I obtained a knowledge of almost every person with whose names you are familiar; and let me say, too, that my acquaintance in the United States was not confined to that party which has recently been cast off by a portion of the Anti-Slavery public in this country. It extended to all the prominent individuals who have felt themselves called upon to separate from Mr Garrison and his adherents. All of them, for I will make no exception, were men of respectability and worth. (Hear.) I shall not, on this occasion, judge the motives which have influenced the seceders—nor will I undertake to condemn their conduct—I step forward to bear my humble but honest testimony to the unsullied integrity and unfaltering perseverance of those whom I regard as the injured and the misrepresented party, the party that has been made to suffer, I will not say by what means, in the estimation of many, who once admired and loved them, in this country, and of some, I lament to say, in this city. (Hear.) With regard to the vexed question of Woman's Rights, which I find uppermost in the minds of many dear friends, it has been represented that the division in the United States has grown chiefly out of agitation on the Anti-Slavery platform, on the part of Mr Garrison and his friends, on the question of the abstract rights of women. Now, I undertake, unequivocally and solemnly, with my mind upon the history of this whole matter, to deny the accuracy of that representation, and I am prepared to demonstrate the justice of that denial. (Cheers.) When I was in the United States, I became intimately acquainted with that distinguished authoress, Mrs Child, and had the privilege of conversing with her at her own fireside

in Boston; and not having the fear of ecclesiastical authority before my eyes, I ventured to say to her, "Why remain at home? I have come on a mission to your country; I have thrown myself into the breach with the generous spirits who are storming the stronghold of oppression in your land—go you to Europe—rouse the females of Britain—meet the Anti-Slavery Societies—address them with your voice—address them by your pen—call upon them to sustain me, and to sustain all who, in the dark day of danger and of conflict, are endeavouring to pioneer into birth the day-star of liberty in America." (Cheers.) She nobly said, "Let the means be found to send me, and I go." I am, as you know, generally prompt in my movements. I got on board a steam-boat, and went to New York—the Anti-Slavery Committee was summoned—Arthur Tappan, the excellent President, in the Chair, with Lewis Tappan at his right, and the other friends of the movement around him. I said, "I had got the consent of Mrs Child to go to England—she has made her Appeal in an admirable volume here in behalf of that class of Americans, called Africans—send the writer of that Appeal to our country, and let her appear there as the champion of freedom in your country." (Cheering.) "But what is to become of her husband?" they said. (Laughter.) He is willing to go too, was my reply; and, in less than an hour, through the munificence of Arthur Tappan, and the generous devisings of his colleagues, a fund was guaranteed sufficient to meet the charges of Mr and Mrs Child's transit to this country, and their maintenance in respectability and comfort when here. (Cheers.) Circumstances, however, prevented the accomplishment of the intended mission. Was there any talk of Woman's Rights then? (Hear.) Did I go to New York as an advocate of Woman's Rights! Did I undertake the journey from Britain to plead the cause of petticoat supremacy. (Laughter.) It never entered my mind, nor did I see aught of impropriety in the action? At that time there was no alarm felt at the proposition to send a female delegate to England, although, the other day, when four or five excellent females came over the water, the alarm was so great, that they were not only voted out of the Convention, but placed in the side gallery at Exeter Hall, though, strange to say, English ladies, several of them utter strangers to labour, still more to danger in the Anti-Slavery cause, were accommodated with seats on the right and left of the Chair, and I heard not a whisper from any one that they were out of their appropriate sphere. (Cheers.) Take another instance, equally illustrative of the joy with which female co-operation was at first welcomed. Those extraordinary females, the Misses Grimke, had their minds enlightened on the subject of Slavery, and were led to lay aside all their aristocratical pretensions, to forsake all the pleasures of the society in which they had been accustomed to move, and the comforts and indulgences of life, for the cause of truth and freedom, and finally came forth as the bold but modest advocates of human rights. Was there any alarm created then? Nothing of the kind. These precious women came down to Philadelphia, and they laboured zealously and unostentatiously in the cause of human freedom there. They were comforted and encouraged by the very same men who are now condemning the conduct of Mr Garrison and his female fellow-labourers. It was not Garrison who called upon the Quaker sisters to make their appeals in public; but they were sent for from Philadelphia to New York by those who have recently formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—Arthur Tappan being Chairman, and Elizur Wright, the Recording Secretary—and were offered a commission, signed and sealed, authorizing them to go forth, and without let or hindrance, without limit or restriction in public and in private, in season and out of season, to advocate the claims of the Slave. (Great cheering.) They declined such a commission, choosing rather to act upon their own responsibility, and to follow the suggestions of their minds, illumined by Divine influence. They went to Boston, and over a considerable portion of New England; and by degrees they were forced out into public. They were attacked by the Boston press, and from the Pro-Slavery pulpits, but they nevertheless laboured, night after night, addressing men

and women, ministers and senators, lawyers and physicians, in fact every description of people that came in their way. (Cheering.) And who were the defenders of these women from the attacks made upon them? (Cheering.) Those who have now separated from Mr Garrison and his coadjutors, on the Woman's Rights question. (Applause.) Yes; and whenever I am called upon to give more than my own testimony in favour of the wisdom and utility of female exertions, I will go to the *New York Emancipator*, and take from its glowing and argumentative columns, written by the very chief among the seceders, the most eloquent, powerful, and irresistible paragraphs in favour of the interference of women in this question. (Cheering.) Let me emphatically say I am giving no opinion of my own on the abstract question of Woman's Rights. The merits of the present question require no such declaration. I am simply giving an unvarnished account of the progress of this unhappy dispute. I come to an important view of this matter. Sirs, "the head and front of the offending" of the Boston Society, the old Massachusetts Society, as it properly is, and of all the Societies that support Mr Garrison, "hath this extent, *no more*," that *they have remained firm and fast by the original Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society*. The division took place on the interpretation of that Constitution, and, avowedly at least, on that alone. Two years before the last anniversary, the question came up as to the scope and bearing of that Constitution, which was *the primitive instrument which bound together in harmony, co-operation, and fellowship, all the Societies of America*. That constitution had a clause providing that *all persons* subscribing to the principles set forth, and contributing to the funds of the Society, should be members, and entitled to all the privileges of membership.* An attempt was made to limit the application of the word "persons." In numberless instances it had been interpreted to include persons of the other sex; some of whom had laboured more publicly, others more privately, just according to their inclinations and views of duty. They really thought themselves persons—(laughter)—they subscribed the constitution, and contributed to the funds of the Society, and, as *persons*, they came in and laboured in the common cause. But now the time had come, when individuals, for certain reasons, wished to exclude women from the right of acting according to their own convictions of duty, and, therefore, they desired the word "persons" should be read "men," or that a rider should be appended, containing some explanatory clause that would have the same effect. Now, *who was it* that thus introduced the question of Woman's Rights into the Anti-Slavery ranks? *Was it Garrison.* NO. I say solemnly, and with a perfect knowledge of the

* There is a most remarkable similarity in the constitutions of the Societies in America and in this country, as regards Membership. Take first, that of the Pioneer Society in the United States, viz.:—

First. THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Article III. "*Any person*, by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer Fifteen Dollars as a Life Subscription, One Dollar annually, shall be considered a Member of the Society, and entitled to a copy of all its official publications."

Second. GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

Article V. "That this Society shall consist of *all friendly to its Object*, who shall contribute to its Funds, Five Shillings, or more, yearly."*

Third. AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Article IV. "*Any person* who consents to the principles of this Constitution, who contributes to the Funds of this Society, and is not a Slave-holder, may be a Member of this Society, and shall be entitled to vote at its Meetings."

Fourth. BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Article V. "That every *person* who subscribes not less than Ten Shillings annually, or makes a donation of Five Pounds or upwards, shall be a Member of this Society."

* Though not here expressed, the *practice* has all along been to give each Member a copy of every publication of the Glasgow Society.

whole of the transactions in this case, that *Garrison and his coadjutors have never introduced the question of Woman's Rights.* They have left it alone—they did *not* introduce it for purposes of *admission*, but they *resisted* its introduction for purposes of *exclusion*. The gist of the whole matter lies here,—the party accused were for leaving the platform, as it was originally erected, when you might have put all the Abolitionists of America on such a platform as that on which I now stand, and some of them were women. (Cheers.) Were they for voting them out then? No. They knew they had intellects; they saw in their forms that ethereal essence which went out over the wide field of humanity, without regard to sex, colour, creed or clime; they saw they had hearts, and that those hearts were beating strong with pity for the slave; and they did not stop to ask were they enveloped in waistcoats, or in corsets? (Cheers and laughter.) They had, however, inspired hearts, and they said, let them come in; they did not count how many *men* have we, but how many true hearts have we. (Great cheering.) Would to heaven it were so in this room,—in this city,—in this kingdom,—all over the world this day! I believe the hour is coming when those distinctions that have been set up in America and here, shall be blended so that it will not be asked what is the sex of a human being, but what are the principles, the aims, and the objects of the individual—(cheers)—and whether the being, man or woman, is fitted with faculties to promote the glory of God, and the best interests of immortal souls? (Great cheering.) I say again, Mr Garrison and his coadjutors *have never brought forward the Woman Question.* (Hear.) Women made their appearance, guarded and guaranteed by the Constitution, and when they came in they were left to be guided by their own feelings of discretion. And let me observe here—though I know not of one solitary act of indiscretion or impropriety on the part of any female Abolitionist—that had they, in later days, been guilty of any such, it had not been surprising; for when you goad people by proscription, by exclusion, and by depriving them of their rights, you are just taking the very means to lead them to acts of indiscretion. (Hear.) But how did our friends in America come to change their views? Here I shall give an honest opinion, however much it may offend some who live on the other side of the water. When the Abolitionists were few in number, despised, poor, and everywhere spoken against, they kept together like sheep in the storm, or at midnight, when the howling of the wolf is heard. The cause went on—the number of Abolitionists became greater and greater. Now the Rev. so and so joined the Society, after a great many ifs and buts—and then a Rev. Dr. so and so joined also, after a great many more—and some of these did not like the forwardness of the women. (Laughter.) We seldom like those that outstrip us in zeal. You will find through life that for every hundred epithets of contumely—for every hundred imputations of improper motives cast upon one who gives himself on principle to the promotion of a good cause—you will not find the fragment of one flung at a man, if he only keeps snugly in the back ground, and follows obediently in the wake of his would-be superiors. Besides those who joined the Anti-Slavery Society, there were many outside, who said we cannot come in unless you put the women down. The clergy raised a most astounding hue and cry against the labours of the Misses Grimke; and then out came the celebrated manifesto called the "Clerical Appeal." A number of ministers met, and banded together for the purpose of destroying the influence of these women. Now, I do not hesitate to say, that our friends in America (of the *New* Society) have missed their way in their efforts to win over such men. They had at last to choose between the maintenance of the original constitution, and the sanctioning (tacitly at least,) of the action of female members, as their conviction of duty might prompt them to labour in the cause of Emancipation, or they were required to violate their charter, and exclude the women, and receive as a compensation the proffered aid and patronage of a half converted party. They chose the latter alternative, and they attempted a modification of the constitution, which would have the effect of getting rid of the odium which

attached to the exertions of females. Those who were for the exclusion of women were outvoted at the Annual Meeting two years ago; at the following meeting they were also outvoted; and they resolved to separate. They did separate, and the separatists have since called themselves by the name of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. I have now touched upon this question, as far as refers to one at least of its most important historical features. There are many other circumstances to which I might advert, and I will here declare that there is not one connected with the whole matter that would not, I believe, admit of an explanation as exonerating to the conduct, and, as far as we can know them, the motives, too, of the parties I would humbly vindicate. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I must be permitted, with all the emphasis I can command, and all the warmth it is possible to feel, to express my own strong and unmingled dissatisfaction with the attempts that have been made on both sides of the Atlantic ocean, to undermine and destroy the character of the late delegate to this country, Mr J. A. Collins. (Cheers.) I have received letters upon letters from persons in the United States, whose sense of honour and regard to truth, whose worth and respectability, in fact, whose every attribute commands my respect and confidence, and all these letters have spoken in terms of the most entire approbation of Mr Collins, as a devoted, incorruptible, and talented advocate of the Emancipation cause in America. (Great cheering.) He was, from the first, so recommended to me,—he brought as many letters of introduction as I could grasp, all speaking of him in the highest terms—and I will undertake to say that, together, they formed a volume of commendation to the hearts of the people of this country never excelled, and seldom equalled by any borne by any man that ever crossed the Atlantic to sit at your firesides and share your hospitality. I did not hesitate then to take him to mine, and others did the same. To have done less would have been to insult his friends; but he had scarcely time to look about him when over his devoted head gathered the black clouds of calumny. Charge upon charge was sent over the water against him, but not a fragment of evidence came with those charges to give them support. Friends of the cause wrote to the United States, and had answers, but no evidence substantiating those charges—evidence of nothing but of the groundlessness of the unkind accusations which had been fabricated to injure a worthy man in the estimation of our countrymen. (Hear.) I am justified in saying that Mr Collins is, at this moment, pure in reputation, whatever may be his opinions, and may take his stand, with proud advantage, by the side of any man, whatever be his station in society, however sacred the office which he fills, who has stood forth as his accuser or calumniator. (Cheering.) And here (continued Mr Thompson), I must, for once, turn accuser myself, and prefer a heavy charge against those who have been the instruments in this country of giving secret circulation to these charges. I accuse such persons, whoever they may be, of a cruel violation of Christian charity, as well as of an infraction of all the rules of fair and honourable warfare. When such charges came, destitute of proof, and without the opportunity of the party implicated being heard in explanation or defence, they should have inclosed them, and sent them back with letters of Christian admonition to their fabricators. Should any such come to me, concerning any Anti-Slavery rival or opponent of Mr Collins, I trust I shall commit them to the lambent flame to be consumed to ashes, or to the innermost department of my desk, to lie and rot, rather than use them to the hurt of an innocent and defenceless brother. (Cheers.) It is within the compass of my own knowledge, that stab upon stab was inflicted in the dark upon the reputation of that gentleman, without warning and without affording him the smallest possible means of self-defence. These charges and innuendoes were, on reaching this country, transferred by accomplished copyists to sheets of foolscap paper, and inclosed in diplomatic envelopes, were sent to every part of the kingdom. They were again and again placed in my hands—none, let me tell you, ever came to me—(hear, hear) —by persons who knew not Mr Collins, and could only be alarmed and filled with suspicion by such dark intimations. Yes, everywhere I saw, or

heard of, these sheets of foolscap, the post-paid calumnies, sent forth to close the ears, the hearts, and the purses of the uninformed, ere the innocent victim drew near. (Cries of "shame, shame.") Was such Christian treatment to a stranger on our shores, and an accredited agent in the cause of humanity? (Cheers.) Sir, those who circulated these charges must yet answer for them at the bar of the British people. (Cheers.) And the day will come when they must do so; they have, in an unchristian manner, from beginning to end, attempted to injure a man, not because they cherished a personal hostility to him, but from a strong desire to injure, in the estimation of the Abolitionists of this country, the party represented by him. (Hear.) Could they blacken the representative, they knew they would throw discredit upon those he represented. I know of nothing connected with the conduct of the party which has been repudiated that can furnish a parallel to the treatment of Mr Collins.

> "Good name in man and woman, dear, my Lord,
> Is the immediate jewel of their souls;
> Who steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something—nothing;
> 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
> But he that filches from me my good name,
> Robs me of that which not enriches him,
> But makes me poor indeed!"

So was it with my friend Mr Collins. He was left poor in every thing but conscious integrity, weak in every thing but the justice of his cause, a cause that will ultimately make him omnipotent. (Cheers.) You may naturally ask is there not really something in all this? How is it that so many good men in this country have taken part against these gentlemen? I will not attempt to answer this minutely; there is an old adage—Give a dog a bad name and you may hang him; if you don't, somebody else will. (Laughter.) The other day I could not name Mr Garrison but the roof of the building reverberated with acclamations, and I was honoured and caressed because I was the friend of Garrison—he reflected upon me something of that lustre which, though dimmed for a day, shall yet shine brighter than before. (Cheers.) Now, "who so poor to do him reverence?" What has he done? Are his principles the same? Quite. Is the constitution of the American Society what it was? It is. Are the labours of Mr Garrison as constant, zealous, self-denying, and incorruptible as they were? Ay—every day reveals more and more how hard it is, how impossible it is, to make him swerve. (Cheering.) But then he has opinions that are not our opinions. (A laugh.) He has many strange and ultra views. What! is it come to this, that we, who are battling for personal freedom, shall put fetters on the immortal mind, and clip the thoughts of men like the wings of a jack-daw, that has not the liberty to go beyond the wall of the garden within which we have confined it. (Cheers.) Grant that Garrison differs from you and from me—I identify myself (on the Anti-Slavery platform) with no views of his but those that are Anti-Slavery views. (Loud cheers.) I worked with him in America, and he held many of those views then; but did that prevent us from working? No. When our work was done, we then talked together of these views. Did this mar our harmony? No. I have been in New York—and on the same platform have sat with one kind of a Quaker, calling himself orthodox, another denominated a Hicksite, with Presbyterians, and all other religious persuasions—here one black, and here another white, men of all creeds and colours, and in that crisis of the great cause it was the glory of the Abolition enterprise, it was the great distinguishing principle of the movement—that which told us our cause was founded in nature, and could lay hold of all hearts—that it was able to bring and to bind us together as one man, and, without the slightest compromise of individual opinions on other subjects, to knit our hearts in love. (Great cheering.) Oh! how often have I heard, from the lips of those men now writing down Garrison, the most eloquent eulogiums on this principle, and I have tried sometimes to imitate their strains;—it was indeed the grace and beauty of the movement in that country.

(Cheers.) I ask again, what have the opinions of a man to do with the Anti-Slavery cause? I am not aware that I lost any of mine in America. I brought nothing extravagant or fanciful away from America. Has any one ever discovered in me a desire, up to the moment I introduced Mr Garrison to the Glasgow public, to bring forward the woman question? (Hear.) Mr Garrison came to this country. He found those who came with him shut out from the Convention, and he refused to be a member of it—*I honour him for that.* (Cheers.) I know, however, if he had gone in, his calm imperturbability, the force of his reasoning, the purity of his sentiments, the solemnity of his appeals, would have done good. In no meeting in America did Mr Garrison ever offer a word to cause division—he ever deprecated it. He has said, let us have a convention for temperance, and when that is over, let us away to the Abolitionist meeting. (Hear.) Now, take a remarkable proof of this in our own country. In the Convention there was a debate about the female delegates; afterwards I came with Mr Garrison to Scotland, and every where on the road, in the drawing-room, as on the platform, every body who saw, admired and loved Garrison, till he was gone. (Hear.) We came to Edinburgh—nothing could exceed the harmony there—we came to Glasgow, nothing could surpass the enthusiasm with which Mr Garrison was welcomed here. It was also my privilege to be associated with Messrs. Birney and Stanton, two excellent individuals. The same scenes were witnessed. None of the peculiar theological views of Messrs. Birney and Stanton were brought forward; and thus was a living proof afforded of the harmonising operation of the great principle on which the American Society had been conducted. I, as an individual, could be equally at home with Mr Garrison, who holds so many odd views, as they are called, and with Mr Birney, who differs from them thoroughly. (Hear.) What, then, is the cause of all this discord? I pause for a reply. If there be an individual here to-night who knows any just reason why hearts understood to be one in this great cause should be divorced, let him speak out; and if any individual has a charge against the party with whom Mr Garrison is connected, and which has not yet been met, let that charge be brought forward to-night, and I deem myself strong enough to grapple with it. (Continued cheering.) Let it go forth that I am prepared to meet any individual who is willing, if this most unhappy difference continue, to show cause why this separation is necessary, to take up the gauntlet again in Glasgow, and demonstrate before any audience that no real cause of difference, still less of separation, exists. (Cheers.) *I ask you, then, to pause ere you withdraw your confidence from the men and women of America, who have made the Anti-Slavery cause what it is. Their principles, their constancy, their professions, and their practice, are the same as they ever were.* I deny not that others are, in respectability, and even purity of motive, equal to them. There are some particular acts like those to which I have adverted that can be attributed to no good motive: but to the great majority of them I grant the utmost respectability, and sincerity of motive. You can easily, from the experience you have had, and from your knowledge of the world, perceive for yourselves that the sensitiveness which many may feel to be connected with a suspected and odious party, and the desire of many more to be with the popular party of the day, must have actuated many in this matter. And then there are others who have been found to believe the reports circulated, because they came from respectable parties, who had not looked sufficiently into them. *I am convinced that nothing has ever been done by this party, against whom an act of excommunication has been pronounced, that should for an instant lessen the esteem of the Anti-Slavery public in this country. Had I the power to commit this great movement to any one party, I would, with much confidence, place it in the hands of that party who originated the Abolition cause;* while, at the same time, I believe that as sincere friends of the cause are to be found among the ranks of the Seceders, and that our duty is to wish both God speed, neither injuring the one by detraction, nor giving an exclusive support to the other. (Cheers.)

THE

WEST INDIA QUESTION.

IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION

WOULD BE

SAFE FOR THE MASTERS;—PROFITABLE FOR THE MASTERS;—HAPPY FOR THE SLAVES;—RIGHT IN THE GOVERNMENT;—ADVANTAGEOUS TO THE NATION;——WOULD INTERFERE WITH NO FEELINGS BUT SUCH AS ARE DISGRACEFUL AND DESTRUCTIVE;—CANNOT BE POSTPONED WITHOUT CONTINUALLY INCREASING DANGER.

AN OUTLINE FOR IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION:

AND

REMARKS ON COMPENSATION.

BY CHARLES STEWART.

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THE WEST INDIA QUESTION.

Great Britain rather totters than stands on a pinnacle—her crimes are gnawing at her heart—every one that loves her, trembles for her safety, and anxiously enquires into the causes of her danger.

It is the object of the following pages to point out one of those causes—a master cause—and to suggest its remedy. Should the writer appear severe, let it be remembered, that no disorder of any magnitude, whether physical or moral, can be removed by lenitives. The medical poison must be given at once; the limb must be amputated; the lust must be crucified while it is not yet too late, or the patient perishes. The writer disclaims entirely, all intention of giving offence. It is the extinction of crime, not the injury of criminals, which he seeks; and he speaks boldly of criminals, that their iniquity may not prove their own and their country's ruin.

The case to which he alludes is *Negro Slavery.* As a political evil he meddles not with it; but as a moral crime, it is a common nuisance, and fills him with horror and alarm. He finds it an infraction of all righteous law. He sees that it is the bane of all true love; and act of high-treason against God: and an outrage, concentrating in itself all outrages, against man. He cannot believe the Bible without being persuaded, that the fiercest vengeance of Almighty God, the moral and righteous ruler of the universe, is waxing hotter and hotter against us every moment that we persist in it. He knows that amongst the actual possessors and managers of Negro Slave property, there are some of the most honorable men in the nation; men who in other respects are examples of excellent and noble things; but he cannot forget that He who said, "Do not commit adultery," said also, "Let the oppressed go free." "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "He that loveth not his brother abideth in death." "For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all." And he therefore cannot permit himself to be blinded by the glare, however bright, of *partial* obedience: a whole heart, a brotherly heart, is what God requires; the undissembling voice of which shall be, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth, peace, good-will to man," without respect of persons; and not a heart yielded merely so far as may be sanctioned by convenience, or interest, or prejudice; or what men call prudence and benevolence, when they substitute this world's wisdom, for cordial and confiding obedience. In the course of the following observations, where things apparently harsh shall be found, let them apply *only* where they fit; but where they *do* fit, the writer entreats the persons in question, whoever they be, to remember, that "the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness," and to believe, that as far as he knows himself, this is his motive for writing as he does: not to judge, but to warn; not as desiring to destroy, but as wishing to be an instrument of salvation.

The subject, is Negro Slavery as it exists under British power. And the question is, how may it be remedied?

The Negro Slave party, that is, they who are interested, from whatever motives, in the continuance of Negro Slavery, honorable, wealthy, talented and united, declare that immediate abolition is forbidden by self-preservation; regard for the negroes; rights of the masters; pledges of government; and national interests. And another reason, not much avowed, but well understood, and of all others the most deeply felt by the great body of managers and of resident proprietors, is the fear of losing that endless variety of gratifications, which the possession of despotic power affords. But of all, few or none under the British empire, pretend at this day, that Negro Slavery should be interminable. All agree that it ought to be eventually abolished; but they require time, in order to avert the dangers, which they anticipate from so a great and sudden a change as immediate emancipation would produce. Now if it can be clearly shown, that these objections have no force, either in nature or in fact; that the immediate emancipation of the negroes, is the best way to give the masters security, and the negroes happiness; to absolve the duty of the government, and to support or improve the colonial and national revenues: and if it can be further shown, that delay is a cruel and dangerous delusion: and that the licentious gratifications of despotic power, dear though they be to the sinner, as a hand or an eye, are altogether ruinous and degrading: the difficulties which are heaped like mountains in the way of duty, will be removed, and unless rottenness have altogether gotton hold of us, we shall open our eyes and see how safe, and only safe it is, to obey God and let the oppressed go free.

Can such proofs be supplied; or where are they?

I propose briefly exhibiting them under the following heads, by showing that THE IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION OF THE NEGROES—

1st. Would be safe and profitable for the masters.

2nd. Would be happy for the negroes.

3rd. Would be right in the government.

4th Would be advantageous to the nation.

5th. Would interfere with no passions but such as are disgraceful and destructive; and

6th. Cannot be postponed without great danger.

But two things must be premised; viz:

I. *The real condition of the enslaved negroes in the British Colonies; and*

II. *What we mean by immediate emancipation.*

1st. The real condition of the enslaved negroes in the British Slave Colonies.

Each estate is a little despotism: the master may imprison,* flog, torture, sell and separate his slaves, under certain limitations essentially more or less inefficient, at his discretion. He gives them no wages; merely supporting them as beasts are supported. He may impose upon them, at all times, an overwhelming amount of labor; and this is left particularly to his own ungoverned discretion, during the season of crop, or for about four months in each year. His slaves may be seized and sold without any fault, or imputation of a fault, for their master's debts. They can be mortgaged like goods and chattels; and the greater number of them could not obtain their liberty, though thousands were offered to redeem them, except their masters pleased. When they come or are brought to England, they are free while in England; but should they return to their native country, they are again made slaves. This is their general condition, Kind masters alleviate it; but it is generally aggravated by unkindness; and

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* See Jamaica Slave law of 1831. Regulations for Crown Colonies of 1831. Nine Letters to the Duke of Wellington, by Ignotus. J. Jeremie's Four Essays. James Stephen's 2 volumes. Jamaica Christian Record. Colonial Gazettes, and Parliamentary Papers.

where sugar is cultivated, this aggravation is so severe, as to eventuate yearly in the slaughter of thousands of them, by the most lingering and painful deaths.*

But who are these slaves? Or of what enormous transgressions have they been guilty, that they should thus be consigned to a state of such hopeless and consuming oppression? Where is the record of their crimes and condemnation? Who were their judges? By what special commission were they tried?

They are British subjects. The great body of them were born within the king's allegiance, and have never forfeited his protection by any crime. They were never condemned; never tried; never accused. They are unoffending British subjects, with the same rights to the king's protection which any other British subject has;—endowed with property in their own bodies by their Maker, and inheriting a right to the king's protection, by having been born within his allegiance. They are slaves merely because they are in the hands of their enemies, who are stronger than they; and because their king and their country, who are bound by the most sacred ties to do them right, still choose to crouch beneath the pride and wickedness of their oppressors, and, with God's judgments ringing a thunder alarum through the world, to leave his poor to be destroyed.

2ndly. What do we mean by immediate emancipation?

We mean, immediately to treat the unoffending negroes in their true character, as guiltless British subjects; to give them the protection of the law, until they shall have been guilty of some crime, and have been fairly tried by a jury of their peers, and found guilty; to pay them fair wages for their labor; and to leave them to enjoy the fruits of their industry with their families. In short, we mean, immediately to make them the subjects of wise and righteous laws, instead of leaving them the slaves of private and irresponsible caprice. The following extract from J. Jeremie's work on Colonial Slavery, will fairly introduce our subject.

"Hitherto nothing had been done at St. Lucia, either legally or practically. General Mainwaring had, it is true, advised the planters to make an experiment, in July 1823, immediately on his receiving the original resolutions of the House of Commons; but this attempt, if entered on by some, was soon universally discontinued. The first draft of the slave law was completed at the close of the year 1825, when he had been nearly twelve months in the colony, and had had, as conceived, the best opportunities of forming a judgment. He had taken the most respectable colonial information, had made a tour of the island that he might ascertain, *de visu*, what was the actual condition of the slaves, and had revised carefully every enactment which appeared in the books of the colony.

"The opinion thus formed by himself amounted to this, that he conceived what had been alleged, of the general cruelties of slavery, was a downright misrepresentation; and this opinion was laid upon the tables of parliament in the subsequent year.—But hitherto the slave had not enjoyed the liberty of freely communicating with his protectors; he had not enjoyed those important rights which rendered him in any degree independent of his manager.

"Scarcely was this opinion transmitted, and the new slave law promulgated, than a negro came before him with a collar rivetted round his neck, from which projected three prongs of about ten inches each in length, and at the end of each of those prongs were inserted three smaller ones about an inch long, and these were attached to a chain, reaching to fetters joining round his ancles. His back and limbs were wealed from neck to foot, and he declared that this collar was kept on him by day and

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* See Population Returns, as quoted from Parliamentary papers in the House of Commons, by Brougham and Buxton.

by night; that he worked with it in the field; and on his return was immured in a solitary cell; and that this course had been practised for some months in order to prevent his running away, the crime for which he was principally charged. This might however be a solitary instance.

"A commission of three gentlemen of reputed humanity, namely, an officer holding the situation of Procureur de Roi, or official protector of slaves, together with the commandant of the quarter in which the plantation was situated, and the commandant of the neighboring quarter, were sent out to investigate the affair. These gentlemen returned with a written report, wherein not a word of the Negro's statement was shaken.—They admitted that there were three other men, at the time, on the estate, with collars of the same description, and that those collars were in use in the country.

"The Procureur du Roi added, that the collars in use were not quite so heavy; but the commissioners, apparently with a view of settling that point, had weighed the collar, and affirmed that it was heavier than usual. The report also stated, that there was a woman covered with sores, who was found in chains, and had been so chained for near two years; and yet the commissioners reported that the estate was well managed, and that the arrangements were good!—This was not a remote period, but in the year 1826.

"As may be supposed, the report was not satisfactory to others, as to those gentlemen. But no sooner was it known that the law was to be rigorously adhered to than reports of insubordination among the Negroes, and of the necessity of a militia, or some other armed protecting force to keep them in order, were universally circulated; all which not only surprised me but was at that time incomprehensible. A proclamation was however issued against these collars. What followed? Scarcely two months afterwards, other reports were spread of discontent and actual mutiny of so serious a nature having broken out on the same estate, that the principal officers of government were directed to investigate the matter anew. The result was, that in lieu of the collar, the following punishments had been used. The women were hung by the arms to a peg, raised so high above their heads that the toes alone touched the ground, the whole weight of the body resting on the wrist of the arms, or the tip of the toes. The report of a mutiny was mere invention.

"This torture was also put down, one of the offenders fined, and the other imprisoned. But what was the third expedient adopted? The field-stocks,—an invention forwarded from Trinidad, and which was actually legalized by the regulations drawn up by myself—so little aware was I of the severity of the punishment; indeed my attention was drawn to it by a planter himself. The field-stocks are in short, or at least may be rendered, nothing less than the most cruel picketing. They are in the shape of a pillory, the hands of the slave are inserted in grooves, which may be raised to any height above the head, and the feet are inserted in other grooves at the bottom of the instrument, the toes alone being made to touch the ground; the body is thus suspended in mid-air, its whole weight resting on the wrist and toes."

And it was in view of these facts, not as solitary cases, but as exhibiting a fair, general character of the natural outworkings of Negro Slavery, that J. Jeremie, in alluding to the proceedings at an Anti-Slavery Meeting which he had attended just before he left England, says, "On reading over these proceedings now, it is singular how altered they appear to my mind. With the experience I have since had of Slavery, there is not a sentiment I could not now adopt."

J. Jeremie's work presents as luminous and fair a picture of the subject as could be drawn. Every person who would know what Negro Slavery actually is, should read it.

And now for our argument.

I. *The immediate emancipation of the negroes, would be safe and profitable for the masters.*

First.—It would be safe. We will take Jamaica for an example.

What is the question?—It is to cease immediately from giving six-seventh's of the whole population, all the reasons which can be given them, to hate us and to destroy us if they could. It is immediately to give them all the reasons in our power to give them, to respect and love us. It is immediately to cease from keeping their interests and our interests at drawn daggers. It is immediately to make our interests and their interests one. Acting as we do at present, we expect safety while we are incessantly goading them to despair and revenge!! and we fear revenge and hatred if we should give them cause for love!! But the righted and cherished man, as a general rule is always safer than the wronged and insulted one. By restoring them to their unforfeited rights as subjects, instead of leaving them the slaves of the petty tyrants of the plantations, our physical force would be increased—*our wisdom to provide and our power to coerce would remain the same.* And it is entirely out of rational belief, that the same power and wisdom, which are sufficient to keep them in order under the most deadly provocations, should not be able to keep them in order, under the wise and vigorous sway of righteousness and love. When does a man begin to hate you? When you wrong him surely—not when you right him! How long will a man continue to hate you? As long as you continue to provoke him to do so by continuing to wrong him! How may you get his love? By repenting before God and humbling yourself before your brother—by "ceasing to do evil and learning to do well."—This is the whole secret—God has taught it to us. The history of the world is full of illustrations of its healing excellence. The only difficulty is with the wrong doer. He hates the safe and pleasant path of cordial obedience; he sees a lion in the way, where there is none; he rushes into all forbidden paths to avoid the monster which he has imagined, and then wonders, like an idiot, at the ruin with which he finds himself surrounded; or like a fiend, he turns upon those who have fearlessly in love, done all they could to preserve him, and blames them for what he himself has wrought. The history of the negroes is replete with evidence of their sense of wrong, and of the power of kindness over their minds. Here is an instance.

"In 1794, the negroes in Guadaloupe, were proclaimed the subjects of law, and were freed from the tyranny of caprice. At the moment, a French gentleman was lying in prison, his four hundred negroes came in a body to the prison in which he was confined, and obtained leave to speak to him.—'Massa,' they said, 'they tell us we free now; we no understand that; we no know dem massa, but we know you; you always kind to us; we come ask you, massa; you tell us, what we do.'"

Other views concur in proving the safety of the measure in question. Indecision in right, is nearly as ruinous as decision in wrong; it blights whatever it touches. In the case before us, the government is perplexed with all its difficulties; the nation is increasingly dissatisfied, while their unoffending fellow subjects are perishing unredressed. The slave-master is confounded by it in every speculation; enterprise withers; credit fails, or is obtained at a ruinous premium. The oppressed negroes are now buoyed up by hope: again they are goaded to madness and despair; meanwhile, with the progress of knowledge, they are unavoidably becoming more and more acquainted with their rights as British subjects, equally entitled with their masters to the king's protection; they are continually gaining new force (as far as the cultivation of sugar does not *kill them off*) to vindicate what every British spirit would die rather than relinquish. And the wrath of God is waxing hotter and hotter against us, while we hug the entanglements of our wickedness, and refuse the path

of duty, which would at once disenthral us, by obeying God and letting our oppressed brethren go free.

Three possibilities only exist of preventing the slaves from vindicating their rights, if we do not emancipate them ere it be too late.

1st. Encouraging and increasing the cultivation of sugar, so as to increase the annual slaughter of which we are already guilty, and thus eventually *to exterminate them entirely!*

2nd. The shutting out of knowledge from them altogether.

3rd. The general establishment of the christian spirit in its sweetest, gentlest, meekest form.

The first of these, that is their destruction by sugar, is in operation; it is reeking with the blood of hundreds of thousands already slaughtered, and is clamorous for aid to complete its work of death. Consumers of slave sugar, look to it well; you will want a good answer at the day of judgment.

The second, that is keeping them in ignorance, we have passed by and cannot return to it. Knowledge is abroad; it is spreading, and *will* spread; it is searching out the lies of ages, and exposing and overturning them; and nothing but *the truth in love* is capable of arresting its surges, and of confining them to limits of order and happiness. Seek to circumscribe it by other means, and you only dam up the flood, that with a deeper and mightier swell it may presently roll over you, and bury you with your puny barriers in a deeper ruin.

The third, that is the attainment of the christian spirit, is dependent upon a mightier energy than man's; and even when men seek it, they so mar and hinder the object of their own pursuit, by their own discrepances, that for one christian spirit which they gain of the meek and lowly order above-mentioned, they gain a thousand warlike christians, who like the pious officers of our army and navy, at once draw the sword of flesh in the battles of this world, and the sword of the spirit in the battles of a better. As far indeed, as christianity of the meeker stamp is obtained, security is obtained against resistance by the sword. But christains of this holy order, above all others, have learnt to obey God rather than man, and when called upon for unlawful labor, or when enticed to sinful gratifications, *they* are *they* who would *first die.*

The great body of Christians, however, are plainly warrior minds; and while Great Britain keeps a single soldier without forfeiting the claim to christianity, it would be the mere hypocrisy of pride, to accuse the poor negro of abandoning his Savior, because in a far more urgent and sacred cause, he wielded the same weapon in vindication of rights which he has never forfeited, and which are the dearest and most sacred that belong to earth.

The Colonists in America, feared, despised and oppressed the natives; the natives, a proud and revengeful people, greedily returned wrong for wrong. Each side contended for the mastery by evil doing; they waded in each other's blood, and of course, the weakest fell. The history is fraught with horror, but amidst its darkness, one bright gleam appears; a single colony, without forts, without soldiers, without arms, plunged into the midst of the savages, lived amidst them, traded with them, and was safe. Blood flowed around, but in Pennsylvania all was peace. And why? Why because the settlers in Pennsylvania contended with God's arms, with the weapons of truth, and equity, and love, and found them mighty, as they ever are when faithfully wielded. They overcame evil with good; they treated men as brethren, and found a brother's heart, even in the wild warrior's bosom; and why not we, in the kind African's? The whole history of the negro proves, that it is next to impossible to goad him to revenge; and that nothing is easier than to win his affections.

But secondly, the immediate emancipation of the negroes, would be

profitable to the masters. Slavery is in its own nature a state of degradation. The *degree* of the evil may be mitigated, but the extinction of slavery can alone fully remedy it. This disgrace unavoidably goes over to the labor in which slaves are employed, wherever, as in the West Indies, the slaves form a majority of the whole population; and the necessary result of this is, that the free people that spurn such labor: mitigate the crime as you will, that disgrace and spurning remain; but abolish slavery, and at once the obloquy which attached to their labor, because it was the labor of slaves, is removed; and those thousands of the same color already free, whose circumstances imperiously need such work, and who are well disposed to labor, but who prefer every suffering to disgrace, will add to your productive force in the cultivation of the soil.

The gradual system essentially involves increasing facilities of emancipation; with these facilities the number of free colored people must necessarily increase, and the natural increase of the slaves, obtained by the mitigated wretchedness of their condition, would be proportionably kept down. But since the existence of slavery renders field labor degrading; and since slaves alone therefore can generally be got to do it; the productiveness of the colonies must be retarded by the retarded increase of the slaves, if not by their absolute decrease; and the agricultural ruin of the slave states must be the result, (a result indeed, all but produced already,) except emancipation or revolution prevent it. Under the present system, all right sense of character is chilled or extinguished. The negroes most naturally think that they have a right, whenever they can find an opportunity, to plunder their plunderers; and they do this, not merely by purloining a little sugar or ground provisions, &c. now and then; but by laboring, while they *do labor*, as inefficiently as they dare; and by evading labor altogether whenever they can. But if freed, a sense of character would necessarily revive; their own wants would concur with higher principles in awakening and cherishing it; stealing instead of appearing lawful to them, as it now almost inevitably does from the dreadful example set them by their masters, would be regarded as a crime; and all the motives to evading labor which are inherent in slavery, would be done away.

As a necessary result of their emancipation, they would more or less accumulate property; this would give them a personal interest, of which they could not remain long unaware, in the security of property, and thus their interests and affections would become more and more identified with the interests of the public. Here we ought to observe that in our slave colonies generally, the number of laborers does not equal the demand, so that no one, who could work, need suffer; so great, indeed, is the want of laborers, that little children of six years of age can earn their own livelihood.

Whatever peculiar regulations (if any) might be deemed necessary, upon the first promulgation of the restoration to the negro of his unforfeited rights, as having been born in the king's legiance; such regulations should be expressly limited by law to an early date, and could only be necessary for a short time. The effects of emancipation would speedily impel the proprietors to introduce steam mills, ploughs, cattle and other improvements more and more generally. New means of amassing property would thus be opened to the master; new sources of employment would be provided for the servants; and with such aids, the labor of every hundred persons, would be equivalent to that of two hundred, under the present system.

If, in the course of this process, the proprietors, being now able to accomplish with one hundred laborers, what required two hundred before, should not extend their efforts to the amount of laborers wanting employment, these surplus laborers, not being needed as hired servants on

the plantations, could be employed with the greatest advantage to the public as well as to themselves, in raising provisions, such as grain, vegetables, fruit, live stock, &c. &c. upon the waste lands, which are now unoccupied, and which form a very large proportion of the whole extent of the slave colonies.

The annual expenditure of proprietors on the new system, would not be greater than on the present, even under every disadvantage, which could in any common possibility occur; but the profits of the proprietor would be immediately and progressively increased: because

1st. He would suffer less from petty depredations.

2nd. He would be more able to obtain the extra aid, which agriculture needs on emergent occasions; and in this would be included the important advantage of having every thing done in its proper season. The slaves are generally worked the year round beyond their strength, so that on the present system, there is no proper resource for the emergencies of the seasons, or of the crops.

3rd. The land, instead of being worn out, would be improved, and rent could be obtained for much of that which is now fruitless.

4th. The proprietors would have the advantage of voluntary labor urged on by interest, want, hope, and affection; over forced labor, maddened indeed, at times, to a spasmodic exertion by fear; but habitually depressed by despondency, and rendered unproductive by a writhing and smothered sense of wrong. It is a part of the fearful infatuation of the slave system, that it first deprives a man of every right and happy motive to labor; then wondering that he is idle, with demoniac bitterness, applies the lash or the stocks, or the dungeon, or the chain!! as if the effect, which results from a cause, could be remedied by corroborating and aggravating the cause which produced it.

The negroes continually increasing, the price of labor would proportionably diminish, and facilitate the opening of new lands; cattle, &c. would be reared, and the land would revive as they multiplied.

The colonies would be safer, less expensive, and more productive; for a free and loyal population fostered by us, would throng their plains, and would be continually extending the mutual demand and supply, by which commerce prospers.

The large capital which the slave system requires for the purchase of slaves, is not needed where labor is free. This fact chills the spirit of general and useful enterprise by confining the cultivation of our slave colonies, or rather the profits of that cultivation, to a few wealthy individuals. The government, the nation at home, and the negroes abroad, being dishonored, degraded, and plundered, in order to gratify the unbending pride, and the crazy fears, and the mistaken interests of a few wealthy capitalists.

For we may observe, that wherever speculations in slave labor, as is commonly the case, are pursued on *credit*, the debtor is entangled in all his exertions; his crops are mortgaged; he must procure, at whatever expense of life to the negro, or of disadvantage to himself, the stipulated quantity of produce, and he must commit it to the stipulated agencies,—he must force the seasons if unfavorable—he loses the advantages of the market—he is driven even as he drives the poor negro—except indeed that *brutal force* urges one,—*hastening to get rich* the other,—that the poor negro sees no hope in his toil,—but the speculator in the poor negro's sweat is buoyed up for his little span by the golden lure, which still glitters brightly before him, however certainly it in general eludes his grasp and leaves him in ruin. The *fair* capitalist needs not the cruel and criminal monopoly, which the slave system affords him, in order to enhance the advantage which the possession of capital always must give over its poorer competitor.

In the United States, the northern part of Maryland is less fertile and is less favorably situated for commerce than the south; but it is cultivated chiefly by free men. Land in this part is worth twice as much as it is in the southern and more fertile division, which is cultivated by slave labor; Pennsylvania is a free State; Virginia is a slave; they adjoin one another; land of the same quality, &c. is worth twice as much in Pennsylvania as in Virginia; wages in Virginia are twice as high as in Pennsylvania; Virginia compared to Pennsylvania is a wilderness; the inhabitants of Virginia are trembling in their beds—the people of Pennsylvania rest in safety.

Kentucky and Ohio are adjoining States; Kentucky is a slave, Ohio a free State; Kentucky was well settled, when not many years ago, Ohio was still a wilderness; but now the free population of Ohio, nearly doubles that of Kentucky, both enslaved and free.

"In 1821, the colored population of Columbia (including Indians) amounted to 900,000. Of these a large number were suddenly emancipated. The effect was, a degree of docility on the part of the blacks, and a degree of confidence and security on the part of the whites, unknown in any preceding period of the history of Columbia."*

"In the parishes of St. John, Philip, and George, in Barbadoes, on a plantation of 288 slaves in June 1780, viz. 90 men, 82 women, 56 boys, and 60 girls, by the exertion of an able and honest manager, there were only 15 births, and no less then 57 deaths, in three years and three months. An alteration was made in the mode of governing the slaves, the whips were taken from all the white servants; all arbitrary punishments were abolished, and all offences were tried by a negro court. In four years and three months, under this change of Government, there were 44 births, and only 41 deaths, of which ten were of superannuated men and women, and past labor, some about eighty years old. But in the same interval, the annual net clearance of the estate, was about three times more than it had been for ten years before."†

And should it here be said, "but the negroes were still slaves;" I reply, it is true that the negroes were still slaves, *legally*, but *practically* they were free: they were secured from all arbitrary punishments; their few crimes were tried by their peers; they received wages, and freely enjoyed the fruits of their labor; they loved the locality to which they were accustomed, and had no desire to leave it.

But it is true that all these blessings depended upon an individual's humor, and circumstances, and life; and so far they were slaves; still, for the time being, they were practically free, and both they and their master richly shared for the moment, in the advantages of hired, over forced labor.

"A slave," says Adam Smith, "can have no other interest than to eat and waste as much, and work as little as he can;" and Adam Smith here speaks a plain truth of nature. Kindness, indeed, may excite affection, and cruelty may awaken terror; but the affection must be as rare as kind slave masters are, and ever must be, while man is man; and though terror may produce spasmodic energy in labor, the very spasm destroys; the driven wretch perishes in the midst of his days; and to the last verge of his daring, "he eats and wastes as much, and works as little as he can." The driver may see the velocity with which he wields his hoe, and can goad him on if he relax; but no driver's eye can trace the nerve which he puts into his hoe; the instrument moves up and down with its stated

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* Enquiries relating to Negro Emancipation. Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly. 1829. p. 77.

† See Adam Hodgson's Letter to J. B. Say. Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly. pages 24 and 25.

quickness, but it falls half powerless on the sod. The writhing and recoiling mind, in a region of its own, beyond the keenest glance of the oppressor, ever spurns to yield its vigor to brute force. Let the oppressor continue to apply the lash, and he may continue to obtain the fruit of the heartless arm; but if he wish to get the benefit of the man's vigor, he must propitiate the man's mind. Free labor does this; slave labor always refuses it.

"Some years ago, a mill-dam was carried away not far from the city of Washington, in the United States. A contractor was applied to; he pledged himself to repair it in twenty days, if allowed to provide for the negroes as he pleased. The proprietor consented; "but" said he, "you cannot do it in sixty; I am certain my negroes will not be able to do it in less." The contractor repeated his pledge and began the work; he purchased some barrels of good pork and beef, and other necessaries of life, and suitable clothes for the season and labor: he fed the negroes freely, clad them well, worked with them himself, and treated them kindly. He completed the work within the specified time; did it in a masterly manner, and secured the good will of the negroes."*

Here we may observe, and urge as an important fact, in the search after truth on this subject, that the *labor of slaves* is *not* always *slave-labor*. In the Barbadian case, and in that just mentioned, the laborers employed were slaves, but their labor was free labor; that is, although legally slaves, they were, in these instances, treated like free laborers; they were won to exertion by the same motives as those which lead free laborers to exertion; and they were free, for the time, from the degrading and destructive effects of brute compulsion. The misery of the slave, is—not that he is every moment driven to death, for then would all slaves be quickly exterminated—but that he depends for all his present comforts, and future hopes on earth, upon the humor, and the fortune, and the life of a fellow sinner; and of a fellow sinner almost always brutified in relation to him, by the demoralizing effects of despotic power. The happiness of the free laborer, is—not that he always has abundance, for he is often in want—but that he is dependant mainly upon God, and his own exertions, and that he is as honorable in the eye of the law, and is as really protected as his master is.

Slave labor is, in fact, a device for depriving the employer of all the advantages of mind in his laborer, and for reducing the productiveness of the man's toil to one half, or less, of what his mere physical strength could produce; the writhing mind always subducting the other half, maugre despotism.

But free labor is a mode, by which, whatever the man is able to perform, is performed with all the advantages of mind which he may possess, and is enhanced by the energies of a willing heart. The former is the *gain* of the man who employs free laborers; the latter is the *loss* of the man who *will* have slaves. M. Coulomb, who for many years conducted extensive military works, both in France and the West Indies, states that:

"Field slaves do only between a third and a half of the work dispatched by reluctant French soldiers; and probably, not more than a third of what those very slaves would do, if urged by their own interest, instead of brute force."†

II. *Immediate emancipation would be happy for the Negro.*

The evidence in favor of this proposition is luminously complete; but prejudice has thrown much darkness around it. The question itself has

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*Relief for West India Distress, by James Cropper. London: Printed by Ellerton and Henderson, Gough Square. 1828.

† Hodgson's Letter to Say, p. 9.

been mistated; the facts of history perverted; false arguments adduced; and thus, upon a ground altogether assumed, a congenial structure has been reared.

What is the question?

It is, whether as a general truth, it is best for him to labor for wages, which shall be his own, or to be dependent upon his master for what he shall be pleased to give him? Whether it be best for him that his wife should be independent of his employer, or should be his master's slave? Whether it be best for him to be subject to no penalty, except for his own crimes,—or to be liable to be sold for his master's debts? Whether it is best for him to be secure from punishment, until found guilty on fair and open trial,—or to be left at his master's discretion to be flogged, imprisoned, and tortured whenever his master pleases, &c.?

The question is not, whether in some cases, it would not be better for a poor man to be entirely dependent upon a kind employer, and to be entirely provided for by him; but whether, in all cases, generally, it is better for a poor man to be the subject of just and equal laws, or the slave of the humor and will of his employer?

The answer is obvious. Unfit as the man may be to be entrusted with liberty, still his happiness will be more secure, under God, in his own keeping, than in any other man's. In keeping his own liberty, he is liable to abuse it. True; but who is not subject to the same liability? and if no man were to be free, until he were secure from abusing his liberty, where would the free man be!! But liable as the poor man unquestionably is to abuse his liberty, it is a still more striking and awful truth, that the rich or the strong man, armed with despotic authority, is yet more liable to *abuse* his *power*. Who in his senses would give his son for a slave to the Turk, because his son was liable to abuse his liberty! Yet the Turks, generally speaking, are kinder slave masters than the British are. And if the British slave master excuse himself from this procedure, by saying, that he has better means of securing his son from the abuse in question, than by giving him to a Turk; who does not see, that as truly, the British slave masters have vastly better means for securing the happiness of the negroes, than by keeping them in slavery? The following facts are selected from many, to prove that immediate emancipation would be happy for the negroes.

In the year 1794, the French National Convention at once declared all the slaves in their colonies to be free. Capt. W. of Cove Cork, was at that time residing in Cayenne. Liberty was proclaimed to the slave population around him, and slavery instantly ceased. He declared to me, that there was no disorder or fear; but all flourished. The masters and the laborers were alike happy, until Buonaparte, in 1802, restored slavery there.

The case of Hayti, or St. Domingo, is still more in point, because it was on a large scale, and its history is better known; and it is important to sketch it, as it has been grossly perverted by the advocates for slavery, and the enemies of the negroes.

In the latter end of 1793, liberty was proclaimed to the slaves by the government of the island, for the purpose of extinguishing a civil war, which had been for some time raging, and which the government found itself, although aided by troops from France, unable to quell; as well as in order to resist an invasion of the English. Early in 1794 this act was confirmed by the National Convention. The emancipation of the negroes, 500,000 in a body, produced the effects desired. The civil war was extinguished; the English were expelled; and Hayti continued to flourish until 1802, when Buonaparte endeavored to restore slavery there. He was foiled. But his horrible attempt led to a second civil war, which long distracted the island, and which led to the expulsion of the whites.

It is now at peace; and a French merchant, with whom I met last winter in Belfast, and who had resided chiefly in Hayti for upwards of twenty years past, told me, that though well acquainted with Great Britain and the United States; he knew of no country, in which there were so few infractions of the criminal code, and so much general comfort, good order, kindness, and independence as in Hayti.

The late first president of the Royal Court of St. Lucia, J. Jeremie, presents to us the following contrast in facts of his own experience in St. Lucia.

"One day I visited officially a plantation in the highest order,—the cleanliness of the buildings, their perfect state of repair, the luxuriance of the crops, all that concerned the *manager's interest*, bore an appearance truly gratifying. But it was my duty to inspect the gang: *they* were wretched to a degree, all but naked, eaten up with sores, wealed with flogging, diminishing rapidly, the only exception being a fine healthy child about six years of age. And on full enquiry, all this order, all this splendor, had been purchased at their expense.

"Much about the same time, I was called on to visit another estate, which the proprietors had quitted for some years, and *for about three had left even without a manager!!* The house and buildings were in decay, the general cultivation neglected, the appearance of the property, in all respects, the contrast of the other; but that *contrast* also extended to *the gang*. The men were a stout, healthy body of laborers. Men, women, and children, were well clothed and well fed; their grounds stored with ample provisions; a mother with her nine, another with six children around her; a great grandmother with a numerous progeny, all smiling and cheerful; their cottages well wattled, the inside separated into two or three different compartments, clean to a degree, and each containing a trunk filled with good clothing and some female ornaments. Yet was this plantation in the most remote, the other in the most convenient, part of the country." p. 62.

In 1829, it became generally known in the Islands proximate to St. Lucia, that a foreign slave, upon landing in a British colony was free; and the consequence was, that in 1830, upwards of 100 made their escape and came over to St. Lucia, from Martinique. These persons were described by their governors as *incendiaries*, *idlers*, and *poisoners!!*

Mr. Jeremie says respecting them, page 51—2.

"When I left the colony in April last, some were employed for wages in the business they were best acquainted with; some as masons, and carpenters; some as domestics; others in clearing land, or as laborers on estates; whilst about twenty-six had clubbed together and placed themselves under the direction of a free colored man, an African—one of the persons deported from Martinique in 1824. These last had erected a pottery at a short distance from Castries: they took a piece of land, three or four cleared it, others fished up coral, and burnt lime, five or six quarried, and got the stones and performed the mason-work, the remainder felled the timber and worked it in; and the little money that was requisite was supplied, in advance, by the contractor for the church, on the tiles to be furnished for the building. This pottery was completed, a plain structure, but of great solidity, and surprising neatness. Thus had they actually introduced a new manufacture into the country, for which it was previously indebted to our foreign neighbors, or to the home market."

The evidence respecting the liberated crown slaves in the crown colonies, as the law has not been evaded or abused, is altogether delightful. It unanswerably proves that the native Africans are quite as fit for liberty as any people upon earth; and by consequence that the creole slaves, if at all improved by our management of them, are yet more fit. But if, on the contrary, they are not so fit, what are we about thus grossly to defy God, and deliberately to lie, by pretending all the time to wish to prepare them

for liberty, while we persist for our own purposes, in grinding and wasting the unoffending poor!*

The following fact is from my own experience:—

Between the years 1817 and 1822, about 150 slaves succeeded in making their escape from the United States into Upper Canada. I became more or less acquainted with them all, and found them quite equal to any class of laborers in the country. These, with many others since escaped, are now comfortably settled upon lands, the purchase of their own industry, near Malden, in the western district of Upper Canada; one of them, a man named Adams, was one of the most interesting persons with whom I have ever met.

The following illustration is given me by my friend W. T. Blair, Esq. of Cotham Lodge, near Bristol.

"It is well known that the Hottentot has been represented as the lowest of all the African tribes in the scale of humanity. He is generally considered as a type of all that is degraded in human nature; scarcely raised a degree above the level of the brute creation, and incapable of improvement.

"It is true, that when Vanderkemp first went among them, they were in a very lawless and uncivilized condition; that they knew nothing, and cared nothing about the arts and comforts of civilized life; that they lived chiefly by plunder, and were a terror to the colony. But, they have since by kindness and christian instruction, been converted into peaceable and industrious subjects.

"When I visited Bethelsdorp in 1824, there were about 2000 people on the books of the Institution. They had acquired about 2000 head of cattle, 177 horses, 240 sheep and goats, and 60 waggons, which latter is in South Africa, an expensive and valuable article of property; 300 children attended the sunday school, and there were about 60 communicants. But few carosses or sheep skin coverings (the native dress of the hottentots) were to be seen in the premises; nearly all the men were dressed in English broad-cloth, and the women in English chintzes. In 1823, or 24, they competed successfully with the English and Dutch farmers, in the neighborhood, for the coveyance of government stores from Algoa Bay to Graham's Town, and in the same year they expended 20,000 rix dollars in the purchase of British manufactures. The year I visited the station, an Auxiliary Missionary Society had been re-established amongst the Hottentots, and 500 rix dollars had been contributed by them, chiefly by small weekly subscriptions."

III. *The immediate emancipation of the negroes would be right in the government.*

This is a truth so evident, and so little disputed, that I shall dwell but briefly on it.

The chief difficulty seems to consist in the persuasion that the government is bound, on emancipating the negroes, to compensate the masters for loss, which they will suffer. Without discussing this question here, I will observe that the emancipation of the negroes, and the remuneration of their masters, are two essentially distinct things, and ought always to be kept separate. The negroes, as unoffending British subjects, have an unquestionable right to the king's protection, whether their masters be remunerated or not. If the masters can substantiate any real claim on the nation, it undoubtedly ought to be liquidated. But the claim which the negroes have upon the government, without a question is louder, and more solemn far. The one (the negro) *demands* the restoration of rights which he has never forfeited, which are his by British Law, but of

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* See Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 70, Vol. iii, page 453—475, and No. 89, Vol. iv, page 453—454.

which he is deprived by wicked power; he demands security for his life, for his person, for the fruits of his toil, for his wife, and his child, and his cot. The other (the master) demands security for a portion of his money. To put the master's claim upon a par with that of the negro, is to confound all distinction between things of the most vital and unalterable importance, and things comparatively insignificant and of fluctuating value. But to set the master's claim above the negro's; the claim of the wrong doer above that of the sufferer of wrong: the claim of money, above life, liberty, wife, children, and the fair fruits of the man's own labor, is to outrage all righteousness. Unquestionably the master ought to be remunerated, whenever he can prove a just claim to remuneration. But more unquestionably far, the negro ought to be restored to his unforfeited rights as a British subject; the right of the unoffending sufferer ought to be preferred to the money of the oppressor.

The government has no right, except the right of the free-booter; the dreadful right of the strongest, to continue to permit the outrage of the poor, because the rich are afraid that they will lose some money, should that outrage be arrested. As far as the government has sanctioned or connived at negro slavery, it has sinned and has disgraced itself in the eyes of every right mind. The government has an unquestionable right to abolish the crime instantly and utterly, and as unquestionably it is the sacred duty of government to do so. Delaying, is but encouraging wrong and oppressing right. Delaying, is but bending to wickedness because it is strong, and suffering the destruction of the weak, because they are weak.

If the government would have the favor of God, or the respect of those whose respect is the respect of truth and dutifulness—if they would not teach the wicked to despise them while they flatter or to scoff and defy them to their face with impunity, as the slave party has been doing, the government must no longer tamper with this atrocious crime, but put it down firmly with the righteous arm of its lawful authority. The fundamental principles of British Law are quoted by Blackstone as follows. "Those rights which God and nature have established, and which are therefore called natural rights, such as life and liberty, need not the aid of human laws to be more effectually vested in every man than they are; neither do they receive any additional strength, when declared by the municipal laws to be inviolable—On the contrary, no human legislation has power to abridge or to destroy them, unless the owner shall himself commit some act that amounts to a forfeiture." Blackstone's Introduction, Sect. 2. And again, "Natural allegiance is such as is due from all men born within the king's dominions, immediately upon their birth, for immediately on their birth they are under the king's protection. The prince is always under a constant tie to protect his natural born subjects, in all times and in all countries. They have a great variety of rights which they acquire by being born within the king's legiance, and can never forfeit by any distance of time or place, but only by their own misbehavior." Blackstone's Rights of Persons, b. 1. c. 10.

Littleton says, 2nd Inst. chap. 2. page 141 "Malus usus abolenda est," and Coke remarks on those words, page 141 "Quia, in consuetudinibus, non diurnitas temporis, sed soliditas rationis, est consideranda." Evil customs should be abolished; because in judging them, we ought not to consider the length of time that they have prevailed, but the strength of the reason which supports them."

IV. *The immediate emancipation of the negroes would be advantageous to the nation.*

What does the immediate emancipation of the negroes mean? It means their being at once restored to their unforfeited rights as guiltless British subjects,—It means their being at once made the subjects of wise and benignant laws,—It means that their happiness, under God, should at once

be committed to their own keeping, under those laws, instead of being left to the keeping for them of others, who, from the very nature of human things, are under the most overwhelming temptations to insult, degrade, slander, abuse and oppress them. It means, that their own wants, their own interests, their own desires, and the benefit or pleasure of those whom they love, or who have been kind to them, shall become their stimulants to industry, instead of the brute force, by which they are at present goaded; and that the fruits of their own labor, instead of remaining the legalized booty of another, should become their own.

The only difficulty, in this case, arises from the idea that the negroes would not work. But abundant evidence proves that this is simply a prejudice, with no other grounds, but the oppression which produces it, or the ignorance which it deceives.

The following evidence on this subject was adduced by Mr. Pitt, in the House of Commons, in April, 1792. "The assembly of Grenada had themselves stated, "that though the negroes were allowed the afternoons of only one day in every week, they would do as much work in that afternoon, when employed for their own benefit, as in the whole day, when employed in their master's service." Now after this confession, the House might burn all its calculations relative to the negro population. A negro, if he work for himself could do double work. By an improvement then, in the mode of labor, the work in the islands could be doubled."*

And what improvement in labor can be so great, as giving the laborer a personal interest, well secured to him, in the produce of his labor; as winning his affections to the work in which he is employed!

In 1780, Kentucky was a flourishing State, and had a considerable population; the same year Ohio had scarcely thirty white inhabitants. But Kentucky was a slave State, and Ohio a free one.

In 1830, the population of Kentucky was less than seven hundred thousand, but that of Ohio was nearly one million; and land of the same quality in Ohio, was worth twice as much as in Kentucky.

In 1780, Virginia had a population of six or seven hundred thousand, New York only about four hundred thousand. But Virginia was a slave State while New York had but very few slaves.

In 1830, the population of Virginia was only about 1,211,266, of whom 469,724 were slave. But the population of New York, where there were only forty six slaves, had increased to 1,913,508.

And why was this?

Kentucky and Virginia can scarcely be surpassed in natural fertility; they are two of the garden spots of the world. In every other advantage excepting *one* they had an equal share with Ohio and New York. That one was *free labor*. Kentucky and Virginia refused it when it was at their option, and they refuse it still. Ohio and New York accepted the boon, and they are largely reaping the benefit.

A missionary and his wife, who returned from Jamaica last year, after a residence there of about fifteen years, told me at Birmingham, where I met them, that having been much acquainted with the coffee plantations of that island, they had generally found the slaves to be dismissed from their master's work about 4 p. m.; and that the difference in their gate and demeanor, before and after four, had always greatly struck him. Before four, while employed in forced labor for their masters, there was an apathy, a stupidity, a carelessness, and want of nerve, which seemed invincible, except by spasmodic terror. But as soon as they were dismissed to work for themselves, they were at once all life and activity, cheerfully hastening to the cultivation of the grounds allotted to them for rearing their own provisions.

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* Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Vol. 2, page 428.

A similar fact is affirmed in that admirable work, "The Christian Record of Jamaica, for January, 1831, No. 5, p. 13." In coffee districts, it is usual for the master to hire his people, after they have done their regular task for the day, at a rate varying from ten pence, to one shilling and eight pence for every extra bushel which they pick from the trees; and many, almost all, are found eager to earn these wages." And again, same page; "Negroes, in general, work much harder in their own grounds, than in their master's fields."

Two other evidences may suffice. The one is from a Berbice planter, Mynheer Van Rossom. The other from J. Jeremie's most interesting and instructive Essays.

Mynheer Van Rossom's testimony was given to me personally, last summer, in London, but I prefer quoting it from his own words, as contained in a memorial presented by him to his Majesty's government in behalf of the colonies, in 1831.

"I know them from experience; they are a grateful and faithful people. During the five years that I lived amongst them, I experienced so many proofs of their fidelity, love, and attachment, and above all of their gratitude, that I should be unjust to them, and untrue to myself, if I did not state it. I never had a runaway upon any of my estates. I have never been obliged to punish a slave for not doing his work, or not working enough; and the trouble I had to prevent their working on Sundays in crop time, will hardly be credited. I often remonstrated with them that it was not lawful. When, in 1817, they had once gone to the field on a Sunday morning to pick coffee, the only mode which I could put a stop to it, and prevent a repetition, was to pay them the full amount of the coffee brought home. They had worked half a day, and I gave them £65, stating to them, that I paid them the full value, as I would not be benefitted by their labor on that day."

In another place he says:—

"Dependence can be placed on them. If I keep my part of the contract, they will keep theirs."

The number of Mr. Van Rossom's negroes was about 400.

In 1822, the government of St. Lucia instituted an inquiry into the frequency of running away among slaves. The commandant at Castries, (the capital of St. Lucia,) supplied a report on the subject. He admitted the frequency of running away, and as Mr. Jeremie says, page 52,

"He accounted for it, among other causes, by the too great intimacy between slaves and the lower class of free persons; and in proof of this he offered to submit for inspection certain small plantations, often occupied by a free colored man and his wife alone, the former being either a fisherman, mason, carpenter, or sportsman; and yet, observes the reporter, 'his plantation is better cultivated, and he has more land in cultivation, than proprietors of several slaves.' 'Who then,' he adds, 'cultivated his property? Perhaps day laborers. No, he employs none; he employs runaway slaves!'"

And what does this statement prove? Clearly, that if the reporter affirmed rightly, runaway slaves, under all the depressing fears of discovery and oppression, labor well *because the fruits of their labor are immediately their own*: how much better then, if freed from those fears, and if stimulated by the still fairer hopes, which warm the bosom of the free man! Or if the reporter was in an error, that one free man and his wife, in the midst of other avocations, can do more than a slave master with several slaves. I feel indeed that I am almost insulting the understandings of my readers, in dwelling on this evidence;—and perhaps nothing but the thick darkness, which pride and prejudice have woven round a subject in itself so plain, could excuse me.

But if the evidence adduced have force, and darkness be fleeing before

the light of truth, we see that the immediate emancipation of 800,000 souls, would give the nation upwards of a million, instead of 2 or 300,000 consumers for its varied productions: the agriculture of the colonies, which is perishing, would be retrieved: the sources of insolvency, vice, sterility and ruin, which are interwoven, fundamentally, in the Negro slave system, being removed by its abolition; and every mind in the colonies being left free to bring its quota of talent and of energy into the common stock for the public good, the whole would rapidly increase in number and in wealth: character would improve; credit would be restored; enterprise, no longer reduced to a monopoly by the immense capital requisite for slave speculations, would revive; and the fertile lands, which though now rendered comparatively barren, still call our ships across the sea, restored by the willing nerve of freedom to their fertility, would soon demand a double number.

V. *The immediate emancipation of the negroes would interfere with no feelings, but such as are disgraceful and destructive.*

What are the feelings which forbid the immediate emancipation of the negroes? — that is, their being immediately made the subjects of wise and benignant laws, instead of leaving them, as they now are, the slaves of private caprice?

Not regard for the law of God, for the Divine law is the law of all righteous liberty: the express command to masters is, to give to servants that which is *just and equal*, and the part which God chooses is, "to let loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burden, and to let the oppressed go free."

Not regard for the laws of our country,— for, as quoted in page 16, the negroes being by birth the king's subjects, are unquestionably entitled to his protection, and can never lose their right to it by any thing but by their own misbehavior.

Not respect for the Colonial Charter,— for those Charters forbid any laws, but such as are consistent with the laws of England.

Not care for our own souls,— for the cry of our brother's blood which we are shedding, is sounding louder and louder in the ears of Jehovah, against us.

Not love for our neighbor,— for who could think that a Turk loved him as himself, if he persisted in keeping him and his wife, and children, in forced bondage.

Not love for the negroes' temporal happiness,— for negro slavery continually plunders the wretched negro who is subjected to it, of almost every means of happiness.

Not a desire to educate the negro under a wise and benignant tutorage,— for, with a few exceptions, as far as depends upon the masters, the great body of the negroes remain as uneducated as their ancestors were an hundred years ago. The following illustrations may suffice.

The Jamaica Slave Law of 1696, contained the following clause: "All the owners, and the managers, and overseers of slaves, shall as much as in them lies, endeavor the instruction of their slaves, in the principles of the christian religion, to facilitate their own conversion," &c.

This clause was substantially repeated in 1788, 1816, in 1826, in 1829, and in 1831. (3rd clause.)

But in the Jamaica Christian Record, for Nov. 1830, No. 3, page 128, we have a list of twenty-four plantations, (with nearly 4500 slaves) on *one* of which only, *reading* was allowed; on *ten* of which, there was *some merely oral catechisings;* and on the remaining thirteen of which, no instruction whatever was permitted; and this is probably a fair average of our slave colonies.

The other fact is, that although the Society for propagating the Gospel, with the Bishops for its leaders, has had in its hands a slave estate in Bar-

badoes, called "The Codrington Estate," for upwards of 100 years, and actually has for its head, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the negroes on it generally continue in open fornication and adultery.

Not to prepare them for liberty,— for upwards of two hundred years, for doing so, if they had been inclined to it, the slave party declares that the negroes are not yet ready. Although the native Africans, those *savage Africans*, as the politer West Indians call them, can be landed from the captured slave ships, at once as freemen, with perfect safety, and with much benefit to the public and themselves.

I know, indeed, that the above desires are loudly *professed.* But I know as well, that they are not more loudly professed to-day than they were two hundred years ago. I know also, that the natural mind is the same now as it was then; that the imbruting influence of despotic power on the human mind, remains the same; that as stiffly as ever, we defy God, refusing to let the oppressed go free; that the condition of the negro remains essentially as wronged and as wretched as formerly; that in sinning to-day, as we persist in doing, against our unoffending black brother, we are sinning in the face of greater light, and therefore exhibiting a more awful evidence than ever of our obstinate corruption; that a thousand years has made no difference in the humbling but important truth, that "the man who trusts his own heart, is a fool;" and I therefore can see no reason at all for believing assertions, which the solemn and undeniable evidence of God and of history, has proved to be utterly delusive, in regard to truth; to be experimentally disgraceful to its assertors, and fearfully ruinous to the guiltless victims. Avarice — indolence — pride— lust, the fear of man; the pursuit of man's favor and such like, are the only feelings which are really hostile to the immediate emancipation of the negroes, and these are the feelings, which are still making this world, otherwise so lovely, even in its ruins, a great field of lust and blood, and which are filling up the pit with its victims.

VI. *Emancipation cannot be postponed without great danger.*

There is danger, in the continual deepening of the divine wrath; this is indeed despised or disbelieved; but it is not less sure, or the less dreadful. It is coming.

The greatest danger of pecuniary ruin to the masters, is essentially interwoven in the negro slave system. Bryan Edwards, one of their leaders, declared this in 1792. The Assembly of Jamaica, has since urged it repeatedly. The West India party in England, has reiterated it. Their extensive failures, and their almost universal distress, evince its force. All lotteries are disgraceful and ruinous; but negro slavery is the worst of all. It is a lottery in the oppression and blood of the poor. Determining at all risks to be rich, "its dupes fall into temptations, and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition." 1 *Tim.* vi. 9. With giant strides they have ruined, and are ruining themselves; and then, like gloomy and disappointed idiots, they scowl at every one who will not flatter their madness; or who endeavors to bring them to repentance, and to rescue from their iniquitous grasp, even by the wisest and the kindest means, the unoffending poor.

But passing by the manifold details of my position, I wish particularly to point out the following awfully impending sources of danger, which are increasing with every day's delay.

Who does not know, that knowlege and slavery are incompatible? The one cannot flourish, without destroying the other. But progress in knowledge is inseparable from every species of amelioration. Tell of a plan of gradual emancipation, without improving the negroes in knowledge, and you tell of your own folly. Speak of preparing the negroes for liberty, without cultivating their minds, and you render your proposition unworthy of all regard. But every step in knowledge nerves the arm, and whets the sword of the wronged, for the recovery of his plundered and

unforfeited rights. "Timely reform," it is well said, "is reconciliation with a friend. Reform delayed, is capitulation to an enemy."

Whatever might be the result of immediate emancipation, by the wise and parental authority of government, the result of emancipation wrought out by the negroes for themselves, would unquestionably reek with blood.

On the gradual system, increasing numbers are continually getting free. The more benignant, and consequently the more worthy of regard, that system may be, the greater are those numbers: but they do not get their parents, wives, and children freed with them. "What kind of a woman was your mother," said a slave master some years ago, in a familiar mood, to a fine African boy whom he had purchased. The poor boy's heart writhed beneath the associations awakened: "Come, tell me," said the white man who regarded the black man as a brute, only fit to be enslaved and insulted; "what kind of a woman was she; was she tall, was she thin, was she old, was she beautiful?" The boy's glistening eyes arose, and in broken accents he said, "how could a mother but be beautiful in the eyes of her child!!" These increasing crowds of free men, eminent as far as our slave system has not destroyed the characteristic, for filial dutifulness, see and hear the brutal wrongs, which their loved and honored ones are suffering. They know, for they have felt, that slavery is no bed of roses; that consuming one's strength by force, for another's benefit, is no pleasant toil; that licentious power, backed by opportunity, is not a fictitious terror; their souls writhe within them at the nameless wrongs to which their parents, wives, and children, are still subjected. Their number and intelligence; their wealth and power continually and unavoidably increasing, give energy to the fire which is burning within them; every feeling of the human heart, which excites to resistance and to retaliation, rankles more and more deeply, and they are only waiting the climax and the opportunity, to sweep away the accursed remnants of the slave system, in the blood of its unrelenting perpetrators.

Immediate emancipation is a certain remedy, and it is the only remedy at once righteous in principle, and safe in fact. Delays are dangerous.—Delay in duty, that is, in what is morally right, is criminal as well as dangerous. The Almighty, as the American Jefferson, so solemnly and so truly said half a century ago, in relation to negro slavery in the United States, "has no attribute, which can take side with us, in such a contest!"

If these things be so; if the immediate emancipation of the negroes, would be safe and profitable to the masters, and happy for themselves: if it would be right in the government and advantageous to the nation: if it would interfere with no really honorable and upright feeling, and if it cannot be postponed without continually increasing danger, two or three striking questions arise.

1st. Why do not the slave party see it? they have many men of high talent, who are sensible and well informed, and some of whom, in other things, are of remarkable benevolence. Why do not they see and act upon the fact, if it be so?

I answer, some of them, though few, *do* see it; and some of them, though *fewer still*, have acted upon it, and of course have ceased to be slave masters; but the slander, and the opposition, and the violence, and the scorn which it provokes from the rest, embarrass their measures, and largely prevent the delightful fruit which would otherwise arise. This is an evil, which government alone can remedy.

But the great body of them do not see it, because their minds, however bright and honorable in other things, are perfectly imbruted towards the negro. They have so long seen him in the posture of a slave, and with the attributes of a slave, that they deem it a jest or an insult, to represent the negro to them in his real character, as a brother man, more honorable, because less guilty than they themselves are; as their unoffending and oppressed fellow subjects, entitled quite as much as they to the king's pro-

tection, and suffering wrongs from them, manifold more aggravated than the worst of those which their fears conjure up from the nation, and in view of which, bugbear as they are, they are half assuming the attitude of treason. They overlook the obvious fact, that the crime is their own, and they blame and traduce the poor negro, because he is suffering the effects of the wrongs which they inflict upon him. They will not open their eyes to see, that the character which the negro exhibits under their bondage, is the character which that bondage almost inevitably produces, and is as different from his own, as the feelings of the freeman differ from those of the slave. Some years ago, a Friend residing near the borders of Virginia, heard that a negro of the most hardened character was thrown into prison as a last resource; "not all the promises or all the terrors of his master," said they, "can make any thing of him; he seems to laugh at flogging, and at chains, and death; he is always thieving, always lying, always idle." The Friend, with two or three others, went to see him; the negro seemed to have made up his mind for defiance, and sat gloomily and contemptuously before them. They sought to get at his heart, but long he heeded them not; at length, when they were about to give him up in despair, a fibre was suddenly smitten; "massa," said he, "you know no'ting 'bout dat; you get me free, den you see, what kind man I." They easily purchased him, for he was a nuisance rather than of any value to his master; and he immediately proved himself, and continued to prove himself, one of the most dutiful and industrious men, that the Friend ever knew. But the great body of the slave party are so imbruted in all their feelings towards the negroes, that they will not and cannot see the broad and delightful truth which this bespeaks; and they persist in ruining themselves, and wasting the negro by vainly endeavoring to obtain by force, what equity and love would at once obtain without sin or difficulty. Their minds are in the same posture in relation to the negro, as the mind of the drunkard is in relation to his liquor, or of the adulterer in relation to his lusts. They see the negro, slavish, artful, thievish, and idle, *as a slave*. They *will* have it, that as *a freeman*, he would be the same; and therefore, with all the *wisdom* of *infatuation*, they persist in keeping him a slave, in order to prepare him for liberty; they *will* retain him in the condition which has, in a great measure forced him to be slavish, idle, thievish, and artful, in order to teach him to be independent, industrious, honest, and open. This fact could scarcely be more strikingly exhibited, than it is in the following words of the assembly of Jamaica, in their decision of December 14, 1827.

"The whip is not forbidden in the field, lest the abandonment too suddenly, of a long established usage, should be misunderstood by the slaves. * * * *Until Negro women* have acquired more of the sense of shame, which distinguishes European females, it will be impossible in respect to them, to lay aside altogether, punishment by flogging, there being no substitute that promises to be accompanied with the same salutary dread."

Or in the following quotation from the Antigua Free Press of Friday, June 8th, 1827.

"On the first introduction of the Slave Code into Trinidad, the abolition of the whip, in the punishment of female slaves, coming suddenly on the Planter, unprovided with the authorized means of coercion, was the cause of great relaxation of discipline, and frequent disorders occurred. But the application of the hand and feet stocks has proved fully effectual for the punishment of refractory or insolent slaves; and at this period, the females are maintained in as perfect order and subordination as the males. These stocks, confining the hands and feet, by which the body is kept in a position, that at length becomes almost insupportable, are allowed by law to be applied for six hours; but the severity of the punishment has proved so great, that few planters will go to the extent authoriz-

ed; and the female who has *once tasted* of its *salutary* bitterness, has seldom any inclination to try a second dose!!"

Such is the wisdom, and such are the contrivances of the great body of the Negro Slave Masters. Such are the modes, by which they seek to enrich themselves, and to *prepare the Negroes for liberty;* and such is the condition, in which they would have us contentedly leave our guiltless fellow subjects in the slave colonies; till women, by indecent exposures, and brutal floggings, are taught modesty; or by stretching on the stocks of Trinidad, are inspired with respect for the authorities above them, and with cheerful industry!!! The simple reason why a man who keeps his eyes fast closed, cannot see, even while the day is pouring upon him, is because he will not open his eyes.

2nd. The Planters surely love their own pecuniary interests. The negroes are actually their property. To oppress and destroy the negroes, would be to destroy their own property; and how can we believe, that shrewd men like the Planters, fully awake to their own pecuniary interests, could act so irrationally?

On our post roads of Britain, the Post Masters love their money as well as the West India Planters do. The post horses are their own property. Yet, who does not know that, in seasons of competition especially, the poor horses are driven beyond their strength, and often killed? Negro slavery is an intense competition of ardent rivals, driving against each other. The driven animal, as in other cases, is the sufferer. The driver also very frequently suffers, betrayed by the lust of gold. This is eminently the case with the slave party. In their horrible lottery of avarice, and lust, and blood, nine out of ten are ruined. They are driving them to destruction as fast as they can. But they resolutely shut up their senses against the blaze of evidence which demonstrates this fact; and while they go on railing at the government; and at the friends of humanity; and at the poor negroes—and even at the blessed missionaries of the cross; they are continually deepening their guilt and their ruin. God says to them, "Steal no more." "Yes, yes," they reply; "we wo'nt steal a man's coat; but we must steal his reputation, his wages, and his liberty." "Let the oppressed go free," says God. "That we wo'nt," says the Negro Slave party. "The way of transgressors is hard," saith the Lord. "Oh *that*," they cry, "is the fault of the sufferers. and their friends." God opens to them the pleasant way of love and holiness. But they hate that pleasant way, and sting themselves to death, while they are wasting the unoffending poor, and abusing every one who does not sympathize with them in their wickedness.

Few, comparatively, of the Negro Slave proprietors are managers. The actual authorities, generally in charge of the poor negroes, are hirelings, and have no other interest in them, than to wring out of them as much labor, year by year, as possible. With these men interest concurs with passion and opportunity, in wasting the negro.

Of the few proprietors who are managers, very few indeed, are completely solvent. Overburdened, generally, with debt, and deeply mortgaged, they are under pecuniary engagements of the heaviest kind, to obtain, harvest by harvest, a stated quantity of produce, and to consign it to the stipulated agencies. However much they may compassionate the negroes, or be awakened to their own *permanent* interests, they have no alternative but immediate ruin, (as they deem ruin) or the fulfilment of their pecuniary engagements. The poor negro is the machine by which, season after season, the bond is solved; and that bond can only be solved, as the admirers of slave labor are persuaded, by exacting from him by force, whatever amount of exertion is requisite for its solution.

Interest, worldly interest I mean, is dear to man; it is like his right hand. But passion is dearer still. It is the apple of the eye. He will

sacrifice body and soul for his money. But he will sacrifice body and soul, and money too, for the gratification of his passions. What tongue could utter the loathsome and bloody abominations of negro slavery in this particular? The mind of the despot, in relation to the negro, is doubly seared. He outrages his brother, and rushes proudly to his own ruin, even as the war horse plunges into battle.

3. But here is a difficulty.

A man has purchased an estate in the West Indies of the value of £20,000. The enslaved British subjects on it, estimated at one half, or £10,000: the lands and works at the remainder.

He has a sudden call to convert his property into money, or he dies, and his executors are required to do the same, for the benefit of legatees. Now, while such a sale is in progress, or before it can be completed, if all the enslaved British subjects in the slave colonies were restored to their freedom, would not such property be largely depreciated, and would not the person in question sustain a heavy loss?

I reply, the case is an extreme one. Such cases might occur, but they would certainly be rare; and even on the low ground of political expediency, the exception can never form the rule. It is unquestionably better, in every sense, that a few criminal individuals should suffer a pecuniary loss, than that hundreds of thousands of innocent people, should continue bereaved of all that is most unalienably the real property of man, and of all that is fundamentally dearest to every right feeling of the human heart.

But will such a loss arise? let us fairly see.

Every body knows, that land of itself is worth little or nothing for human purposes. All, or almost all its value, depends upon the means of cultivating it. In a slave society, like that of Jamaica, as few or no laborers, except such as are enslaved can be procured for the purpose of cultivating land, the value of landed property rests eminently upon the number of enslaved laborers attached to it; and this must continue as long as slavery continues. But if the slaves were freed, what would be the result? There would at once be in Jamaica between three and four hundred thousand free laborers, dependant under God for the daily bread of themselves and families upon their own labor. Every one who had land, could get a portion of them. The value of land, which had largely gone over to the slaves, because none but the slaves could be got to cultivate it, would immediately revert to the land itself, because now its cultivation would be secured by free labor, without the waste of capital, and the overwhelming responsibilities of the slave system. This reversion of the value of the land, to the land, would be immediate in a measure; it would necessarily increase with rapidity, and very soon, as is now the case in Maryland and elsewhere, the land and buildings alone, would be worth as much, without a single slave, as the same land and buildings now are, with all their outraged and unoffending poor.

If the necessity, supposed in the case, were imperious and instant, so that the persons concerned could not without guilt, delay the sale, beyond the day immediately following the emancipation, it is probable some loss would be sustained. But not so much as the slave share of the purchase, because every one would immediately know, that the land was not valuable without slaves. But this is a case doubly extreme. The common necessities of sale, could clearly be postponed under such circumstances, for a reasonable time, and little or no loss need arise. For myself I am fully persuaded, that sales would early be effected, vastly more profitable to the venders, than now could take place, or than ever can take place again, while we continue to defy God, by refusing to let his poor go free.

They who can deem the risk of a portion of the money of a few, in a case scarcely to be supposed; and that money, the money of the wrongdoers; as of more value than the unforfeited right of the sufferer of wrong

to his property in his own person, and in his own righteous liberty and earnings, may be stumbled at this difficulty if they please. I leave them, with an earnest intreaty to study solemnly and prayerfully, the 58th chapter of Isaiah, and the beginning of the 5th of James.

But why don't the Government do its duty, and at once abolish this atrocious system?

The only reasons that I can see, are, 1st. That Slave Masters are members of the Government. And what, with this cancer in its bosom, and the dreadful influence of the Slave party without; pervading as it does, almost every corner of our empire, and holding often the highest in its trammels,—the Government, however willing, has not been able alone. And 2ndly. That the nation, by purchasing and consuming the produce of the Slave Colonies, at once supports Slavery, and unnerves all its efforts, and all its petitions against it. It is building up with both hands, what it is calling upon others to pull down.

Two or three brief observations may be added.

If the negroes be fit for liberty, there is no excuse, but such as felons use, for keeping them in bondage.

If the negroes be not fit for liberty, the fault must be in our negro slave system; since it is undeniable, that the native Africans can at once be landed from the captured slave ships, as free men, the subjects of law, with the most perfect safety to the public and themselves.

If we would keep them slaves, in order to prepare them for liberty, where shall we find right agents for the evolution of our *benevolent* purpose? The West India planters have always been an honorable body. They have had the negroes in their hands for nearly three centuries; and they themselves declare that the negroes are not yet prepared. There is another body, more honorable still, the Bishops with His Grace of Canterbury at their head, who have had a slave estate, (Codington's Estate, Barbadoes,) for upwards of a hundred years in their possession, and by their own last report, published but a few months back, the negroes on it were not yet fit for liberty.

Where could we find better agents? Or can present or future slave masters be more wisely trusted with the liberties of their unoffending fellow subjects than those that are passed; while still they remain men, and the dreadful influences of despotic authority retain the same power as ever over the human heart? Which of us, that has a father's spirit, could be willing that our child, imbruted by Turkish bondage, should remain in bondage to the Turk, that his Turkish master might prepare him for liberty before he set him free? And what difference is there between this case and ours, except that a Bible is more guilty than a Koran land, where it wrongs its unoffending brother!

OUTLINE FOR IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

A Parliamentary enactment, abolished at once and altogether, the Negro Slave system, throughout the British dominions.

This should be transmitted, immediately after its completion, with all requisite authority, to the slave colonies; and, at the conclusion of the few days which might be requisite to prepare for its promulgation, it ought to be promulgated and put in force.

The negroes should remain amenable to the common Statute Laws of Great Britain, together with such local regulations, as might be suitable in their recovered capacity, as free and righted British subjects.

All compulsory labor will be at an end, except for crime, by fair course of law, and equitable wages will be the stimulus, and the reward of the negro's toil.

All great and sudden changes, being liable to difficulties from the very nature of the human mind, the change which we are now contemplating,

should be no greater than duty requires—and therefore, while duty is satisfied, by converting the slave of private and irresponsible caprice, into the subject of public and equitable authority, such regulations should be enacted, as might best provide for the public good, on the righteous basis of equal law.

A public provision should be made for the maimed and incurably diseased negroes.

All difference in law, on account of color, to be abolished.

The details of this outline can be filled up, only by the proper authorities. All that seems wanting for its completion is,—

That the negro slave party should open their eyes, and cultivate, instead of destroying, both their own interests, and the unoffending poor.

That whether the negro slave party will open their eyes or not, the government should do its duty, by at once and totally abolishing this atrocious crime, leaving the pecuniary question between the criminals to be settled by due course of law.

That in order to give the government the strength which it needs on this subject, the people should more and more urgently and numerously petition.

That in order to give their petitions all their force, the people should abstain from slave produce, as far as possible, and especially from that dreadful article, slave sugar, which adds slaughter to slavery.

And, as each individual's duty is perfectly independent of the concurrence or opposition of others, that each individual should be faithful unto death, in doing all that he can in a christian temper and a christian manner, towards obtaining immediate obedience to the divine command, to "let the oppressed go free."

Should it yet be said—But why not leave the matter to government? I reply,

1st. The measures still pursuing by government, are fundamentally the same as those pursued since 1823; that is, they continue either to leave legislation for the benefit of the oppressed, to the discretion of their oppressors; or they aim at the mitigation, instead of the extinction of crime. While the government has been dallying over these measures, exposed to the scoffs, and the insults, and the almost treasonous opposition of the slave party, upwards of 30,000 of our unoffending fellow subjects have been deliberately slaughtered in cold blood; and upwards of 200,000 have died in slavery; and are prepared with all their unredressed wrongs about them, to meet us at the bar of God. From 1824 to 1831, between 4000 and 5000 yearly destroyed in sugar. The natural deaths, in the same period, amongst 800,000, must have been at least 200,000.

2nd. The half-way measures of the British government, and the liberty which it has taken to connive at the *actual continuance* of the great crime of negro slavery, while it has been feebly aiming at its *future extinction*, have encouraged other nations in their wickedness. Crime, to be prevented, must be deprived of countenance; and the temptations which lead to it, must be removed. Immediate emancipation, under wise and benignant regulations, would do this: but half-way measures countenance the crime, and supply it with temptation.

3rd. The act of legislature, which shall substitute the dominion of wise and equitable laws, for that of private and irresponsible caprice, will be more easy of execution, than any merely ameliorating acts can be. In the former case, legislature will be simple, uniform, and just; and the interests of all parties being fairly consulted, the interests of all will harmonize. But, in the latter, legislation itself exceedingly complicated, will have to contend with a discordant mass of hostile and repellent powers. Each plantation will remain, as it is, a little "imperium in imperio," at variance with the supreme government, and in a state of smothered warfare within

itself; the interests, as he deems them, of the master, on the one side, being, from the very nature of things, at irreconcilable variance, with the interests on the other, of the oppressed negro, and of the nation, disgraced by the poor man's wrongs.

4th. The discordances of legislation, introduced into our slave colonies, by the various sources, British, Spanish, French, Dutch, Pirate, &c. from which we have derived them, will present a labyrinth of legalized subterfuge and impediment, beyond all possibility of efficient correction, by mitigating measures; and amidst the mazes of which, "*Negro Slavery*," may safely crouch, crying out "*Amelioration*," and despising the cries of the negro's blood; as long as the gradual system, with its half policies, vacillating between right and wrong, continues to afford it covert.

5 h. But let the simple, wise and equitable dominion of British law, be substituted by the supreme authorities of the state, for the negro slave system; and at once, the otherwise insuperable difficulties which now oppress us, will disappear: the wickedness which is a lion in the face of indecision, is a lamb when confronted by duteous energy; and truth, and love, and lawful liberty, will take place of avarice, tyranny, and lust, and blood. Policy will be succeeded by wisdom. Temporising between right and wrong, will be supplanted by decision in right; and our eight hundred thousand enslaved and outraged negro fellow-subjects, will no longer blazon our inconsistency and hypocrisy over the world, whenever we boast of our liberty.

APPENDIX.—ON COMPENSATION.

In Negro Slavery, there are two parties.—The wrong doers, and the sufferers of wrong.

Whatever may become of the wrong doers, the sufferers clearly ought not to continue to be wronged.

The wrong doers consist of two classes. 1st. The Negro Slave party; that is, every body who has, or rather, who thinks he has, any direct interest in the continuance of the outrage. And, 2nd. The rest of the nation.

The beginning of this outrage, was the crime of the Negro Slave party. Sir John or Captain Hawkins, by imposing upon his sovereign, and by making himself a merchant in the liberties and blood of his unoffending fellow men, for sake of lucre, was its infamous founder. (I speak of Great Britain only.)

At a subsequent period, the Government, to its everlasting disgrace, threw itself into the enterprise, and took a dreadful lead; but even then, in the height of its guilt, the Government retained a degree of integrity.—In the debate of 1792, as quoted by Clarkson, vol. ii, p. 433, adducing Act 23. Geo. II. c. 31.

"No master of a ship trading to Africa, shall by fraud, force or violence, or by any indirect practice whatever, take on board, or carry away from that coast, any negro, or native of that country, or commit any violence on the natives, to the prejudice of the said trade; and every person so offending, shall, for every such offence, forfeit £100." Mr. Pitt adds, "But the whole trade had been demonstrated to be a system of fraud, force, and violence; and therefore, the contract was daily violated, under which the parliament allowed it to continue."

And who were the violators? Not the nation or the government, but the negro slave party!

Virginia and Jamaica, it is true, petitioned for the abolition of the African Slave Trade; and the government rejected their petition. But the motives for the petition and for its rejection, were of one stamp. Both were alike sordid,—and in moral estimation, are records, not of praise, but of infamy.

When, at a subsequent period, the African Slave Trade was acknowledged by government to be what it always had been, *felony*, and was abolished by law, the negro slave party clave only the more firmly to their idol, its hideous parent, *Colonial Slavery*, which, in the nature of things, is equally *felony*; and for many years past, they have been resisting alike the influence of the government, the remonstrances of the nation, the voice of humanity, and the commands of God, in support of their destructive system. All that talent, wealth, high connections, union, energy, lust, pride, prejudice, selfishness, deluded passion, and perverted judgment, could do, to

support the outrage, has been done by them; through their influence, chiefly, this intolerable disgrace still rankles in our bosom. I say, chiefly—not entirely—because, by purchasing and consuming their produce, especially their bloodbought sugars, we continue to purchase and encourage the crime.

These facts should be always kept in mind, when we discuss the subject of Compensation. I speak of them in a general sense, disregarding the exceptions; and in this sense, I proceed to observe:

1st. If the criminal, however sanctioned by legal wickedness like his own, have no just claim to compensation, when arrested in his iniquity; then the plunderers of the rights, and the destroyers of the lives of their guiltless fellow subjects, will have no such claim, if a lawful stop be put to their cruel and destructive system.

2nd. If compensation be due to the sufferers of wrong, and not to the perpetrators of it, *then*, all the compensation is due to the oppressed.

3d. If compensation for loss never can be due, till the fact of loss, and an equitable claim be substantiated; no compensation can be due, in the case before us, till the proof of such loss is supplied, and a just claim to remuneration be established.

4th. If the compensation claimed, be a claim of equity, that claim must have the support of the Divine law. But every principle of the Divine law, is against the claim in question here, as far as relates to keeping the unoffending negroes another moment in bondage.

5th. If it be a political claim, it must be supported by political rights. But, in the present case, the British law is fundamentally adverse to it. The charters of the Slave Colonies do not support it. The British character loathes it. Customs inherited from pirates, and a law of custom, worthy of pirates only, together with Colonial Statutes, defining its existing enormities, are its sole grounds—its sandy, yet terrible foundation.

6th. If it be a commercial claim, it must be sanctioned by the established principle of commerce. But every merchant exposes himself to all the reverses which may meet him in his speculations. When he has had sufficient warning, he is doubly without a claim. And when his speculations partake of robbery and murder, all that he has a right to claim, is the robber's and the murderer's meed.

7th. If it be a claim to benevolence, it must make out a case of distress, not the result of the claimant's own obstinacy in wickedness. In the case before us, the case of general distress seems amply made out; but the evidence is still more ample, that this distress is entirely the result of the dreadful infatuation in sin of the claimant; that he has the remedy within his power; and that nothing, but his own unbending wickedness, has prevented, or now prevents the remedy.

8th. If the claim pretend to any degree of rectitude, it must be compatible with the equal or superior rights of others. But this seems entirely overlooked by the slave-masters, in their "a priori" claims for compensation. So sordidly selfish are their views, that no evidence can be traced, in any of their proceedings, of their having the least remembrance, that the negroes whom they oppress, are their brother men, entitled, by the law of their God, to their love: that the poor negroes, whose liberties they are plundering, and on whose plundered wages they are living, are their fellow subjects, and have a better claim to the king's protection, than they themselves have: that the oppressed negroes have suffered wrongs from them, and from the nation, which worlds of gold, and ages of holy and undissembling love, could not repay.

9th. If the claim demand a sum of money, equal to the full existing value of the negro, *this* and *more* than this, the claimants have already received. The oppressed negroes themselves, have amply paid it, by the net profits of their toil. The only difference is, that if the nation had paid it, they would have received it, all at once, in the mere sum, of £24,000,000; esti-

mating, in round numbers, that there are 800,000 of our fellow subjects thus oppressed in the Colonies, and that the price of each of these, upon an average, is £30. Whereas, receiving it, as they have done, by daily instalments, they have received a large addition in compound interest. Here let it also be observed, that the nation is already two hundred millions out of pocket by the Slave Colonies; and that in any legal balancing of pecuniary accounts, this fact must be estimated.

10th. Whether, however, we reject or admit the claim of compensation, the most convincing arguments, alike of theory and of fact, are not wanting to prove, that the advantages of free labor, would greatly increase the value of the estates, so as in a short time, to render the land alone worth as much as land and negroes both together now are; and would greatly improve the income of the proprietors. And these arguments are so conclusive, that it would be much more reasonable for the slave masters to purchase beforehand, from the nation, the advantages of immediate emancipation, by an advance of millions, than it would be in the nation to pay beforehand, for an apprehended loss, which there is abundant reason to believe will never arise.

Still, the claim is boldly and loudly reiterated. Here is what may be further said.

The quantity of produce on each plantation is annually sworn to for internal taxation, in the slave colonies.

The quantity of exported produce, is, or ought to be, duly recorded in passing through the Custom House.

The number of enslaved British subjects on each plantation, is annually sworn to, for internal taxation.

The same thing is done triennially, stating age, sex, &c. for the three yearly returns to the supreme Government.

The books of each plantation contain lists of all the enslaved British subjects on the plantation, with their various employments, &c.

On these and other data, means of accurate information are always at hand. With respect to the effect of making the negroes at once the subjects of wise and benignant laws, instead of leaving them the slaves of private caprice, the negro slave party, and the rest of the nation, that is, the two parties of criminals, are at variance. The negro slave party, *will* have it, that a man labors most profitably for his employer, when compelled to do so, whether he likes it or not. The rest of the nation is equally confident, that willing labor stimulated by the laborer's own wants, and interests, and affections, must always be the most profitable for all parties.—The negro slave party, insisting on *their* view, scream out against us, as if we were going to ruin them, by giving them *voluntary*, instead of *forced* labor; and demand compensation for loss, before they have sustained any. The nation can see in their clamour, nothing but the infatuation which characterizes the whole of their dreadful system. The negro slave party rejoin, "but you are our accomplices, and you ought to bear your share of the loss." The nation says, "where is the loss? There will not be a negro less in Jamaica; the land will not fly away. The militia, which is chiefly composed of the free colored and black people, are loyal. The national troops will not become less numerous or brave. Our ships will be as fleet in crossing the sea. The laws will only change, by being converted from a system, worthy only of pirates, into a system of benignity and equal handed justice. Love and gratitude, and a sense of lawful security in property and person, certainly will not be a less efficient curb, than a system of legislation, which wrongs all real right, and stimulates its sufferers more and more fiercely to revenge, and madness, and despair.—Where is the loss? says the nation, we can see none. It is true, that we have been your accomplices in this attrocious crime, but our guilt is a reason, not for continuing, but for abolishing it: neither should we be justi-

fiable in remaining your accomplices, because you still prefer your money or your pride, to the rights of your unoffending fellow subjects; rights the most sacred which man can have on earth; rights which they have never forfeited; rights, which for the time being, are entrusted to our care, and to which, they have a claim more sacred far, than you have to the comparative dross, the fear of losing a portion of which, almost maddens you.—Where is the loss? We are not going to take from you your laborers, or any lawful power over your laborers; we are only going to deprive you of the power of insulting, and polluting, and plundering, and abusing them, with impunity. We are only going to remove from you, a temptation to wrong, too great for man to bear. We are not going to give you the labor of a brute of the same physical strength, instead of the labor of a man; but we are going to restore to the man whom you have imbruted, the mind, which alone can give to his physical strength, all its efficiency, and this efficiency will be left with you; his physical strength, which force could not bring out, but which, from the very nature of the human mind, force blighted, will be restored to you, not only with all its animal energy fully developed, but enhanced by all the powers of mind of which he may be master. Where then, we say, is the loss?" "Oh, we are sure that we shall suffer a loss," say the slave party; "and as our money, or rather a portion of it, is of much more importance than our God, or our king, or our country, or our souls, we must have money, before the oppressed shall be let go free." "We have sinned too long already," replies the nation, "in sharing and in suffering your guilt. Rulers from God, are 'a terror to evil doers,' and not their accomplices. We dare no longer defy Him, by continuing to keep you company. The king's subjects must not be left the slaves of the king's subjects. The law which has been outraged, must be restored without delay to its integrity. The oppressed must be let go free. This is our first duty; and it is a duty perfectly separate from the balancing and settling of the vile accounts which we, the wrong doers, have between ourselves. But as we cordially agree, that having been your accomplices in the crime, should the fulfilling of our first and great duty in this particular, subject you to inequitable loss, we ought to bear a fair portion of the penalty; you have only to assert and substantiate your claim to compensation, as soon as you have really suffered a loss; and we pledge ourselves not to be wanting in justice to you. The data already enumerated, together with other evidences, will always amply supply us with the means of coming to a fair decision. The question of letting the oppressed go free, and of restoring to His Majesty's unoffending subjects, the unforfeited rights of which they have been so long and so criminally deprived, is one thing. This must be first and independently set at rest. The question of mutual duty between the wrong doers, is another thing. And the proper time for discussing it, will be, when any claim is peaceably advanced and supported openly, and fairly and lawfully established by either party of the criminals against the other."

Suppose, then, that our wishes were accomplished!

Suppose that the government should cease to defy and mistrust God; and that in its deliberate wisdom, as God's minister, it should to-morrow enact a law, at once abolishing the whole slave system, and instituting in its place, a law, worthy of free and Bible-England. Suppose that the unoffending and loyal negro, should thus at once be restored to the king, whose subject he is; and be delivered from the despot of the plantations, whose slave is not for a moment, except by laws and customs, which are the stain and the curse, even of the pirate. Suppose, I say, that this were done; and that it were accompanied with every truly wise and righteous precaution; for this, *and this only*, is what we are urging. What would be the difference?

Let us take Jamaica for our example.

Would God keep it less firmly on its watery bed, because now the laborer there, was no longer plundered of his wages; and because the master now no longer stiffened his neck against his God, or hardened his heart against his brother? Who can believe it?

What would be the difference?

Would the lands assume a double sterility, because the causes which are producing their sterility, were removed? Would the land, which refuses to yield its strength to the nerveless and heartless arm of the slave, become doubly barren, beneath the cordial arm of the freeman?

Would the master whose beauteous fields are of no use to him, without labor, keep them waste, and ruin himself with two-fold rapidity, merely because he hated free labor, and still hankered after the long idolized lusts of slavery? Would he make a wilderness about him, where, amidst the unfettered developements of every holy and tender affection, he might, if he would, make a paradise?

What would the master want?—He would want laborers. Where could he get them?—From the emancipated negroes only.

Would he not rather leave his lands waste, and ruin himself, than hire them?—It cannot be supposed.

But would it not cost him more, to hire free laborers, than it does to keep slaves?—Certainly not; for it is clearly ascertained, that hired laborers, always, as a general rule, cost less than slave laborers. How do you prove this?—By the existing fact in our own colonies.

We have free-sugar colonies; and we have slave-sugar colonies. Our free-sugar colonies are at the distance of 15,000 miles from us. Our slave-sugar colonies are only about 5,000. This greater distance imposes upon our free-sugar, a freight, &c. double or treble that which is upon our slave-sugar. In addition to this, there is a heavier duty, by 8 shillings per cwt. upon our free, than upon our slave-sugar. Yet soft, free-sugar, of the same quality and fineness, from 7*d.* a pound, upwards, may be had as cheap as slave. That is, free labor, is actually in our own colonies, so much cheaper than slave labor, that free labor sugar can bear a double or treble freight, and a heavier duty, by nearly a penny a pound, than slave-sugar; and yet be sold as cheap in our markets.

But how do you account for this?

In working an estate by slave labor, the slaves must be purchased.—Say 300 slaves. The average price, we will estimate at £30 per slave.—Here, then, at the outset, is an expense of £9,000. But this expense is entirely saved, upon the free-labor system.

These 300 slaves are of all descriptions; young and old; sick and well; weak and strong; men and women. One third of 100 of them at most, are efficient laborers; another third, perhaps, may yield some profit; but one third must be unprofitable, provided they are treated with any degree of liberality. A large proportion of the slaves, therefore, although a great capital has been sunk in their purchase, must be a dead weight. But this need not be the case, and generally is not the case with a single free laborer, although nothing has been sunk to obtain him.

The fact is, that the slave master, by his infatuated system, after sinking an immense capital, has to support a large proportion of unprofitable laborers; while, even out of those that are profitable, he does not, and cannot get half their strength; the slave, as a law of human nature, "eating and wasting as much, and working as little as he can." But the proprietor, by free labor, is exempt from all this. He sinks no capital in order to obtain his laborers. He keeps no laborers, but such as he actually wants; and generally speaking, he gets out of all whom he employs, the cheerful product of their strength.

But would the emancipated negroes work? Why should they not?

They will have nothing but their labor, under God, to depend upon.—

They will have no house of their own; no land of their own; no money of their own. Why should they not labor?

They generally love with devotion, the habitations to which they have been accustomed. Sir William Young, formerly Governor of Tobago, says, "The Creole slave is attached to his place of birth and home, as strongly as Goldsmith's peasantry, wandering from the Deserted Village." Their native character is eminently yielding, submissive, and grateful.—They love superfluities and finery, as much, at least, as other men. Why should they not labor?

They must labor, or leave their abodes, so dear to them, in spite of slavery and suffering. They must labor or starve. They must labor or see their mothers, wives, and children perishing. Why should they not labor?

The question is absurd.

Of course they would labor,—and labor well; and while their labor, being free and cheerful, would not consume themselves, its willing vigor would yield a double or treble profit to their employers.

But the slave masters say, that we are going to take their property from them.

What do they mean?

Do they mean that we are going to take their negroes from them? If they do, they are under a mistake; we do not even think of taking their negroes from them.

What do you purpose then, say they, by emancipating our negroes?

We mean merely to take from you, the legalized power of abusing and wronging them with impunity.

But would not *that* be taking them away from us?—certainly not.

How do you prove it?

The value of your negro to you, consists of three several divisions. 1st. The money which is sunk in his price and in his keeping. 2nd. His labor, and 3d. The value which you could get for him, should you sell him. The first of these actually produces nothing to you, but is a heavy drawback. The second, viz. his labor, is your only present profit. And the third, is merely a security for interest to come.

Now what must be the effect upon these several relations, of the deliverance of the negro from your legalized power to abuse and wrong him?

The only difference will be, the difference between cultivating your estate by free and slave labor. The money sunk, will remain the same. It will neither be increased nor diminished by the righting of the negro.—His labor alone, is your actual advantage. Now, if any means can be devised, whereby, you can get him to labor more profitably for you, at a less expense, you will clearly be a gainer. But emancipation will do this for you—not *gradual* emancipation, or *half-way* emancipation, which will leave his moral powers crippled, and his moral feelings outraged, and his moral motives chilled; but emancipation, such as is his right, and such as power only, disgraced and perverted, keeps from him for a moment. As a free laborer, he will cost you less wages, than together with the unprofitable members of his family, he now costs you; and as a willing laborer, he will work more profitably for you, than your cart-whip, or your stocks can ever compel him to do.

But where should we get funds to carry on our cultivation, if our property were taken from us?

Your property would not be taken from you. It would be improved.—The capital which is sunk in your negroes, *is* sunk. It does not now supply your current expenditure; but on the contrary, is a heavy burthen to you. You must have *other* sources of supply for your current expenses; these will not be touched by the emancipation in question; but they will rather

be benefitted by the comparative security which results from the harmony instituted between the negroes' interests and your own.

But should I wish to sell, where is my money? The capital sunk in my negroes, will surely then be gone, as I shall have no negroes to sell.

Not so.—Although you will have no negroes to sell, you will have a substitute, equally, or more valuable. You will have the recovered value of your land. Wherever slavery prevails, land without slaves, is of little or no use; and as the purchase of slaves is very heavy, and the possession is always precarious and dangerous; few, comparatively, can embark in the speculation. The finest land remains, as it were, a drug, because ten thousand acres of it, without slaves, where you can get no other laborers, must remain a wilderness. But abolish slavery, and at once you have as many free laborers as you had slaves, each standing in the market anxious for employment. Get one hundred acres then, and you can immediately render it productive by hiring such laborers as you need for its cultivation. Thus the land resumes its value; and in its recovered and increasing worth, you have an ample security for the capital sunk, whenever you may wish to sell.

But the negroes will leave us.

We can see no reason to believe it—except, indeed, you be one of these wretches, who, by the atrocities of despotic power, doubly abused, have succeeded in awakening wrath even in the kind negro's bosom, and have convinced him beyond denial, that his only alternative for peace is to leave you. In every other case, why should he go? To whom should he go? Whither could he go? He would not leave you—he could, as a general truth, have no motive for leaving you. Every motive which wields the heart of man, would require him to stay. He would want his cot—where could he get another, should he leave you? He would want his field—where could he get a better? He would want a master to hire him. Why should he leave you, if you have not proved to him beyond contradiction, that you are singularly unfit to be trusted? If he went from you, it would not be *we*, who took him away, but it would be yourself alone, who drove him from you. All that we should have done, would be to take away from him the motives which you are now giving him to leave you if he could; and to make it his interest, and his honor, and his happiness, to remain with you, secured alike with yourself, beneath the sacred and pleasant panoply of righteous law.

Here we ought to observe, that there is one class of the criminals not included in the preceding remarks. These are the *Jobbers*, as they are called, who have slaves, but have no lands. Much of the force of what has been said, clearly does not apply to them. If their slaves were to be freed, they would lose their slave property, and many of them have none other. In a moral and everlasting sense, the emancipation of their negroes, would be to them also, an unspeakably important benefit: but in a pecuniary sense, they would be losers. I stop here merely to notice, not to discuss the fact; and I will simply add, that in the vast expanse of fertile lands, which still belong to the government in the slave colonies, the amplest means exist of making every provision for them, which compassion or equity can demand, without the expense of a shilling to the nation.

Should it further be said, "admitting your whole argument, still, as the present proprietors might suffer by the foreclosure of mortgages through the fears of mortgagees, upon such an extreme change of circumstances, and through the unwillingness of capitalists to risk their funds during the uncertainty, which for the time at least, would be suspended over thee vent, and as you have unquestionably been accomplices in the crime, you, as unquestionably, ought to share in the loss." We may observe, that the gov-

ernment might provide against this apprehended danger, by making loans, wherever requisite, upon the same security as other mortgagees, at three or four per cent, to the present proprietors, wherever they might need funds, in order to enable them to contend fairly with whatever difficulties might arise. By this means, the proprietors would have an easier and more certain command of money, at one half or one third of the expense to which they are now exposed, and the government, without countenancing the impious claim of compensation, as antecedent for a moment, or as in any degree an equal duty, to the immediate rescue of the king's unoffending subjects from the petty despots of the plantations, would provide against loss to its partners in guilt, as far as human help can provide; while in the increased value of land in the colonies; in the newly acquired security of property; in the extention of commerce; and in the general happiness of the people, it would be itself as secure, as human things can be.

CHARLES WHIPPLE,

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CHRISTIANITY VERSUS SLAVERY,

OR,

A REPORT,

PUBLISHED IN THE "GLASGOW ARGUS" NEWSPAPER, NOVEMBER 8, 1841,

OF A

LECTURE, DELIVERED AT AN ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING

IN THAT CITY,

BY

GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.;

AN EXTRACT FROM A PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED, "PROCEEDINGS AT THE FIRST PUBLIC MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE EXTINCTION OF THE SLAVE TRADE AND COLONIZATION OF AFRICA, HELD AT EXETER-HALL,

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, PRINCE ALBERT,

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY, IN THE CHAIR,

JUNE 1, 1840;"

THREE PAPAL BRIEFS OF

URBAN VIII, BENEDICT XIV,

AND OF HIS PRESENT HOLINESS,

GREGORY XVI,

DECEMBER 3, 1839,

NOT ALLUDED TO IN THE ABOVE MEETING,

AND NOW PRESENTED, WITH PREFATORY REMARKS, TO THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND,

BY

HUGH CHARLES, LORD CLIFFORD.

DUBLIN,

PRINTED BY W. POWELL, 68, THOMAS-STREET,

For the Benefit of the Sisters of Charity, Dublin.

1841.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.

TO THE

CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

FELLOW-CHRISTIANS AND COUNTRYMEN,

ON the Feast of the Apostle of the East Indies, on the return of the day upon which, two years ago, YOU, in common with all your fellow-members of the ONE HOLY CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH, were addressed on the subject of the Slave Trade, by the Supreme Pastor of all the Faithful, I present to you, in the hope of interesting you in favour of the natives of those countries, who are your fellow-subjects under Queen Victoria; and in favour of your own fathers, brothers, sons, or relatives, who may be inhabitants of those distant regions in the service of their country, the following pages. They are intended to assist the arduous exertions of many generous friends of India in Great Britain, and particularly of him, whose eloquent appeal to the inhabitants of Glasgow I venture to recommend most earnestly to your attentive perusal. The present Lord Mayor of your capital City has already, with that remarkable readiness and ability which he is ever wont to display in advocating the cause of the injured and oppressed, on several occasions, and particularly at a meeting held on the 26th of last August, at the Corn Exchange in Manchester, for the formation of a Northern Central British India Society*, come forward before the people of England,

* See a pamphlet, entitled, "Proceedings of a Public Meeting for the formation of the Northern Central British India Society, held at the Corn Exchange, Manchester.—At the Society's Office, 32, Charlotte-street, Manchester—1840." Forty-six pages, 8vo.

in support of the sacred cause, to which I wish to direct, in a particular manner, by means of these pages, the attention—while I hope to excite the sympathy—of CATHOLIC IRELAND.

These pages are meant to show you, that some more powerful agency than that which has been exerted in Great Britain, to counteract the encouragement, which erroneous notions have induced the manufacturing interests of your sister-country to give to a not less *ruinous*, than unchristian and inhuman traffic, is requisite to open the eyes of the people of England to a principal cause of their present general distress. To you, CATHOLICS OF IRELAND, may be told, without fear of giving you offence, the sad truth from which your fellow-subjects in England appear to shrink, and which many advocates of the abolition of Slavery are almost afraid to tell *them*, lest in so doing those advocates should excite in their hearers feelings of distrust and aversion towards themselves, rather than of sympathy. This sad truth is—that a national expenditure of FIFTEEN MILLIONS sterling has been incurred, with no better result than an INCREASE of the Slave Trade, and in the number of Slaves exported from Africa, for the supply of raw materials for British manufactories, in the proportion, since 1807, of TWO TO ONE; while, if justice had been done to India, that raw material might have been furnished to the British manufacturer at about one-fourth of the cost at which it has been furnished, Slavery might have been already abolished in America, and an immense market might have been opened for British and IRISH export trade, which has been kept closed by an equally wicked and foolish policy. And why has all this ruin and distress been brought upon the cultivator in India and the manufacturer in Great Britain? Why is the starving workman, who is turned out of employ by the bankrupt manufacturer of Great Britain, told to look for his only remedy to what the agriculturist of Great Britain declares to be pregnant with ruin and distress to the landlord and his tenant, and the immediate forerunner of national bankruptcy? To you, CATHOLICS OF IRELAND, that truth may be told, which some of the non-Catholic Christians of Great Britain do not *wish* to hear—that Great Britain has been deaf to the voice of Urban VIII and of Benedict XIV, and continues deaf to the voice of Gregory XVI. To you, CATHOLICS OF IRELAND, it may be told, without the fear of creating on *your* cheeks the blush of shame, that though EVERY CATHOLIC Prelate and dignitary of Ire-

land, who entered the shop of your CATHOLIC Book Society, at 5, Essex-bridge, Dublin, during the space of several weeks in the present year, eagerly subscribed the address there lying for signature, in favour of the rights of humanity; though the Committee which placed Prince Albert in the chair at Exeter Hall, on Monday, June 1st, 1840, declared, that "it is the unanimous opinion of this Society, that the only complete cure of all these evils is, the introduction of Christianity into Africa;" that same Committee found it necessary, as the inexorable condition of obtaining the patronage and support of some of the non-Catholic communities in Great Britain, for the SOCIETY of which Prince Albert had kindly, and in ignorance of any such condition, consented to be the President, to declare that "DANIEL O'CONNELL SHOULD NOT SPEAK IN PRESENCE OF PRINCE ALBERT!" lest the religion of St. Francis Xavier might be praised in the presence of the husband of Queen Victoria; lest those truths might be told, in the presence of Prince Albert, to the inhabitants of London, which Mr. Thompson has told the inhabitants of Glasgow; lest it should, by possibility, be declared, that monsters in human shape, sent out by prelates of the Established Church as Christian Missionaries to British colonies, with little or no other recommendation than that they had been Catholic Priests and had apostatised—had, instead of teaching the doctrines of Urban VIII, Benedict XIV, and Gregory XVI, themselves been dealers in slaves, and had bought and sold helpless young females, torn from the bosom of their agonised parents, for the gratification of the lawless lusts of self-styled Christians.

CATHOLICS OF IRELAND! that appeal, which it would be useless, or worse than useless, for the friends of India to make to some of the manufacturers of Great Britain, I make to YOU. England has been unjust and oppressive to you, as England has been unjust and oppressive to India. Rather than be just to CATHOLICITY, she has enormously and unnecessarily increased her National Debt from about £500,000,—which was its amount when my ancestor left the head of the treasury, because, says the author of the life of James II, (vol. ii, page 484), he "generously preferred his conscience to his interests," and refused to subscribe to the Test Act—to £800,000,000, its present amount; and England is now writhing under the pressure of the interest of that debt, and seeking, in the probable ruin of her landed interests, a remedy for the awful distress of her manufacturing interests.

CATHOLICS OF IRELAND! an English Peer invites you to take vengeance of England; but such vengeance only as becomes Irish Catholics. Arouse yourselves! and with that powerful voice which compelled England to enter upon her statute book, in 1829, the recognition of her past injustice to Ireland, and an acknowledgment of the necessity which exists, for her own interests, of doing justice to Ireland in future, call upon England to recognise also her past injustice to India, and the necessity which exists, for her own interests, of no longer allowing the Act of 1833 to remain a dead letter on her statute book, and of no longer allowing the collectors of the East India Company to force, by imprisonment and by torture, the Christian subjects of Queen Victoria to drag the blood-stained car of Juggernaut; and of no longer allowing the servants of the East India Company to flog the unhappy girl who refuses to prostitute herself in the temples of that abominable idol, that the revenue of the East India Company may be augmented by the wages of her misery, and of the crime of—I shudder while I write it, but there are living evidences of the truth of what I write—her Christian ravisher!

Let this vengeance be the signal, the determined, but the only vengeance which Catholic Ireland shall wish to take of England, who ought to have been her sister country, but has been her oppressor during many centuries. It is the only vengeance worthy of Ireland. CATHOLICS OF IRELAND! save that English aristocracy, to whose avarice and tyranny the best interests of Great Britain and Ireland have been so long sacrificed, from the effects of the despair of an English people, which has not the soothing and warning voice of an Irish Catholic Clergy to alleviate and restrain that despair. And may God reward the charity of the Catholics of Ireland, by making them the instruments in the hands of HIM who alone can change the hearts of men, in opening the eyes of the landed and manufacturing interests of England to the REAL cause of the present distress of England, and to the REAL remedy for that distress, ere it be too late.

Such, CATHOLICS OF IRELAND! are the objects I have in view, in presenting to you, on the Feast of St. Francis Xavier—in whose steps so many of your own exemplary Clergy are now treading, on the very ground on which he trod for TEN YEARS AND A-HALF*,—these pages.

* Let the following answer of a non-Catholic missionary, to Question 1850 of the printed Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1832, on East India affairs, be taken as a specimen of the information of a non-

If other intentions should be imputed to me, I can only say, that I disclaim them; and YOU, at least, I trust, will give me credit for the truth of this disclaimer. Your and my present Supreme Pastor did not feel it necessary, in addressing his children in 1839, on the Feast of St. Francis Xavier, 1839, to fulminate against *those not included* in the dreadful anathemas pronounced against the slave dealer *in Paraguay and the Portuguese West Indian* possessions, the sentence of being *ipso facto* cut off from the communion of the Catholic Church, not to be restored thereto, unless at the point of death, by *any* Catholic Clergyman, except the Supreme Head of the Catholic Church himself, and in no case "without previous satisfaction," by the mere fact of

Catholic missionary, on the history of the country in which he exercised (he does not inform the Committee how long) his missionary functions.

"*Q.* 1850. Can you state the number of the classes of Roman Catholics, other than those of Travancore, throughout the Company's dominions?

"*A.* *My best means of information* are letters which the Abbé Dubois, a *Jesuit* missionary, [Abbé Dubois is no Jesuit, but the reader will see it was important to *dub him a Jesuit before the Committee*] published about *nine years ago in London.* He says, 'Francis Xavier made many thousand converts about three centuries ago, but that, at the present time, there are not more than *a third of the Christians who were to be found* in India about eighty years ago; and that this number diminishes every day by frequent apostacy.' But the same authority describes these converts as of the lowest character, so low, that Xavier himself, at the expiration of *two years*, entirely disheartened at the obstacles he everywhere met with, and the apparent impossibility of making real converts, left the country in disgust."

It is really difficult to carry gross ignorance—or what must not be supposed—effrontery beyond this. The Abbé Dubois has repeatedly, and among other instances in an article in the 40th No. of the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, stated the number of Christians *at present* in Hindostan at not less than 600,000, exclusive of 180,000 in Ceylon, and states by far the great majority to be Catholics. 600,000 × 3 = 1,800,000, eighty years ago!!! But Rev. Mr. Hough gives this answer to *Q.* 1850, *July* 19, 1832. Now, where was Rev. Mr. Hough on the 23rd of *June*, 1832? for on *that day* the printed report informs us (pages 227 to 230) of the evidence of "Monsieur l'Abbé Jean Antoine Dubois" himself, "called in and examined" by the *same* Select Committee, having the *same* chairman as Rev. Mr. Hough appeared before on the 19th of *July*. Here is the examination:

"*Q.* 1818. Were you long in India?

"*A.* I arrived in India in 1792, and left it in 1823. I was about thirty-one years in India. [The Jesuits did not exist in 1792. They were restored in 1814].

"*Q.* 1819. In what capacity were you there?

"*A.* As a Catholic Missionary from Paris, (des Missions Etrangéres), but belonging to the Propaganda Society.

"*Q.* 1821. What is the present number and state of the Catholics throughout India?

"*A.* In answer to that question I will briefly state, that owing to several reasons, which have been fully unfolded in my former works, chiefly in that entitled, 'Letters on the state of Christianity in India,' which is before the public, the *Christian* religion [generally] has visibly been on the decline during these past eighty years. When I arrived in that country in 1792, in the capacity of a

"BUYING, SELLING, TRANSFERRING, TORTURING, OR DEPRIVING OF THEIR WIVES, GOODS, OR CHATTELS, ANY HUMAN BEING, WHETHER CHRISTIAN OR INFIDEL, AS SLAVES."

No! Gregory XVI trusts, and the Catholics of Ireland, at least, will not disappoint him, that such severity, however justly called for in 1639 or 1741, by the enormity of the crime of the Christian slave merchant, or oppressor of his fellow-creature, is unnecessary to deter *His* children, in 1839 or 1841, from *disobedience to His positive commands,* and shuddering at the thought of the thousands of the disobedient children of His predecessors, who have gone to their awful account and met their eternal doom, under the double guilt of obstinate and grievous violation of the laws of their God, and of obstinate and unabsolved contumacy to the commands of the Head of that Church of which during their lives they professed themselves members, looks forward with confident hope for support in a cause most dear to his affectionate heart, to his dear children, THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

May the mildness of the common Father of all Christians be, as well as his charity, an example to ALL CHRISTIANS!

I am, Fellow-Christians and Countrymen,

Your faithful Servant,

CLIFFORD.

Dublin, December 3, 1841.

missionary, I was credibly assured by the old missionaries I found there, that before that time, [namely, at the destruction of the Society of Jesus, in 1773], the number of the native *Catholics* in the Peninsula, to the south of Kushna, was far above 1,000,000. The actual number cannot be determined with a positive precision; but it may be done by approximation. During my abode of more than thirty years in India, I endeavoured to ascertain, as far as possible, what was the present number of persons of this description, and I believe that there is no exaggeration in carrying their aggregate number to about 600,000; about 160,000 will be found in the island of Ceylon; and between 400,000 and 500,000 in the several provinces in the south of the Peninsula; however, the greatest number amongst the latter, on the Malabar coast, from Goa to Cape Comorin, including Travancore; and from the information I received from several respectable quarters, I believe that the number of *Catholic* Christians in that tract of country, amounts to about 300,000; the remainder are disseminatad over the provinces of Madura, Carnatic, Mysore, and Deccan."

Will it be believed, that with this evidence before it, the *Select* Committee reported to the House as follows?—

"*The failure* of Roman Catholic Missionaries is acknowledged *by themselves*, and attested by other witnesses; while the progress of the Protestants appears to be daily becoming more successful."

O Select Committee, Select Committee!! O House of Commons, House of Commons!!

LECTURE

OF

GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.,

ON AMERICAN SLAVERY, &c.

As reported in the "Glasgow Argus" Newspaper of November 8th, 1841.

THE following lecture was delivered in the Relief Church, John-street, on the evening of Monday last, the 1st instant, before a numerous and highly respectable audience, admitted by ticket. Mr. Thompson was accompanied to the platform by Mr. Charles Lenox Remond, of the United States, by Monsieur Linstant, of the Island of Hayti, and by a numerous body of the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, who are generally present on such occasions. On the motion of Mr. Wm. Smeal, James Turner, Esq., of Thrushgrove, was unanimously called to the Chair.

Mr. TURNER having, in a few brief and appropriate remarks, stated the object of the meeting, then introduced the lecturer.

Mr. THOMPSON rose amidst much cheering, and addressed the meeting to the following effect:—

My much respected friends. It is truly refreshing to find myself once more in the midst of a Glasgow Anti-Slavery Meeting, with well-known faces all around me, and in company with my excellent brother, Charles Remond, with whom I

have spent many happy, and, I hope, useful days, and from whom I have been separated, as it has seemed to me, too long. He, however, has been prosecuting a most successful tour through the sister kingdom of Ireland, while I have been deeply occupied in humble efforts to advance kindred questions, and devising schemes calculated at one and the same time to better the condition of our suffering, and often starving, fellow-subjects at home, and break the chains of the wretched captive abroad. (Cheers). After three months of absence, I am happy to be once more among you. (Cheers). By a placard that has been sent me, I find that the topic on which I am to address you, is the present position and future prospects of the abolitionists of the United States. I am more than satisfied with my text. It carries me at once to a country in whose destinies I feel an interest too deep for utterance. The United States! With all its faults, the most glorious Republic the world has ever beheld. (Cheers). The theatre of some of the sublimest struggles at present going on in any part of the earth. (Cheers). The experimental empire of the nineteenth century! (Cheers). A land, whose heaven-born principles are waging war with the doctrines of the pit—where the true lovers of liberty are contending, with ethereal weapons, against the masked and counterfeit democrats, who would fain dethrone the goddess they profess to worship, and enshrine the demon of oppression in her place. (Great cheering). The home of the Scottish emigrant, who has transplanted the thistle from his native glen to the prairies of the far west, and there, leaning on his plough,

> In Burns's carol, sweet, recalls
> The scenes that bless'd him when a child;
> And glows and gladdens at the charms
> Of Scotia's woods and waterfalls. (Great applause).

Land, too, of the oppressed Irishman, driven by poverty from the Green Isle of his nativity, to find a scene of honest labour, and a heritage for his hardy progeny, where Irishmen are not deemed "aliens," and who, looking towards the

rising sun, sings, in the sweet poetry of a Scotsman, but with the heart of an Irishman,—

> Erin! an exile bequeaths thee his blessing,
> Land of my forefathers! Erin go bragh!
> Buried and cold, when my heart stills her motion,
> Green be thy fields,—sweetest isle of the ocean!
> And thy harp-striking bards sing aloud with devotion,—
> Erin mavourneen—Erin go bragh! (Great applause).

I honestly confess, that, loathing as I do the baseness of those who perpetrate crimes against human liberty, in the sacred name of freedom, I have yet no sympathy with those who have no love for America. I have seen too much of America, and too much of her sons and her daughters, ever to cherish any other than a strong desire to see her fulfil her high destiny, and become, what she seems formed for being, the most glorious country in the world. (Cheers). I may here repeat what I once wrote to my increasingly-beloved friend Garrison, now more than seven years ago, when travelling in the United States, every word of which I feel in my heart at this moment. 'In imagination I have lived a thousand years upon your soil. I have roamed the banks of the Kennebec and the Penobscot with the Indian hunter; I have plunged with him into your pathless woods—

> Where rang of old the rifle shot;

I have mingled with the untutored worshippers of the Great Spirit; I have listened to the eloquence of barbarian savages, and witnessed the deeds and death of generations, whose kindlier fate it was to have their being, ere science guided the white man to these shores, and the hand of an insatiate dominion commenced the guilty work of conquest, robbery, and extermination. I have passed downwards through the bloody period of your political regeneration, and have caught a spark of the genuine patriotism from off the purest altar on which its hallowed fire was ever seen to glow—the heart of Washington. (Cheers). I have lived through ages yet to

come. I have seen this people rise, like Nineveh of old, and proclaim a fast, and put on sackcloth from the greatest even to the least, and cry mightily to God, and turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in his hands. I have heard the omnipotent voice of justice thundering in the Capitol, and echoing in the halls of legislation in the South. I have seen exulting millions trample in the dust the galling chains of an execrated tyranny, and with uplifted hands invoke the blessing of God on a nation that had at last broke every yoke, and set the oppressed free !' (Cheers). These words, written under the influence of imagination, and the feelings inspired by the scenes around me, are scarcely words of fancy or prediction now. Much that is here foreseen has been realised. Thousands have turned from the paths of oppression into the ways of righteousness. The voice of justice is heard, clear, and loud, and authoritative above the clamours of faction, the din of selfish crowds, and the yells of lawless and sanguinary mobs. Soon that which was written with reference to the future will be a record of the past. Yet a little while, and justice will rejoice upon judgment, and the millions of Africa's children now in bonds will be incorporated with the millions who rejoice in the life-giving presence of liberty. (Cheers). But to my text—"The present position of the Abolitionists of the United States." And who are the abolitionists? They are a noble band of men and women, who have resolved to labour for the deliverance of their country from the institution of slavery. They are, without exception, the noblest portions of every sect and party in the country—(Cheers), who have joined their hearts and hands in the sacred cause of human rights; who are labouring to purify the Church, the state, the market-place, the field, and the fireside, from the gloom, and curse, and incubus of slavery. Their abolition is the abolition of slave-markets, and slave-dungeons, and women-torturing whips, and man-degrading chains, and heart-rending separations, and every species of polluting and soul-destroying selfishness, and sinful gratification. (Cheers). The aboli-

tionists are the true and practical expounders of the Scriptural doctrine of equality. They have taken the New Testament as their guide—they have rejected the interpretations and traditions received from men-stealers and their clerical abettors, and receiving in sincerity and honesty the revealed truth, that God has made of one blood the varied tribes of man, have put to flight a host of theories and dehumanising dogmas, propagated through four hundred years of rapine, and robbery, and wrong. (Cheers). They are men and women who have obtained a clear perception and deep influential conviction of the innate dignity of man, in whatever condition he is formed, and with whatever complexion it has pleased his Maker to distinguish him. While they do not exclude the humiliating doctrines of man's moral degradation and spiritual alienation from his Creator, they honour him as the noble, though degenerate workmanship of a divine hand:

> A beam ethereal, sullied and absorbed;
> Though sullied and dishonoured, still divine.

And let me say, that no man is, or can be, a genuine abolitionist, unless he imbibe these Scriptural views of man's original and universal equality. They constitute the links which bind man to man over all the world. I speak not of the still higher and holier fellowships of religion, but even into these fellowships we are introduced through the same doctrines, which bring all down to the same level, and exalt all who are partakers of like precious faith into the enjoyment of the same hope and the dignity of the same calling. I beseech you, then, get upon the right ground. Shut your eyes to physical complexions—know nothing of state demarcations—let your perceptions be purged and quickened, so that they may penetrate every disguise, and recognise a common nature in every being formed for immortality. (Cheers.) This anointing the abolitionists of the United States have experienced. They behold all mankind as their brethren. They see only the spiritual nature and affinity of the races. They recognise one God creating all—one destiny

awaiting all—their humanity and feelings of brotherhood are not regulated by the colour of the skin. They are not repelled from offices of kindness and deeds of deliverance, by the form or features of the negro. They have an eye that—even in his rudest state—

> Sees in his flexile limbs untutor'd grace,
> Power in his forehead, beauty in his face;
> Sees in his breast, where lawless passions rove,
> The heart of friendship and the home of love;
> Sees in his mind, where desolation reigns,
> Fierce as his clime, uncultured as his plains,
> A soil where virtue's fairest flowers might shoot,
> And trees of science bend with glorious fruit;
> Sees in his soul, involved in thickest night,
> An emanation of eternal light,
> Ordain'd, midst sinking worlds, his dust to fire,
> And shine for ever, when the stars expire.

They ask,—

> Is he not *man*—though knowledge never shed
> Her quickening beams on his neglected head?—
> Is he not *man*—though sweet Religion's voice
> Ne'er made the mourner in his God rejoice?—
> Is *he* not man—by sin and suffering tried?
> Is *he* not man, for whom the Saviour died?
> Belie the Negro's powers:—in headlong will,
> Christian, *thy* brother thou shalt find him still:
> Belie his virtues—since his wrongs began,
> His follies and his crimes have stamped him Man.

Such are the abolitionists of the United States. Theirs is not an association for the prevention of cruelty to animals, but for the rescue and elevation of *man*, degraded by oppression, but acknowledged to be equal with themselves in the regard of his Creator, and in the original faculties of his immortal mind. From the book that has taught them the nature of man, they have also learned what are the rights of man. That he is not a being made to be a slave—to be reduced to the level of a beast—to be classed among personal chattels—to be driven with a whip to his toil—to be robbed of the fruits of his labour—to be torn from the wife of his

bosom—to be denied the blessings of education—to be debarred the light of knowledge—to be kept from the discharge of his duties to his God—to be hated for the colour of his skin—to be branded with the mark of Cain—to be put beyond the pale of humanity—and to be written down for ever an article of merchandise—a thing. That they are called upon to remember him as bound with him.—They have learned, too, their duties towards their brothers in bonds, to use *their* liberty for the abolition of *his* slavery—to cry aloud and spare not—to rebuke the apostacy of those who call themselves the ambassadors of Christ, yet hold as merchandise, and sell for filthy lucre, the members of his own body—who, with the price of blood in their hands, yet break the sacramental bread—who, instead of carrying his lambs in their bosom, tear them from the fold, and hurl them to be rent by wolves. (Cheers.) They have discovered, too, the secret of abolishing slavery. That it is by the regeneration of public sentiment—by a power mightier than armies, the power of *truth*, of *principle*, of *virtue*, of *right*, of *religion*, of *love*. That it is that power before which the slave trade has fallen elsewhere, which is mitigating the sternest despotisms, which is spreading Christianity to the ends of the earth, which carries in itself the pledge of destruction to every institution which debases humanity. (Cheers.) That before this power all other powers must fall. That it is leagued with God's omnipotence. That it is aided by the same description of moral power in every part of the world. That it cannot be crushed by carnal weapons. That it cannot be reached by penal statutes. That it cannot be shut out by territorial lines or local legislation. That it cannot be whipped into submission, or laughed into contempt, or frowned into silence, or burned into ashes. This power the abolitionists of the United States are wielding for the destruction of slavery. They are flashing the light of truth into the consciences of men. They are sowing seed that is indestructible. They are speaking with a voice that has an echo in every human heart. They are mighty in the simplicity of their principles.

They are terrible in the peacefulness of their measures. They are rich in the blessing of the perishing. The imprecations of their enemies ascend, but turn into blessings, to fall upon the hosts of the faithful, or into thunderbolts to scatter the armies of the aliens. Their defeats are triumphs. Their losses are gains. Like Moses's bush, they mount the higher, and flourish unconsumed in fire. Their success, however, must, in the nature of things, be slow and progressive. Such a mighty revolution as that which they are seeking to bring about can only be achieved by a struggle continued through a series of years. Their war is upon the opinions of men. Nor upon the opinions of men only. Arrayed against them are false patriotism, and rotten politics, and complicated interests, and deep-seated prejudices, and long-cherished pride, and slavish habits, and brutal lusts, and corrupted theology, and guilty fear, and sectional ambitions, and a time-serving policy, and a degenerate and venal press. They are still the mark of ridicule—the objects of reproach—the victims of persecution. Their position is one of personal danger, of fiery trial, of temptation and difficulty. I know of no body of persons whose situation entitles them to more sympathy or support. (Renewed cheers.) It may, in truth, be said of the United States, in regard to slavery, that the whole head is sick, the whole heart is faint. I have before, in this city, depicted the state of the American churches. I did so in the presence of a talented minister of one of the leading denominations. My statements, which were not then refuted, were more than confirmed by the united testimony borne upon the subject by the American delegates at the late Convention in London. One of those delegates has left behind him a work entitled "The American Churches, the Bulwarks of American Slavery," containing a revelation of a state of things fitted to fill every Christian heart with horror, and bring a blush upon the cheek of every one concerned for the honour of the Christian name, or the prosperity of the cause of the Christian religion. That work demonstrates that the American Methodist Episcopal Church, with its 700,000 members; the

Baptist Church, with its 500,000 members; the Presbyterian Church, with its 350,000 members; as well as the minor denominations, with two or three honourable exceptions, are radically unsound on the question of slavery; and that their ecclesiastical influence is directly in favour of the continuance of slavery, and opposed to the operations of the abolitionists. Take an example or two. What was done at the General Conference of the Methodists last year? It was resolved,

"That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher to permit coloured persons to give testimony against white persons, in any state where they are denied that privilege by law.—This was carried."

Take the sentiments of a leading member of the Conference:—

"In its civil aspect, neither the general government, nor any other government, ecclesiastical or civil, either directly or indirectly, has a right to touch slavery." In its ecclesiastical aspect, "we are bound, by the twenty-third article of our religion, to submit to the civil regulations of the state under which we live." In its moral aspect, "slavery was not only countenanced, permitted, and regulated by the Bible, but it was positively instituted by God himself—he had in so many words enjoined it."

Take the Baptists:—

"Sept. 1835. The ministers and messengers of the Goslien Association, assembled at Free Union, Virginia, state—'The most of us have been born and brought up in the midst of this population. Very many of us, too, have been ushered into life under inauspicious circumstances, having no patrimonies to boast, and inheriting little else from our parents but an existence and a name. We have, however, through the blessing of God, by a persevering course of industry and rigid economy, acquired a competent support for ourselves and families; and as a reward for our laborious exertion we received such *property* (slaves) as was guaranteed to us, not only by the laws of our individual states, but by those of the

United States. In consideration whereof we unanimously adopt the following resolutions :—

" ' 1. Resolved,—That we consider our right and title to this property altogether legal and *bona fide*, and that it is a breach of the faith pledged in the federal constitution, for our northern brethren to try, either directly or indirectly, to lessen the value of this property or impair our title thereto.

"'2. Resolved,—That we view the torch of the incendiary, and the dagger of the midnight assassin, loosely concealed under the specious garb of humanity and religion, falsely so called.

" ' 3. Resolved,—That we consider there is something radically wrong in the logic of those would-be philanthropists at the north, who lay it down as one of their main propositions, that they must do what is right, regardless of consequences, inasmuch as they will not venture to come this side of the Potomac to teach and lecture publicly where (they say) this crying evil exists.' "

Take the Presbyterians:

" The Rev. James Smylie, A.M. of the Amite Presbytery, Mississippi, in a pamphlet, published by him a short time ago in favour of American slavery, says :—

" 'If slavery be a sin, and advertising and apprehending slaves, with a view to restore them to their masters, is a direct violation of the Divine law, and if the buying, selling, or holding a slave for the sake of gain, is a heinous sin and scandal, then, verily, three-fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, in eleven states of the Union, are of the devil. They hold, if they do not buy and sell slaves, and, with few exceptions, they hesitate not to apprehend and restore runaway slaves, when in their power.' "

Let it, however, be borne in mind, that there are, in all these churches, numbers who repudiate, with horror, the sentiments I have quoted. But the churches in the mass are pro-slavery. I was once severely taken to task for saying, in New York, that the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians were the main pillars of American slavery. This was in 1835. But in 1840, an American born—a member of one

of these bodies—(Mr. James G. Birney), a gentleman distinguished for the caution and accuracy of his statements—a gentleman considered worthy of being put in nomination for the Presidential chair, and now before the American people as a candidate for that high honour—comes forth, and writes a book to prove that the American churches are the bulwarks of American slavery. See, then, the position of American abolitionists. Let the church here help them.

Again—The spirit of the Colonization Society is still abroad. It is true, the pernicious tendency and impracticable schemes of that society have been a thousand times demonstrated, but it is still fortified and sustained, and, though impotent for good, it is powerful for evil. While I was in America, Mr. Gurley, the talented secretary of the society, spent three months in Boston and its neighbourhood trying to collect funds. So fully convinced were his own friends of the hopelessness of his project, that the amount of his collections did not, I believe, much exceed 600 dollars, while the despised abolitionists contributed 4000 dollars at one meeting. But I find, by my last papers from America, that even in Boston there has been another attempt to resuscitate the society. My friend, Mr. Whittier, the Quaker poet, and editor of an anti-slavery paper, writes :—

"An attempt has lately been made to galvanise into life the Colonization Society of Massachusetts. A meeting has just been held in Boston, under the direction of Ex-Governor Birney and Joseph Tracey, at which a Society was formed—Wm. B. Bannister, of Newberryport, President; Parsons Cooke, and other pro-slavery clerical gentlemen and laymen, subordinate officers. The whole under the sanction and patronage of Drs. Woods and Stewart, and others of the Andover Theological Seminary. We look upon this movement, on the part of such men, at this late day, as at once disgraceful to themselves and their Christian profession. What! do they not know that from one end of the country to the other, the coloured people have declared their determination to live and die as Americans? Is this association to be auxiliary to

that of Maryland, in solemnly warning the objects of its singular benevolence, that an asylum having been prepared for them on the coast of Africa, they had better go at once, to avoid the alternative of being compelled to do so? What other practical object *can* it have? The free coloured population are determined, come what may, to remain in the land of their nativity; and yet, with the full knowledge of this, grave professors and doctors of divinity, in Massachusetts, form a society to *colonize* this class of their fellow-citizens on the coast of another continent! But we need not waste words upon this pitiful affair. It can do nothing. It will perish like the Colonization and American Union Societies which have preceded it—unlamented, save by its originators. *It has the curse of the poor and perishing upon it.*" That the spirit and designs of this society have not improved, may be gathered from the fact, that the *Maryland* society have recently adopted and published the following resolution:—

"That while it is most earnestly hoped that the free coloured people of Maryland may see that their best and most permanent interests will be consulted by their emigration from this state; and while this convention would deprecate any departure from the principle which makes colonization dependent upon the voluntary action of the free coloured people themselves—yet if, regardless of what has been done to provide them with an asylum, they continue to persist in remaining in Maryland, in the hope of enjoying here an equality of social and political rights—they ought to be solemnly warned, that, in the opinion of this convention, a day must arrive, when circumstances that cannot be controlled, and which are now maturing, will deprive them of choice, and leave them no alternative but removal."

The annals of persecution and base hypocrisy furnish, in my opinion, nothing worse than this. Yet here you have the true and genuine spirit of the American Colonization Society. Here is a mock benevolence, prompted by a wicked and unnatural prejudice, as foreign to the essence of Christianity as murder itself, calling to its aid the spirit of persecution, as

cruel and unrelenting as any that ever drove a white person from the shores of Europe to the continent of America. And yet this society has its agents in this country at the present moment. They, however, reveal not the real character of the institution. Here, like the veiled prophet in Moore's poem, it wears a radiant outside—it speaks in tones as sweet as its disguise is glittering. No Maryland resolutions are produced; no feelings of hatred are displayed; the doctrines of Henry Clay are concealed; the opposition of the coloured people is kept in the back ground; the determined pro-slavery principles of almost all the supporters of the society are carefully excluded from view; the riots and murders which Colonizationists commenced at home are censured here, and the society, which effectually shuts the door of hope upon the slave in America, is here represented as holding the key of his prison-house, and promising him deliverance from his captivity. (Loud cheering.) It is well, therefore, that the last annual report of the Glasgow Emancipation Society contains so many valuable documents on this important subject. Read them for yourselves, and give them circulation. But what shall we say of the position of the abolitionists in regard to the state? Let those who would see how deeply the state is implicated—who would understand the way in which 250,000 slaveholders have contrived to rivet their chains upon the so-called freemen of the north, and make all political movements subserve their own base, despotic, and ambitious ends, read the masterly work of Judge Jay upon the action of the Federal Government on behalf of slavery; or, if that be too long, or inaccessible, the no less masterly speech of William Goodell, before the New York Anti-Slavery Society, in September, 1840. Or let them, as the last and crowning proof of political obsequiousness before the dark spirit of slavery, look at the manner in which the late election of President Harrison was carried, and see how the most exalted minds in the Union, followed by politicians of all parties, prostrated themselves beneath the wheels of the southern Juggernaut. The constitution of the United States was confessedly a compromise.

Nay, the very declaration of independence was a compromise. The memoirs of Jefferson, by Judge Tucker, contain the draft of the declaration, which has a passage on slavery, struck out by order of the slaveholders who formed the Congress that adopted the instrument in its present form. Then came the permission given to men-stealers to recover their fugitive victims. (Cheers.) Then the purchase of Louisiana at the cost of fifteen millions of dollars, to enable the slave-growers of Maryland and Virginia to find a new market for their human cattle, and to increase the number of the slave states by the creation of several new slaveholding commonwealths. Thus, seven slave states were added to the Union. Then, the establishment of slavery at the seat of the federal government, which, in time, became the grand centre of a traffic in human blood and bones, under the very walls of the Capitol. Then came national diplomacy with foreign powers. Negotiation for the surrender of slaves by Mexico and England. The giving of compensation for slaves wrecked on Bermuda. The voting of money to the Colonization party to transport the coloured people. The threats of war to prevent abolition in Cuba. The refusal to recognise the independence of a neighbouring republic, because those who had courageously fought for their liberty and independence, and had succeeded in establishing both, were black men, who had been slaves. (Cheers.) I am happy that I see near me an enlightened friend from the republic of which I speak. (Cheers.) Let me say in his presence, what I am sure his countrymen feel, that I know of no more disgraceful conduct than that of the United States in refusing to recognise the independence of men who had, with equal virtue, equal bravery, and with a far better justification successfully fought the battles of liberty against the foes of the human race. (Cheers.) To this hour republican America withholds her countenance from republican Hayti. Then came plans for the recognition of Texas; the attempt to get the same vile state into the Union; the purchase of Florida; the Seminole war; the abolition of the right of petitioning; the extortion of pledges from candidates

for the Presidency. But time would fail to bring forward half the proofs which are recorded on the page of American history, of the omnipotence, hitherto, of the slave power in the United States. I adduce these, to show the position of the anti-slavery party, and that you may understand how difficult and complicated is the work to which they have put their hands. Slavery is interwoven with the frame-work of both Church and state. Both must be purified ere the captive can go free. Such is the confederacy with which the abolitionists have had to contend. No wonder, then, that they have sought your help, especially, when you add to all the difficulties I have named, others, arising at one time out of commercial embarrassments, and at another, out of unhappy dissensions which have crippled their operations, and almost threatened their existence. They have, thank Heaven! lived through all, however, and are still working with vigour and success. They have passed the Rubicon. The anti-slavery question is now recognised as a national question. The movement is no longer invisible, or contemptible. The question whether the slave shall be free, is not now one which is discussed in a garret in Boston, or a back room in New York. (Cheers). It has found its way into state legislatures—into the halls of Congress—into the councils of the White House. It is entering into every political contest, great and small. It has found its way from the Church meeting into the Association, and Synod, and General Conference, and Assembly. It comes up when questions of trade are discussed. It is the first question on the opening of every new session. The farmer thinks of it when he sows his field. The capitalist, when he lends his money. The merchant, when he imports his goods. The political economist lectures on the profit and loss of slavery. The student reads his Greek Testament to understand it. The housewife thinks of it when she buys cotton clothing for her children. The political *caucus*, when they nominate their candidates. The governor, when he takes office. The minister thinks of it when he comes to Europe. The ambassador, when on his way to St. James's.

The present position of the abolitionists, therefore, is, all circumstances considered, a proud position. They have stood through every storm. They have come stronger out of every conflict. They have worked an odious and hated topic into universal notice. They have made themselves heard and felt throughout the land. They have compelled attention. They have steadily advanced. They have in several pitched battles defeated their opponents. They have constrained reluctant senators to take sides. They have enlisted the sympathy of the civilised world. At first despised, they are now feared. Where once they were scouted as infamous, they are now courted as an important body, often holding the balance of power between contending parties. There is now little talk, as of old, of strait jackets, or states' prisons, or rewards for abduction, or gag laws, or messages demanding anti-slavery ringleaders; the wild notions of a few, have become the solemn conviction of thousands. The declaration of fifty fanatics at Philadelphia has been subscribed by multitudes, from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, and from the Atlantic to the Lakes. In this work *you* have in many ways honourably participated. It is eight years and more since you resolved to aid your brethren and sisters across the ocean; and it is your satisfaction to reflect this day, that you have had your share in enabling the Abolitionists of America to gain their present prominent, powerful, and encouraging position. (Cheers).

I have (continued Mr. T.) recently been favoured with a letter from the Rev. John Keep, one of the deputation to this country to obtain pecuniary assistance for the *Oberlin Institute*, Ohio; and who was enabled to raise a very considerable amount in this city. His letter is full of expressions of gratitude to the Christian people of this country, for the help they so nobly afforded when the Institution was in circumstances of great difficulty. His letter is accompanied by another, from the Trustees of the Institute, conveying their sentiments to their benefactors in this country, and giving some deeply interesting details respecting the progress and

present state of the seminary. Through their deputation they have received £6,000 in money, 2,000 volumes for the library, and some valuable articles appertaining to a philosophical and chemical apparatus. It appears from their statement, that more than 1,300 students, about 500 of whom are now members, have been connected with the institution since its organisation eight years since; that applications for admission have always been more than their means of accommodation, and that the press this season has been greater than ever. The expediency of erecting temporary sheds or barracks, for additional students, until they can erect more substantial buildings, (which is at present impracticable, owing to the want of funds), is now a question under the consideration of the Trustees. The Trustees further state, that the religious sentiments, character, and aims of the Oberlin Institute, are the same as were laid before the people of this country by the deputation. That it is the prayerful purpose of the managers and teachers of the establishment to present to the world the practical principles and bearings of a pure gospel, and that the authority of God speaking in and through the Bible, is in all things regarded as paramount. There is also appended to the letter of the Trustees, a series of resolutions, adopted by the coloured students, expressing their warm gratitude to the people of Great Britain for their recent acts of generosity, and recording their deep obligations to the Institution, and their full confidence in the principles and plans of the management. I cannot refrain from laying before you one or two extracts from the document of the Trustees. They will show you the value of the Institution, the spirit which animates its members, and the progress which the cause of right sentiment is making in the United States:

"The Oberlin students have already furnished upwards of thirty-three years of school teaching to the coloured people in Ohio, more than half of which has been without any pecuniary compensation, and all amidst much self-denial and obloquy. Ohio is contiguous to the slave states, and through its coloured population much can be done for the poor slaves

and the free blacks in other states, in which, as in Canada and the West Indies, the students of Oberlin find fields of labour.

"One young man, a member of the Collegiate Department, who wholly supports himself by his manual labour, left Oberlin on foot for a settlement of coloured people two hundred miles distant, where he heard they needed a school. Arriving, he found need enough indeed for a school, but no house, no money, and but little energy to build one. He called for an axe, rallied some help, built his school-house, taught his school three months almost without compensation, and walked back again to support himself another season by his daily manual labour.

"A young lady taught a coloured school during the day and paid her board by teaching a white school morning and evening. Having finished the term, and not having received any compensation, she had no means to defray her expenses home. She therefore again engaged in conducting a white school sufficiently long to raise money enough for this purpose. And all this was done in the face of such violent opposition and prejudice on the part of a majority of the whites against the coloured people, that her personal safety was rendered very uncertain. This is the spirit cherished by this Institution, the only spirit which will lead to the effectual permanent relief of our coloured brethren, and the extinction of American slavery.

"Our British friends will be cheered by the fact, that the developments of the past year are greatly encouraging for the slave and his advocates. The people in the slave states are beginning to see that they must destroy slavery, or slavery will soon destroy them. The decision of the United States Court, giving freedom to the Amistad captives, has been a signal triumph over "the dark spirit of slavery" in our land. The influence of the World's Anti-slavery Convention in London is deeply felt on this side of the Atlantic, as well by slave-holders as by others. Its decisions, and the subsequent action and appeals of British Christians and churches

respecting Christian communion with slave-holders, while they have aroused fresh virulence on the part of some, are nevertheless working well upon the consciences of others. The firmness of the Governor of New York, one of the most influential of the free States, against the pro-slavery demands of Virginia, a slave-breeding state—the quite recent act of the New York Legislature, abolishing the last relic of slavery in the state, that is, the law which permitted a slave-owner to reside nine months in the state, in the quiet possession of his property in man, together with the late decision of the Supreme Court of Ohio, which gives freedom to any slave coming within its boundaries by the consent of his master; and to sum up the whole, (though several other incidents of deep interest might be mentioned), the great blow the infamous gag law, which denies the right of petition on the subject of slavery, has received in Congress this session, are all indications that the cause of the slave is progressing, and afford to this Institution and its friends the best encouragement to continue and to multiply their efforts in the cause of truth and liberty."

I have the truest satisfaction in making these facts known. They will be a source of pleasure to those who have contributed to sustain *Oberlin*, and will prove to them that they have bestowed their means, not only upon a good object, but upon grateful recipients, and that a rich harvest is likely to be gathered from the seed they have helped to deposit. With these details before us, we need no prophetic vision to discover the prospects of the anti-slavery cause in America. But if we take into view, besides what has been accomplished on the spot, what has been going on around, and the agencies which are at present at work in other countries, we can entertain no doubt that a speedy doom awaits the system. It is not with the opinion of American abolitionists alone that the slave-holders of America have to contend, but with the opinions of the civilised world; it is not with the white races of mankind alone, but with the coloured races also. Their cherished abomination is execrated by black and white

alike, wherever the name of liberty is respected or its blessings are enjoyed. In this connexion, I may mention the pleasing fact, that the emancipated coloured communities of the West Indies are beginning to manifest a deep interest in the fortunes of their brethren still in bonds, and are forming societies, and raising considerable sums of money to aid the work of emancipating their brethren. In Hayti, too, where there has long been an anti-slavery association, corresponding with the abolitionists of America, there is a revival of the cause. A meeting of citizens, favourable to immediate emancipation, was held at Porte Platte, on the 6th of May, for the purpose of forming a society in connexion with the American Anti-Slavery Society. Mr. and Mrs. Chapman, of Boston, United States, were present, and participated in the deliberations. A society was formed, and the following, among other resolutions were passed:

"As the stronghold of slavery is in the example of the United States of America, we are decided by that consideration, to labour for its extinction in alliance with the American Anti-Slavery Society.

"Our measures shall be, like those of Garrison, and of the philanthropists of the American Anti-Slavery Society with whom we are in alliance, *peaceful.* They shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption; the overthrow of error by the potency of truth; the destruction of prejudice by the power of love; and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance. We will never countenance, in connexion with this Society, either insurrection in any other country, or violence in our own; deeming that the cause of freedom can be truly served only by moral courage, free speech and action, and persevering and unceasing labour; and that it is ultimately injured by an appeal to force and bloodshed.

"All persons loving the cause of freedom, and subscribing to the above articles, may become members of this Society, and be entitled to all its privileges; of whatever nation, rank, sect, or colour, such persons may be. As philan-

thropists, 'our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind,' our watchword is 'Liberty and Equality.'"

The slaveholders of the United States are standing at bay against the world. Even other slaveholders are comforted by the thought that the republican slaveholders must *first* fall before the alliance of the friends of human freedom. Nor is it *moral* power merely that is being brought to bear upon them. The attack is not levelled against their consciences merely. There is a silent power at work, which, with sure and resistless energy, would destroy their system, without a sermon, a remonstrance, an anti-slavery tract, or a solitary newspaper article. *Free labour* is at work. The *plough* of the freeman is coming into competition with the *hoe* of the slave. Eastern suns are ripening harvests as rich as any that are matured by western climes. The political economist is taking the place of the divinity professor. Adam Smith is preaching, as well as Moses Stuart and Dr. Drew. It is being discovered that the sugar of Bengal is as bright and as sweet as that of Louisiana, or Brazil, or Cuba; that the cotton of Tinnevelly and Guzerat will spin as well as that of New Orleans. That the tobacco of Java will sell as well at Amsterdam as the tobacco of Maryland or Virginia. That the rice of Patna makes as good puddings as that of Carolina. Capital, and enterprise, and credit, and the efforts of joint stock companies, are taking a new direction; they are going round the Cape or down the Red Sea. We are somehow or other getting it into our heads that it would be rather better to buy the corn of the freeman, who has cleared the forests of the far west, than the cotton of the slaveholder, who lifts the lash over his victim in Alabama. These may be strange ideas, but if they are acted upon, "Othello's occupation's gone." India, take it for all in all, is one of the most glorious countries on the face of the globe. This has hitherto been forgotten. It is a land of matchless scenery. It abounds in majestic rivers, affording the most ample means of intercommunication, as well as of navigation, from the sea into the far interior. Its smaller streams are innumerable. It

has salt lakes in abundance. It has mineral springs of every kind. Here you see the tall forest of stately trees, whose woods are adapted for the most useful purposes. There, the jungle, the wild luxuriance of which supplies some of the most valuable articles for exportation. Here, fertile valleys and plains, yielding not merely one and two crops, but even three and four during the year. Let me, as I have done before in this commercial city, name a few of its products. *Drugs* of every kind; *coffees* of the finest qualities; *cotton wool* of every variety, and to any extent; *sugar* of the finest description; *spices* of the rarest and purest kind; *ivory; tanning* materials; *flax; linseed; gums; caouchouc; hard-woods; rice; tobacco; silk,* raw and fabricated; *hides; tea; mother of pearl; gems;* the precious *metals; indigo; nan-keens; shawls* of the most costly kind; *grains* of every variety. These are some only of the productions of our vast territories. You must have perceived, as I have gone over this list, that it includes many of those articles which we are in the habit of importing to a very large extent. Such is the case. And I affirm, without the fear of contradiction, that India is capable, not only in the fertility of her soil, but the industry of her children, of supplying *all* our chief articles of tropical growth, and of putting them into our hands at a rate much lower than that at which we have been accustomed to procure them; of the best *quality* in the greatest *abundance*, and free, equally, from that *insecurity* and *pollution* which now attach to the same articles from the United States. Once more let me refer to the American slave-cursed staple—*cotton.* (Cheers.) This is a branch of the question I have endeavoured to study in all its bearings. Upwards of 50 millions of capital are embarked in the cotton manufactures of this country. Nearly 20 millions sterling are paid for the *raw material* landed on your wharfs. A million and a half of the hardy and industrious people of this country are employed in the trade. Any event which would stagnate or suspend that trade, would not be a local, but a *national* calamity—it would be felt through all the veins of

the nation. (Cheers.) I cannot bear to contemplate the scenes which would inevitably follow upon the standing still, even for a short time, of the cotton manufactures of this country. Yet, I cannot forget that our supply of this article is both precarious and polluted. It comes from America. I cannot forget that of 500 millions of pounds weight of cotton wool imported into this country, 4-5ths are the produce of slaves in America. That, owing to the discouragement of free labour, and the premiums given to slave produce, our supply is not only fluctuating, and insecure, and contaminated, but exceedingly limited, and of a high price. We are dependent on America. We are at the mercy of men who trade in blood, and gamble in the produce of oppression. But is this necessary? Is abject dependence upon the submission of slaves, the prevalence of peace, the clemency of the elements, the mercy of cotton planters, and brokers, and bankers, (who *Biddle* and *Diddle* the people of this country at their pleasure); is this abject dependence entailed upon us by the law of nature, or the state of the world? No. The country of which I have spoken to-night is the home of the cotton-tree. There are in India, not two millions of acres of land which may be cultivated for our uses, as in the cotton states of America, but 200,000 square miles, over the whole of which cotton may be grown. From Guzerat to Musilipatam, and from Mysore to Bundlecund, is a vast region fitted for the growth of that article. There is an illimitable soil. There is free labour to any extent; labour that may be obtained at two-thirds less cost than the labour of slaves; a people that have planted the cotton-tree; have picked its produce; have spun, and wove, and worn it, for three thousand years; a people that every year grow and consume almost as much as we ourselves import. Why, then, do we not look to India, and make the banks of the Kistna and the Nerbudda give us that which is brought from the slave-trodden banks of the Sabine and the Mississippi? (Cheers.) We want coffee. Why is our supply limited? Because from absurd restrictions! The southern part of India would give it

us in abundance; and, instead of being *dear*, and *adulterated*, it might be *pure*, and *cheap*, and *plentiful*, if we would do fiscal justice to India. The tobacco which we take in such vast quantities from America, might be brought from our own dominions, where it grows wild in every part, and to the great advantage of our fellow-subjects, who now derive little or no benefit from this part of the produce of their soil. The rice of Patna and Benares might compete with the rice of the Carolinas, and, instead of being sent from India, as it is, to feed kidnapped Coolies in the Mauritius, might be made the means of liberating those who are kept to grow it for us in America. But time would again fail me to tell of the fruitfulness of this region, and of the adaptation of its resources to the wants of this nation. No section of the globe besides can be pointed to possessing equal capabilities for the production of the very articles for which we are now paying upwards of 34 millions sterling every year, three-fourths of which go into the pockets of slaveholders. Had we now to seek, for the first time, the commodities we have been long accustomed to import; were we now for the first time to inquire, "Where can we obtain, readily and cheaply, sugar and rice, and cotton and coffee, and tobacco?"—the answer would be, *India*. If you wanted these in abundance, you would go to India; if cheap, you would go to India; if a certain supply, you would go to India; if the produce of free labour, you would go to India. If you wanted, at the same time, to promote the good of the native population, you would go to India. If from your own dominions, you would still go to India. (Cheers.) Yet to India we have not gone. We have committed two evils. We have despised the misery and poverty of our conquered and famishing fellow-subjects in India, as well as the riches of the soil they would have cultivated for our service, and we have gone to the countries that have produced these by slavery, and have deluged Africa with blood, and spread desolation through her villages, that we might offer fresh victims on the shrine of their merciless and insatiate cupidity. Is it so with other countries? No.

Look at what the Dutch are doing with Java. An article in one of the last numbers of the *Friend of India*, on the exports of the Island of Java, reviews the latest accounts from Batavia; from which it appears that the export trade of Java has exceeded the most sanguine expectations. In the last year the island had exported *one hundred and forty-one millions* of pounds of coffee. The increase in the export of sugar has been even more remarkable still. From 1801 to 1831, the increase in the export of sugar has been still more remarkable. From 1801 to 1831, the increase in the exportation of sugar has been about 12 per cent. In the last ten years the increase has been between eight and nine hundred per cent.! In 1840, the quantity amounted to 56,189 tons, or more than one-fourth the whole consumption of England. The growth of indigo has been nearly doubled in a single year, and amounted, in 1840, to 2,123,911lbs. It is stated, that the facilities for its cultivation have been multiplied to such an extent, that the island is soon expected to produce quite as much as is grown in British India!

And then behold the frightful and guilty termination of our doings! We reject the free-grown corn of America, raised by the industry of the bold New England emigrant to the far west, or perhaps by our own countrymen there; and which corn would feed the lean, and haggard, and discontented population at our own doors; corn, too, that might be paid for in our own manufactures. We forbid the ship that brings this precious freight to enter our ports, unless to put her cargo under the seal and key of the custom-house officer, not to be released until famine stares us in the face; while we welcome the bales that come steeped with tears, wrung from a thousand toil-worn slaves, whose industry feeds only the tyrant master, who scourges them to the field, and scourges them while they are there. But enough on this part of the subject. It is rather with our prospects than our present circumstances that I have to do. The cry has gone forth—"*The slave shall be free!*" (Cheers.) The principles of free trade *versus* mono-

poly; of free labour *versus* slave labour; of corn *versus* cotton, are beginning to be discussed. I fear not the result. Let feudal lords at home unite with tyrant slave-lords abroad; the might of truth; the spirit of liberty; the growing feeling in favour of free, unrestricted, honourable intercourse, will be found too strong to grapple with, by either the monopolists of food or the monopolists of freedom. (Cheers.) Let me entreat you to-night, as I have often done before, to take large and comprehensive views of the subject of slavery. Look to its foundations and supports, and forward, as the friends of liberty, all measures that are just, that promise to bring about its extinction. (Cheers.) In the mean time, the abolitionists of the United States demand your sympathy. They are yet exposed to blood-thirsty ruffianism. More especially the unfortunate coloured population. Look at the fearful scenes of Cincinnati during the last few months. The unhappy and inoffensive coloured people plundered and butchered by the population of a civilized and misnamed Christian community! (Sensation.) Upon this transaction, Mr. Garrison, in his paper, observes—

"We lack words as well as room, to express the mingled emotions of pity, indignation, and horror, that swell tumultuously within us, in view of the frightful outrages perpetrated upon the unoffending coloured inhabitants of Cincinnati, by a band of ruffians, virtually headed by the mayor and city authorities, and sanctioned by the citizens generally. Thus far all the particulars are gathered exclusively from pro-slavery sources; and yet it is perfectly plain that no blame can justly be attached to the coloured people, either individually or collectively. Eternal infamy will rest upon Cincinnati for her murderous spirit and bloody deeds. The Lord succour the hunted victims and their persecuted advocates in that city!"

Another writer:—"To us, the brutal outrages committed upon the persons and property of the blacks is the foulest of all the events that occurred. They were disarmed. The faith of the rioters was pledged to protect them. Yet, while thus

defenceless, when the men had been removed to the jail for safe keeping, the mob attacked their property, destroyed it, drove out the women and children from their houses, and some ruffians went even so far as to violate the chastity of a young black girl! What a picture! What a tale to tell of a civilized city!"

As some set-off against this horrid deed, we may mention the deliverance of the Amistad captives, and their probable speedy return to the land and spot of their birth. Mr. Lewis Tappan writes,—

"So great is the desire of these people to return to their native country; to their 'wives, children, and friends;' and so much encouraged are the committee in the belief that the situation of Mendi, and the route to it, can be learned at Sierra Leone, that they have resolved on sending a special agent to that colony the present autumn, accompanied by Covey, and two among the most intelligent of the Mendians, on a tour of inquiry. If it be possible for them they will reach Mendi; convey to the relatives of Cinque, and the rest, the fact, that these men and children, supposed to be lost, are alive and well; that is, the survivors of the group who were torn from Africa by the human blood-hounds who transferred them to Ruiz and Montes. After conveying this joyful intelligence, they, or some of them, will return to the United States to conduct the whole band to Africa. Joshua Coffin has been selected as the proper individual to go to Sierra Leone on this important mission. His noble daring, skill, and perseverance in visiting Mississippi, and bringing off Isaac Wright, a New York coloured young man, who had been sold into slavery by a Yankee captain, together with his general intelligence, eminently qualify him for such an undertaking."

Look, too, at the awful prevalence of lynch-law over the whole of the southern states; and oh, continue unrelaxed in your efforts, until your brethren of America and the negro they have enslaved are free. (Loud cheers.) Though I have trespassed long upon your time, I am compelled to forego the

mentioning of many most interesting topics which I had intended to bring before you. But like yourselves, I am anxious to listen once more to the voice of my brother and fellow-labourer behind me. He comes amongst us to-night to say farewell. I hope not for ever. I will make room for him. When you have heard him, I shall ask to be heard for a few more moments. Before I sit down, however, let me state, that a special meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society is to be held in the city of Philadelphia on the 3d day of the ensuing month, December. In the call convening this meeting, the executive committee say,—

"The associations connected with a special meeting, commemorative of the formation of the Society, will doubtless add to the interest of the occasion. But the state of the country—the general excitement and sensitiveness of the public mind with regard to whatever may affect its prosperity—the growing willingness of the public ear to listen to arguments on the impolicy of forced labour—the accumulating proofs of the superiority of free over slave labour, in point of economy and productiveness—the multiplied developments of the system in its moral relations—and the general interest that prevails relative to national advancement, will furnish an ample fund of matter for deliberation and inquiry. The country, and humanity, have claims on anti-slavery energy, which should not be set aside. Let there be a general convocation. It is in the power of abolitionists to give to this meeting a deeper and more momentous interest than has ever been witnessed on any similar occasion. Let them do it, in the name of Justice and Right—for the sake of the nation and the world. There needs but a steady resolve on their part, to give a strong accumulative impetus to the progress of human civilization. Brethren and sisters, suffer no obstacles to prevent your attendance."

I trust this meeting will be productive of the most important and happy results. (Mr. Thompson sat down amidst loud cheers.)

The Chairman then introduced Mr. Remond, who was greeted with warm approbation.

Mr. Remond said—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I confess I feel much difficulty in rising to speak, after the able, impressive, and useful lecture with which this large and respectable audience has been favoured by my esteemed friend, Mr. Thompson, and also from inability to say anything additionally illustrative of the subject. It has been well remarked by our respected Chairman, that my voice has been often heard in the city of Glasgow. Sir, it is true, my feelings, views, sentiments, and principles, on the Anti-Slavery question and cause, are fully before this community. On reviewing what I have said, I find nothing to alter or to retract; and that which I have expressed in Scotland, I have expressed in many parts of England, and more recently in Ireland. (Cheering.) Let me say, that never were my hopes higher, my expectations stronger, or my zeal more ardent, than at present. Since my travels in Ireland, I am more than ever convinced of the influence which the United Kingdom is capable of exerting, and will increasingly exert, as their connexion and responsibility shall be more clearly seen and felt, for the overthrow of the iniquitous system of American slavery. (Cheers.) The only excuse which either England, Scotland, or Ireland can find for countenancing, in any degree, that injurious, dangerous, and pernicious system, consists in the nature of their mercantile and manufacturing interests—in the pecuniary advantages of our system to these countries. This impression will not long continue—no longer than the people having connexion with that country shall remain ignorant of the truth. I am happy to say, many in Ireland have resolved to look this question in the face—and if American slavery lives and flourishes upon the purchase, manufacture, and consumption of American cotton, it shall not be long ere the support is destroyed. (Cheers.) Happy, very happy, was I to notice the warm response given to the reference made by our valued friend, Thompson, to the capabilities, resources, and productions of India, and the incalculable advantages which must accrue to the three countries, if public opinion shall be directed to that empire, and its riches be

brought into competition with the slave produce of our country (Cheering.) [Here Mr. Remond expressed a wish that the applause of his friends might not consume the time.] I remark again, when a single slaveholder or his apologist shall make out a justifiable case for the enslavement of our kind, I will cease my humble efforts in this cause ; but never, while I can point to victims like the one on my left, whose back bears tokens of his wrongs and sufferings in my own country, when I think, too, of the friend on my right, from the island of Hayti, an island whose history has proved a dire disturber of the peace of slaveholding communities throughout the world. Sir, these things, in connexion with the progress of the cause in our country, should encourage, stimulate, invigorate, and urge onward and upward all friends to this high, and just, and holy enterprise ; and, if so, then the poor slave will be found still to " hope on and hope for ever." (Cheers.) And when we take into consideration the efforts being made on this side of the Atlantic, in them the slaveholders may plainly read the fate of their policy. Sir, when we look to the names of the men who constitute the supporters of this and other associations, having the same general object in view, we may justly exclaim, " something will be done." And, above all, when we contemplate the object and efforts of the British India Society, whose important claims are fast securing the public attention, who can doubt the issue ? But, Mr. Chairman, this subject needs no further elucidation at my hands, and at this late hour. When I rose, I did not think to retain the floor so long. Let me conclude by saying my heart goes along with the sentiments this evening expressed. Glasgow was early, and has ever been conspicuous in the cause of emancipation. Heaven grant she may continue to the end of the chapter, true, faithful, persevering. That which I have already said, I repeat—that the cause which has been, under God, launched forth by William Lloyd Garrison, is, in my estimation, second to none, save that of the spiritual salvation of men, with which, too, it is inseparably connected. With these remarks, let me say, with a full and grateful heart, to all my friends—farewell. (Loud applause.)

Mr. Thompson again came forward and said—Sir, it is with feelings of delight, qualified by many regrets, that I rise to discharge a duty, at once prompted by my own heart, and assigned me by the Committee of this Society. Our friend who has retired, is about to leave this country to return to his own. He has been with us for fifteen months, and as it was my privilege to become acquainted with him immediately he reached these shores, so it has been my privilege to be associated with him, intimately and affectionately, during the whole of his stay upon them. From the deep interest I have felt in him, both on his own account personally, as well as because he represents millions of our race in suffering and captivity, I have been led to watch, with an anxious and a jealous eye, all his movements. I have had peculiar opportunities for forming an estimate of his character, and for ascertaining the amount of influence which his labours are calculated to exert upon the public mind; and most happy am I to be able to bear my testimony to the uprightness and purity of his principles, and to the extraordinary success of his endeavours to enlighten the people of this country on the subject of Slavery in the United States. The influence of his talents has been aided by the character he has maintained. He has not only multiplied converts to our cause, but friends for himself. The coloured population of the United States have been fortunate in having had so rarely endowed an advocate of their claims in this country. He has, wherever he has been seen and heard, begotten an unwonted feeling of sympathy with his brethren in bonds. With fervid eloquence he has exposed the wrongs inflicted on his race. With manly dignity he has vindicated the claims of the outcast negro to the full honours of humanity, and the unabridged rights of brotherhood and citizenship. In his own person he has demonstrated the intellectual equality of a class oppressed and trodden under foot as an inferior portion of the human family. (Cheers.) He has denounced, with feelings that those only can experience, who, like himself, have suffered "the oppressor's scorn, the proud man's contumely," the manifestations and fruits of

that prejudice against the colour of the skin, which has driven the spirit of Christ from the hearts, and the mandates of Christ from the memory, of his white and persecuting countrymen. He has carried his hearers to distant scenes of unpitied sorrow and unrequited toil, and has made them feel for them that are in bonds, as bound with them. He has based his advocacy of human rights upon the loftiest and most impregnable principles. He has recommended means which are the most rational and peaceful, and the most certain in their results. He has accomplished much. In his late tour in Ireland, he has succeeded in waking up a feeling in behalf of the slave wholly new, and has linked the cause of personal freedom to the cause of temperance, which has so gloriously triumphed among the people of the "Emerald Isle." That a labourer so efficient should leave us, just at a time when the fields are white unto the harvest, is to me, and must be unto all, a matter of regret. To lose one whom we love, and who for his own sake we desire to keep among us, is also a cause of sorrow. But I own I feel peculiar emotion when I remember that our friend, though no stranger to America, nor to trials and suffering there, goes back to suffering and trial which will be made still more bitter, by the treatment he has received on these shores. Here, he has been hailed as a man—cherished as a brother—caressed as a friend. (Cheers.) No show of disrespect—no brutal taunts—no scornful looks—no acts of proscription have crossed his path, to grieve his soul, or tempt him to flee our society. (Cheers.) But another lot awaits him. Though, on his return, he will be welcomed by the faithful few, and taken to their hearts, he will have still to endure the obloquy, reproach, and insults of those who can despise the noblest work of God, and trample their Maker's image in the dust, when reflected in the soul of a coloured man. God grant him patience! I have confidence that he will justify all our hopes; I feel that he will be steadfast and immoveable; that he will be as full of good works in the cause of the slave amidst the darkness and the terrors which await him, as he has been

here, while cheered by the smiles, and burdened almost with the grateful and admiring attention of those who happily are strangers to the feeling which blights and withers his countrymen. (Cheers.) His course at home will be watched by us with solicitude. He will have our humble prayer that he may be preserved and strengthened, and I hope he will be spared to revisit us, as the bearer of the delightful tidings, that better feelings and more righteous principles are guiding the actions of the white population of America. (Cheers.) Believing that I know the sentiments you entertain towards my friend, and the estimation in which you hold his abilities and his labours, I submit with confidence the resolution which has been entrusted to me. It connects him with the cause with which he is identified, and calls upon you to pledge yourselves that you will continue to love and cherish both. I am sure I may, in your name, commission our friend to say to his fellow-labourers, with whom he will soon, I trust, have a happy meeting, that our hearts are still with them; that our love for them is unabated, and that we wish them good speed in the name of the Lord. With these remarks, I submit the resolution. It is as follows: viz.

"That the friends of Universal Emancipation now present cannot permit Mr. Remond to leave this city for his native country without expressing to him their affectionate regard for his person, their respect for his character, their admiration of his talents, and their gratitude for the eminent services he has rendered to the abolition cause, during his visit to Great Britain; they would also emphatically assure him of their deep sympathy with his suffering brethren in the United States, and throughout the world; of their increasing hatred of the prejudice and slavery of which they are the victims; and of their best wishes for his future success, and the early triumph of his cause."

Mr. Thompson then introduced his friend Mons. Linstant, from the island of Hayti, delegate to the late Anti-Slavery Convention in London, and apologised to the meeting for the inability of his friend to express himself fluently in the En-

glish language, French being that which he had always been accustomed to speak.

M. LINSTANT briefly addressed the meeting, and expressed his warm devotion to the cause which had brought them together. He felt grateful for the kindness which had been shown him in this city, and for the uniform respect and hospitality with which he had been treated ever since he had come to our shores. (Cheers.)

Mr. JOHN MURRAY proposed the following resolution of thanks to Mr. Thompson for the lecture he had delivered:

"That the thanks of this meeting be giving to George Thompson, Esq., for the interesting and instructive address he has now delivered, on the position and prospects of the abolitionists of the United States. That while listening with delight to the proofs which have been furnished of the success of their brethren and sisters in America, this meeting has felt reanimated in their desire to promote the emancipation of the Slave, whether in America, the East Indies, or any other portion of the globe; and resolves to continue steadfast and diligent, until the work of universal freedom shall, through the blessing of God, be accomplished."

He said the motion needed no recommendation. The lecture to which it referred was its best commendation to the hearts of those present. (Applause.)

Bailie M'LEOD cordially seconded the resolution, which was put from the chair and carried with great applause.

Mr. THOMPSON said he was glad that the resolution just passed gave him the opportunity of announcing, while he thanked his friends for their kind feelings towards him, the zeal and liberality of the ladies in various parts of the kingdom, who for some time had been engaged in preparing boxes of fancy work, to be sold at a Bazaar, to be held about Christmas, by Mrs. Chapman and her noble band of coadjutors in the city of Boston. (Cheers.) The ladies of Glasgow had already despatched a box, of the value, as he understood, of £60. He himself had under his custody in Manchester contributions from ladies in London of about the same value.

These Mr. Remond would carry with him, together with similar donations from Dublin, Cork, Darlington, and other places; so that in the aggregate he trusted there would be a creditable present offered to the excellent ladies of Boston, who could not fail to turn every article into money, and every dollar and cent into active and zealous labour on behalf of the slave. All who had so endeavoured to aid the cause in America would hear in due time of the result of their exertions.

Thanks were voted to the Rev. Wm. Anderson and the managers for their kindness and liberality in granting the use of the chapel, and to Bailie Turner for his conduct in the chair. (Applause.)

The meeting then separated.

EXTRACTS

FROM APPENDIX A.

To "Proceedings at the First Public Meeting of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade, and for the Civilization of Africa, held at Exeter Hall, on Monday, 1st June, 1840. *His Royal Highness Prince Albert, President of the Society, in the Chair."—London: Clowes & Sons, Stamford-street.*

PROSPECTUS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE EXTINCTION OF THE SLAVE TRADE, AND FOR THE CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA;

Instituted June, 1839.

In the year 1807, Great Britain prohibited all her subjects from engaging in the Slave Trade, and the Legislature of this country, in accordance with the voice of the people, repudiated a commerce which had produced more crime and misery than, perhaps, any other single cause of guilt and iniquity; but neither the Government, nor the Legislature, nor the subjects of this realm, were satisfied with a mere cessation from crime.

Remembering how deeply, in times of comparative ignorance, we had sustained and augmented this trade, so repugnant to every Christian principle and feeling, the nation determined to use its utmost influence, and expend its resources, in the noble attempt to extinguish it for ever.

The compass of this address will not allow even of the most compendious statement of the measures resorted to, of the treaties concluded with foreign powers, of the monies expended, and the various other efforts made to effect this object; suffice it to say that, since the year 1807, all the great Powers of Europe have been induced by Great Britain to unite in expressing their abhorrence of this traffic; and, with all, treaties more or less stringent have been made for its extinction.

The United States of America, though from political reasons they have declined any actual co-operation, have not the less denounced and prohibited all traffic in slaves from Africa. Great Britain has expended, in bounties alone, upwards of £940,000; and in the maintenance of the courts established for the adjudication of captured slaves, above £330,000, besides a very large sum annually in supporting a considerable force of cruizers in various parts of the globe, to intercept and destroy the traffic*. An infinitely more important sacrifice has been made in the loss of British life, which has been necessarily incurred in pursuing this object. The result, the melancholy result, remains to be stated. The traffic has not been extinguished, has not been diminished, but, by the latest accounts from which any estimate can be correctly formed, the numbers exported have increased—the destruction of human life, and all the guilt and misery consequent thereon, have been fearfully augmented; and at the same time it may be stated, that the numbers exported from Africa are, as compared with the year 1807, as two to one, and that the annual loss of life has risen from seventeen to twenty-five.

* This expenditure, together with that caused by the payments to Foreign Powers on account of the Slave Trade, for the support of liberated Africans and for other incidental expenses, may be shown from official documents to have amounted to upwards of fifteen millions sterling.

COPY,

TAKEN BY LORD CLIFFORD, OF A

BRIEF OF POPE URBAN VIII,

Contained in a work in several volumes, folio, in the Library of the British Museum in London, entitled, "Bullarum, Privilegiorum, ac Diplomatum Romanorum Amplissima Collectio; cui accessere Pontificum omnium Vitæ, Notæ, et Indices opportunæ. Operâ et studio Caroli Coquelensis. Romæ, 1743. *Typis et sumptibus Hieronymi Maynardi, in plateâ Agonali, ad Vicum Cuccagnæ. Superiorum Facultate."*

Tom. VI. P. I & II. *p.* 183. DCIV.

Commissio Collectori Portugalliæ ut quibusvis personis inhibeat, ne quis Indos Occidentales et Meridionales vendat, in servitutem redigat, vel uxoribus, filiis, et bonis suis privet.

Dilecto Filio Jurium et Spoliorum Cameræ Nostræ Apostolicæ in Portugalliæ et Algarbiorum regnis debitorum Collectori Generali,

URBANUS PAPA OCTAVUS.

DILECTE FILI, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Exordium. Commissum Nobis a Domino supremi Apostolatus ministerium postulat, ut nullius hominis salutem a curâ Nostrâ alienam ducentes, non solum in Christi fideles, sed etiam in eos, qui adhuc in ethnicæ superstitionis tenebris extra gremium Ecclesiæ versantur, paternæ Nostræ charitatis affectum diffundamus, et quæ eis quominus ad Christianæ veritatis et fidei agnitionem perducantur quoquo modo obstaculo esse possunt, quantum cum Domino possumus, amovere studeamus.

TRANSLATION

OF A

BRIEF OF POPE URBAN VIII,

Contained in a printed work, of several volumes, folio, in the Latin language, in the British Museum in London, entitled, "A most ample Collection of Roman Bulls, Privileges, and Diplomas; to which are added the Lives of all the Popes, Notes, and a suitable Index. Edited by Charles Coquelen. Rome, 1743. *Printed at the expense of Jerom Maynard, in the Square called Piazza Navona, Cuccagna-street. By permission of Superiors."*

Vol. VI. Parts I and II. *p.* 183. No. DCIV.

A Commission issued to the Procurator of Portugal, directing him to prohibit all persons whomsoever from selling, reducing to slavery, or depriving of their wives, children, or goods and chattels, the Western and Southern Indians.

To our beloved Son, the Collector-General of the dues and fiscalities belonging to our Apostolic Chamber and the kingdoms of Portugal and the Algarves,

URBAN THE EIGHTH, POPE.

Beloved Son, Health and Apostolic Benediction,

Exordium. The Supreme Apostolical Ministry committed to us by our Lord, demands of us, that we should not consider the salvation of any man as an object foreign to our care; and that extending the affections of our paternal charity, not only towards the faithful of Christ's fold, but also towards those who live out of the bosom of the Church in pagan superstition, we should study to remove from them, as far as we are able in the Lord, whatever may be in any manner an obstacle to them to prevent their being brought to the knowledge of Christian truth and faith.

Paulus Tertius inhibuit Indos in servitutem redigi aut bonis spoliari.

§. 1. Aliàs siquidem fel. rec. Paulus Papa III, Prædecessor Noster, statui Indorum Occidentalium et Meridionalium, quos in servitutem redigi suisque bonis privari, eâque de causâ ab amplectendâ Christi fide averti, acceperat, consulere cupiens, universis et singulis cujuscumque status, conditionis, gradus et dignitatis existentibus, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœnâ eo ipso incurrendâ, a quo nonnisi ab eo, vel Romano Pontifice pro tempore existente, præterquam in mortis articulo et satisfactione previâ, absolvi possint, prohibuit, seu prohiberi mandavit, ne prædictos Indos quomodolibet in servitutem redigere aut eos bonis suis spoliare quoquomodo præsumerent, et aliàs prout in eisdem Pauli Prædecessoris in simili formâ Brevis die vigesimâ nonâ Maii 1537, desuper expeditis Litteris, quarum tenores præsentibus pro expressis haberi volumus, plenius continentur.

Urbanus mandat prout in Rubricis.

§. 2. Cum autem, sicut accepimus, causæ propter quas Litteræ Pauli Prædecessoris prædicti emanarunt, etiam de præsenti vigeant: Idcirco Nos, ipsius Pauli Prædecessoris vestigiis inhærendo, ac impiorum hominum ausus, qui Indos prædictos, quos omnibus Christianæ charitatis, et mansuetudinis officiis ad suscipiendam Christi fidem inducere oportet, inhumanitatis actibus ab illâ deterrent, reprimere volentes, tibi per præsentes committimus, et mandamus, ut per te, vel alium, seu alios, omnibus Indis, tam in Paraquariæ et Brasiliæ Provinciis ac ad flumen de la Plata nuncupatum, quam in quibusvis aliis regionibus et locis, in Indis Occidentalibus et Meridionalibus existentibus, in præmissis efficacis defensionis præsidio assistentes, universis et singulis personis, tam saecularibus etiam ecclesiasticis cujuscumque status, sexus, gradus, conditionis et dignitatis, etiam speciali notâ et mentione dignæ existentibus, quam cujusvis Ordinis, Congregationis, Societatis, Religionis et Instituti, Mendican. et non Mendican. Monachalis Regularibus, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ per contravenientes eo ipso incurrendâ pœnâ, a quâ nonnisi a Nobis, vel pro tempore existente Romano Pontifice, præterquam in mortis articulo constituti, et satisfactione præviâ, absolvi possint, districtius inhibeas, ne de cætero prædictos Indos in servitutem redigere, vendere, emere, commutare, vel donare, ab uxoribus et bonis spoliare, ad alia loca deducere et transmittere, aut quoquomodo libertate privare, in servitute retinere, necnon prædicta agentibus consilium, auxilium, favorem et operam quocunque prætextu et

§. 1. For in former times our Predecessor Paul III, of happy memory, being desirous of providing for the condition of the Western and Southern Indians, who, as he had heard, were reduced to servitude, and deprived of their property, and on that account were deterred from embracing the Faith of Christ, prohibited all and each one, or ordered all and each one to be prohibited, whatever might be their state, condition, grade or dignity, and this under pain of excommunication, already pronounced, and not to be taken off unless at the point of death, upon previous satisfaction being made, from daring to reduce to slavery in any manner the aforesaid Indians; as is more fully set forth in the aforesaid letters expedited in the form of a Brief, dated the 29th day of May, 1537, the tenor of which We by these presents intend to have considered as if set forth in full.

Paul the Third forbids the reducing of the Indians to slavery, or the robbing them of their goods and chattels.

§. 2. But since, as we have been informed, the causes on account of which the letters of our aforesaid Predecessor Paul were issued, are in full force at present; We, consequently, treading in the steps of our said Predecessor Paul, and wishing to repress the audacious attempts of impious men, who, by their inhuman acts, deter from the faith of Christ the aforesaid Indians, who ought to be induced by every office of Christian charity and mildness to embrace that Faith, commission and order you, in your own person or through the medium of another or others appointed for the protection and efficacious defence in the aforesaid matters of all the Indians, as well in the provinces of Paraguay and Brazil, as in all other regions and localities in the Western and Southern Indies, strictly to restrain and forbid all and every one, whether they be Seculars, even Ecclesiastics, of whatsoever state, sex, degree, condition and dignity, even should they be persons entitled to be specially named, or whether they be belonging to any Regular Order, Congregation, Society, Religious Profession or Institute, Mendicant and not Mendicant, or Monastic, from daring or presuming to reduce to slavery, to sell, to buy, to exchange, to give away the aforesaid Indians, or to deprive them of their wives, or goods and chattels, or to carry them, or to transmit them to other places, or in any manner to deprive them of their liberty, or to retain them in slavery, or under any pretext or false colouring, to show favour, or to give counsel aid or assistance, to such act as aforesaid,

Urban commands as in the rubrics.

quæsito colore præstare, aut id licitum prædicare, seu docere, ac aliàs quomodolibet præmissis cooperari audeant, seu præsumant. Contradictores quoslibet et rebelles, ac tibi in præmissis non parentes, in pœnam excommunicationis hujusmodi incidisse declarando, ac per alias etiam censuras et pœnas ecclesiasticas, aliaque opportuna juris et facti remedia, appellatione postpositâ, compescendo, legitimisque super his habendis servatis processibus, censuras et pœnas ipsas etiam iteratis vicibus aggravando, invocato etiam ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii sæcularis. Nos enim tibi desuper plenam, amplam et liberam facultatem tribuimus et potestatem.

Derogatis contrariis.

§. 3. Non obstantibus similis memoriæ Bonifacii Papæ Octavi, etiam Prædecessoris Nostri, de una, ac Concilii generalis de duabus dietis, ac in Conciliis universalibus provincialibusque et synodalibus editis, generalibus vel specialibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus, legibus quoque etiam municipalibus, ac quorumcunque locorum piorum, et non piorum, et generaliter quibusvis, etiam juramento, confirmatione apostolica vel quavis firmitate aliâ roboratis statutis, et consuetudinibus, privilegiis quoque, indultis et Litteris Apostolicis in contrarium præmissorum quomodolibet concessis, confirmatis, approbatis et innovatis. Quibus omnibus, et singulis, etiamsi de illis, eorumque totis tenoribus specialis, specifica, expressa et individua, non autem per clausulas generales idem importantes mentio, seu quævis alia expressio habenda, aut aliqua alia exquisita forma ad hoc servanda foret, illorum tenores præsentibus pro plene et sufficienter expressis, ac de verbo ad verbum insertis habentes, illis aliàs in suo robore permansuris, ad præmissorum effectum, hâc vice duntaxat specialiter et expressè derogamus, cæterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

or to maintain such proceedings to be lawful, or to teach that they are so, or otherwise to co-operate in any manner whatsoever in what is above set forth, and this under pain of excommunication already pronounced, and to be incurred by the very fact by such as act contrary to these orders. You are to declare that all such as contradict you, are rebellious to you, or do not obey you in the matters aforesaid, have incurred thereby the penalty of the aforesaid excommunication; you are to put them down also by other ecclesiastical censures and penalties, and by other remedial measures de jure et de facto, adapted to the circumstances of the case, without admitting any appeal, and adding to the severity of such censures and penalties by repeated infliction of them, observing therein the legal forms therein to be observed, and calling in even to your assistance, if needful, the arm of the secular power. For We thereupon give you full, ample and free power and faculties so to do.

Derogation to all contrary decrees.

§. 3. Notwithstanding any general or special edicts to the contrary, or any constitutions or ordinances of Pope Boniface the Eighth, also of happy memory, our Predecessor, concerning the one diet, or of any General Council, concerning the two diets (1), notwithstanding also any laws, even municipal laws, or any statutes of pious or secular confraternities, and in general, notwithstanding any statutes or customs, even though they be sanctioned by oath, apostolical confirmation, or any other guarantee, notwithstanding also any indults or apostolical letters, granted in any manner, which may stand in the way of these foregoing ordinances, or confirmed, approved, or innovated. For We, to the effect of these presents only, specially and expressly derogate from all and each of them, even though it should have been stipulated in any of them, that in regard of them, and of their whole tenor or import, a special, specific, express and individual mention should be made of them, and that they should not be affected by any general clauses of similar import, or although it should have been stipulated that any other particular formality should be observed in reference to them, We considering in this instance their tenor and import as if fully and sufficiently expressed in these presents, and as if inserted word for word; and as to the rest, intending that they should remain in full force, in so far as they are not in opposition to these presents, and it being our intention to derogate from whatsoever is contrary to these presents.

Dat. die 22 Aprilis, 1639, an. XVI.

Datum Romæ, apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 22 Aprilis 1639, Pontificatus Nostri anno XVI.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Ring of the Fisherman, on the 22nd day of April, 1639, in the 16th year of our Pontificate.

Dated the 22d day of April, 1639, the 16th year of the Pontificate.

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(1) The official style of the Roman court, especially in derogatory clauses, intended to *preclude* opposition to a Papal decree on the ground of special exemption, is so *laboured*, and will probably be so new to most of the readers of these pages, that I have, especially as the Latin original is printed on the opposite page, ventured to depart more in this clause than in any other, from a literal translation, in order to make the clause intelligible to an English reader. In particular, I wish to observe to all who may not have an opportunity of consulting the Bullarium Romanum, that they are not to suppose from the first words of this clause that Boniface VIII, or any other Pope, ever encouraged slavery; but the above clause is meant to preclude the opposition of such parties as might be disposed to reject the Brief of Urban VIII, on the ground of any exemption granted from future Papal decrees, *unless they were specially named therein*, by Boniface VIII.—CLIFFORD.

COPY

TAKEN BY LORD CLIFFORD, OF A

BRIEF OF POPE BENEDICT XIV,

From a folio work in the British Museum, entitled, "Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Benedicti Papae XIV Bullarium, Tomus Primus, in quo continentur Constitutiones, Epistolae, aliaque edita ab initi Pontificatus anno MDCCXL, usque ad sextum ejusdem, seu ad annum MDCCXLVI. Editio quarta, emendatior et auctior. Venetiis, MDCCLXXVII. Ex typographia Joannis Galli. Sumptibus Remondinianis. Superiorum facultate."

P. 44, XXXVII. Indorum, in provinciis Paraquariae, Brasiliae, et ad flumen *de la Plata* existentium, libertati et indemnitati consulitur.

Venerabilibus Fratribus, Antistibus Brasiliae aliarumque Ditionum Carissimo in Christo Filio Nostro Joanni Portugalliae et Algarbiorum Regi, in Indiis Occidentalibus et America subjectarum,

BENEDICTUS PAPA XIV.

VENERABILES FRATRES, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Pontificia caritas omnes homines ubique Terrarum degentes amplectitur.

Immensa Pastorum Principis Jesu Christi, qui ut homines vitam abundantius haberent, venit et seipsum tradidit redemptionem pro multis, caritas urget Nos, ut quemadmodum ipsius vices planè immerentes gerimus in terris, ita majorem caritatem Nos habeamus, quam ut animam nostram non solum pro Christi fidelibus, sed et pro om-

TRANSLATION

OF A

BRIEF OF POPE BENEDICT XIV,

From the Latin text, printed in the first volume of a work in the British Museum, entitled, "The Bullarium of our Most Holy Lord, Pope Benedict XIV, Volume the First; in which are contained the Constitutions, Letters, and other published Documents, from the commencement of his Pontificate, in the year 1740, *to the sixth year of the same, that is to say, to the year* 1746. *The fourth edition, corrected and enlarged. Venice,* 1777. *At the printing office of John Galli, at the expense of Remondi. By permission of Superiors."*

P. 44, No. 37.—Provision made for the liberty and indemnity (or personal security) of the Indians who live in the provinces of Paraguay, Brazil, and on the river *de la Plata.*

To our Venerable Brethren, the Bishops of Brazil, and the other territories in America and the West Indies, subject to our most dear son in Christ, John, King of Portugal and the Algarves,

BENEDICT XIV, POPE.

Venerable Brethren, Health and Apostolical Benediction.

The charity of the Pope embraces all men, in every part of the world.

The immense charity of the Prince of Pastors, Jesus Christ, who came and delivered himself up, the redemption for many, in order that men might have life more abundantly, urges us, who, though evidently unworthy, hold His place, as His representative on earth, to have, on that account, a superior degree of charity, and to desire anxiously to

nibus etiam omnino hominibus ponere satagamus. Etsi autem pro supremâ Ecclesiae Catholicae procuratione, infirmitati nostrae injunctâ, Apostolicam hanc Sanctam Sedem, ad quam undique gentium indies concurritur, ut opportunum et salutare emergentibus in Christianâ Republicâ sive negotiis sive detrimentis remedium afferatur hic Romae, more institutoque Majorum tenere ac regere cogimur, nec longinquas dissitasque regiones ut qualemcumque inibi Apostolici ministerii nostri pro lucrandis animabus pretioso Jesu Christi sanguine redemptis operam impendamus, ac vitam ipsam, quemadmodum cupimus, profundamus, adire non possumus; tamen sicut nolumus omnes Apostolicae providentiae, auctoritatis, benignitatisque partes ab omni natione, quae sub coelo est, desiderari, ita vos, Venerabiles Fratres, quos ad excolendam Vineam Dei Sabaoth cooperatores eadem Apostolica Sedes sibi adscivit in Pontificiae solicitudinis vigilantiaeque Nostrae partem libenter advocamus, ut et imposito Vobis muneri magis magisque satisfacere et coronam legitime certantibus in coelo repositam facilius consequi valeatis.

Episcoporum operam in subsidium advocat.

Apostolicae Sedis studium pro infidelium conversione.

§. 1. Porro Fraternitatibus Vestris compertum est quae et quanta Romani Pontifices Praedecessores nostri et Catholici Principes de Christianâ Religione benemerentissimi, laborum incommoda ac pecuniarum dispendia alacri constantique animo passi fuerint, ut hominibus qui ambulabant in tenebris et in umbrâ mortis sedebant, per sacros operarios, tum sacris praedicationibus bonisque exemplis, tum donis, tum opibus, tum subsidiis, tum auxiliis, lumen Orthodoxae Fidei illucesceret et ad agnitionem veritatis venirent: et quibus etiam nunc muneribus, quibus beneficiis, quibus privilegiis, quibus praerogativis, quemadmodum semper factum est Infideles cumulentur, ut iis illecti, Catholicam Religionem amplectantur, in eâque manentes, per bona Christianae pietatis opera aeternam salutem adipiscantur.

lay down our own life, not only for the faithful of Christ's fold, but for all mankind, without exception. But, although we are forced, on account of the supreme charge of the Catholic Church which has been imposed upon our weakness, to hold, and govern here at Rome, this Holy See, to which there is a daily concourse from all nations, in every part of the world, in order that salutary and proper remedies may be administered in the affairs, or in the disorders of emergency, which take place in the Christian Republic; and although we are thus prevented from visiting countries afar off, in order to devote ourselves personally to the task, to the best of our abilities, of our Apostolic ministry, in gaining souls redeemed by the precious blood of Jesus Christ, and from laying down, as we wish, our own lives for that purpose; nevertheless, as we are unwilling to be found deficient by any nation, in any measure of Apostolical providence, authority, or benignity, we therefore willingly call upon you, Venerable Brethren, whom the said Apostolic See has aggregated to itself for the culture of the vineyard of the God of Sabaoth, to take a share in our Pontifical solicitude and vigilance, that so you may more and more satisfy the obligation imposed upon you, and may be able to attain more easily the crown laid up in heaven for those who contend legitimately.

He calls to his help the assistance of the Bishops.

§ 1. Moreover, Venerable Brethren, you are aware how much of labour and inconvenience, how great an expenditure of money has been borne, with cheerfulness and perseverance, by the Bishops of Rome, our predecessors, and by Catholic Princes, who have deserved well of the Christian Religion, in order that the light of the Orthodox Faith might break forth, by means of sacred labourers, upon men who were walking in darkness, and who were sitting in the shades of death. To this purpose they devoted their gifts, their riches, their subsidies, their aids, that these men might come to acknowledge the truth; and you are also aware how many presents, how many kindnesses, how many privileges and prerogatives are heaped upon the Infidels even now, in conformity with what has always hitherto been the practice, in order that these men may be, by these attractions, induced (1) to embrace the Catholic Religion, and remaining steadfast in it, may obtain eternal salvation, by the practice of good works of Christian piety

The interest which the Holy See feels for the conversion of Infidels

Nonnullorum asperitas in Indos, tum infideles, tum Christianos.

§. 2. Eapropter non sine gravissimo paterni animi Nostri maerore accepimus, post tot inita ab iisdem Praedecessoribus Nostris Romanis Pontificibus Apostolicae providentiae consilia, post editas constitutiones, opem, subsidium ac praesidium Infidelibus omni meliori modo praestandum esse, non injurias, non flagella, non vincula, non servitutem, non necem inferendam esse, sub gravissimis poenis et Ecclesiasticis censuris, praescribentes, adhuc reperiri, praesertim in istis Brasiliae regionibus, homines Orthodoxae Fidei cultores, qui veluti caritatis in cordibus nostris per Spiritum Sanctum diffusae sensuum penitus obliti, miseros Indos, non solum Fidei luce carentes, verum etiam sacrae regenerationis lavacro ablutos, in montanis asperrimisque earundem Brasiliae, tam Occidentalium quam Meridionalium, aliarumque regionum desertis inhabitantes, aut in servitutem redigere, aut veluti mancipia aliis vendere, aut eos bonis privare, eâque inhumanitate cum iisdem agere praesumant, ut ab amplectendâ Christi fide potissimum avertantur, et ad odio habendam maximopere obfirmentur.

Ea improbatur a pietate Serenissimi Lusitaniae Regis.

§. 3. Hisce malis, quantum cum Domino possumus, occurrere satagentes, primum quidem eximiam pietatem et in Catholicâ Religione propagandâ incredibilem carissimi in Christo Filii Nostri Joannis Portugalliae et Algarbiorum Regis illustris zelum excitandum curavimus, qui pro filiali suâ erga Nos atque hanc Sanctam Sedem observantiâ, statim se omnibus et singulis suarum Ditionum officialibus et ministris in mandatis daturum pollicitus est, ut quemcunque suorum subditorum aliter quam Christianae caritatis mansuetudo exegit, erga Indos hujusmodi sese gerere comperissent, gravissimis juxta Regia Edicta poenis afficerent.

Pontifex hortatur Episcopos ut ipsi quoque eum refrenare curent.

§. 4. Deinde Fraternitates Vestras rogamus atque in Domino hortamur, ut nedum debiti ministerii vestri vigilantiam, solicitudinem, operamque vestram, hac in re, cum nominis dignitatisque vestrae detrimento, deesse non patiamini; quinimo studia vestra Regiorum ministrorum

§. 2. Wherefore, it is not without the heaviest affliction to our paternal breast that we have been informed, that after so many measures entered into by the apostolical providence of the Bishops of Rome, our predecessors, after the publication of constitutions, prescribing, under the severest penalties and ecclesiastical censures, that help, assistance, and protection were to be afforded, in every best possible way, to Infidels; that injuries, scourges, chains, slavery, and death were not the treatment with which they ought to meet—there should still be found persons, professing the Orthodox Faith, who, as if they had totally forgotten every sentiment of charity diffused in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, presume to reduce to slavery, or to sell to others as bondsmen, or to deprive of their goods and chattels the wretched Indians; and not only those who are destitute of the light of Faith, but even those among them who have been cleansed by the sacred font of regeneration, and who were dwelling in the mountainous and most rugged and desert districts of Brazil, and of other districts to the southward and westward, and to behave towards them with such inhumanity as to be the chief cause of their aversion to embrace the faith of Christ, and to confirm them, in the greatest degree, in their hatred of it.

The harshness of some towards the Indians, as well Christians as Infidels.

§. 3. We, being desirous of remedying as far as we are able, with the help of our Lord, these evils, have made it our first care to excite the very great piety, and the incredible zeal for the propagation of the Catholic Religion, of our most dear Son in Christ, John, King of Portugal and the Algarves, who, actuated by his sense of filial duty towards us and this Holy See, immediately gave us his promise that he would send orders to all and each of the officers and ministers in his dominions, to punish with the severest penalties, according to the royal edicts, any one of his subjects whom they should ascertain to be acting towards the Indians aforesaid otherwise than the mildness of Christian charity required of them.

Such conduct is disapproved by the clemency of the most serene King of Portugal.

§. 4. Therefore we entreat you, Venerable Brethren, and we exhort you in the Lord, that not only you will not allow yourselves to be wanting, to the prejudice of your name and dignity, in the vigilance, solicitude, and exertion in this matter, which become your ministry;

The Pope exhorts the Bishops to exert themselves also to repress such harshness.

officiis conjungentes, unicuique probetis Sacerdotes animarum pastores, quanto prae laicis ministris ad Indis hujusmodi opem ferendam, eosque ad Catholicam Fidem adducendos, ardentiori Sacerdotalis caritatis aestu ferveant.

Confirmat Praedecessorum constitutiones.

§. 5. Praeterea Nos auctoritate Apostolica tenore praesentium Apostolicas in simili forma Brevis Litteras a fel. rec. Paulo Papa III, Praedecessore Nostro, ad tunc existentem Joannem Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalem de Tavera nuncupatum, Archiepiscopum Toletanum, die 29 mensis Maii anno MDXXXVII datas, et a rec. mem. Urbano Papa VIII, itidem Praedecessore Nostro, tunc existente, jurium et spoliorum Camerae Apostolicae in Portugalliae et Algarbiorum Regnis debitorum Collectori Generali die XXII mensis Aprilis anno MDCXXXIX scriptas renovamus et confirmamus; necnon eorundem Pauli et Urbani Praedecessorum vestigiis inhaerendo, ac impiorum hominum ausus, qui Indos praedictos, quos omnibus Christianae caritatis et mansuetudinis officiis ad suscipiendam Christi Fidem inducere oportet, inhumanitatis actibus ab illâ deterrent, reprimere volentes, unicuique Fraternitatum vestrarum vestrisque pro tempore successoribus committimus et mandamus, ut unusquisque vestrum, vel per se ipsum vel per alium seu alios editis atque in publicum propositis affixisque edictis, omnibus Indis, tam in Paraquariae et Brasiliae Provinciis, ac ad flumen *de la Plata* nuncupatum, quam in quibusvis aliis regionibus et locis in Indiis Occidentalibus et Meridionalibus existentibus, in praemissis efficacis defensionis praesidio assistentes, universis et singulis personis, tam saecularibus etiam Ecclesiasticis cujuscunque status, sexus, gradus, conditionis et dignitatis etiam speciali notâ et mentione dignis existentibus, quam cujusvis Ordinis, Congregationis, Societatis, etiam Jesu, Religionis et Instituti Mendicantium et non Mendicantium ac Monachalis Regularibus, etiam quaruncunque Militiarum, etiam Hospitalium Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani, Fratribus Militibus, sub excommunicationis latae sententiae per contravenientes eo ipso incurrendae poena, a qua nonnisi a Nobis vel pro tempore existente Romano Pontifice, praeterquam in mortis articulo constituti et satisfactione praevia, absolvi possint, districtius inhibeant, ne de caetero praedictos Indos in servitutem re-

Mandat publicare Edicta in favorem Indorum.

Inhibendo quibuslibet ne eos in servitutem redigant, seu vendant, spoliant, &c.

but that, in uniting your earnest endeavours to the official exertions of the royal ministers, you should give proof to every one, how much priests who are pastors of souls are animated with a fervour of charity, superior to that of lay ministers, to afford help to such Indians, and to bring them to the Catholic Faith.

He confirms the constitutions of his predecessors.

§. 5. Furthermore, We, by Apostolical authority, and by the tenor of these presents, renew and confirm the Apostolical Letters, in the similar form of a Brief, of our predecessor Paul III, of happy memory, to the Archbishop of Toledo at that time, known by the name of John of Tavera, Cardinal of the holy Roman Church, dated the 29th day of the month of May, in the year 1537; as also those addressed to the Collector General in the kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves of the dues and fiscalities of the Apostolical Chamber, by Pope Urban VIII, also our predecessor, of recent memory, dated the 22nd day of the month of April, in the year 1639; and likewise treading in the steps of our said predecessors, Paul and Urban, and wishing to repress the audacious attempts of impious men, who, by their acts of inhumanity deter from embracing the faith of Christ, the aforesaid Indians, who ought to be induced by every office of Christian charity and mildness to embrace it, commission and order each of you, Venerable Brethren, and your successors for the time being, that each of you, either in person or through the medium of another, or of others, attend to the protection and effectual defence of all the Indians existing as well in the provinces of Paraguay and Brazil, and in the province called by the name of the river *de la Plata*, as in all other regions and localities in the western and southern Indies, and by means of edicts sent forth and communicated to the public, and exposed to public view, do most peremptorily prohibit all and singular person or persons, whether they be secular or ecclesiastical, of whatever state, sex, grade, condition, and dignity, even though they should be entitled to be here specially noticed and mentioned, or whether they be of any whatsoever order, congregation, or society, including the Society of Jesus (2), or of whatever religious body, or institute, mendicants, non-mendicants, or monastic, or regulars, or of whatever military body, including the Brother Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem, under pain of excommunication already pro-

He orders the edicts in favour of the Indians to be published.

Forbidding all persons whatsoever to reduce to slavery, to sell, to plunder, &c.

digere, vendere, emere, commutare vel donare, ab uxoribus et filiis separare, rebus et bonis suis spoliare, ad alia loca deducere et transmittere, aut quoquo modo libertate privare, in servitutem retinere, necnon praedicta agentibus consilium, auxilium, favorem et operam quocunque praetextu et quaesito colore praestare, aut id licitum praedicare seu docere, ac aliàs quomodolibet praemissis cooperari audeant, seu praesumant, contradictores quoslibet et rebelles, ac unicuique Vestrum in praemissis non parentes, in poenam excommunicationis hujusmodi incedisse declarando, ac per alias etiam censuras et poenas ecclesiasticas, aliaque opportuna juris et facti remedia, appellatione postpositâ, compescendo, legitimisque super his habendis servatis processibus, censuras et poenas ipsas etiam iteratis vicibus aggravando, invocato etiam ad hoc, si opus fuerit, auxilio brachii saecularis. Nos enim unicuique Vestrum, vestrorumque pro tempore successorum, desuper plenam, amplam et liberam facultatem tribuimus et impertimur.

Contravenientes anathemate et censuris puniantur.

§. 6. Non obstantibus similis memoriae Bonifacii Papae VIII etiam Praedecessoris Nostri de una, ac Concilii Generalis de duabus dietis, ac aliis Apostolicis et in Conciliis Universalibus Provincialibusque et Synodis editis, generalibus vel specialibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus, Legibus quoque etiam municipalibus, ac quoruncunque locorum piorum et non piorum, et generaliter quibusvis etiam juramento, confirmatione Apostolicâ, vel quâvis firmitate aliâ roboratis, statutis et consuetudinibus, privilegiis quoque, Indultis et Litteris Apostolicis in contrarium praemissorum quomodolibet concessis, confirmatis et innovatis. Quibus omnibus et singulis, etiamsi de illis, eorumque totis tenoribus specialis, specifica, expressa et individua, ac de verbo ad verbum, non autem per clausulas generales idem importantes mentio, seu quaevis alia expressio habenda, aut aliqua alia exquisita forma ad hoc servanda foret tenoris hujusmodi, ac si de verbo ad verbum,

Contrariis derogat.

nounced, to be incurred *ipso facto,* by those who shall act in opposition to such prohibition, and from which excommunication they are not to be absolved except by us, or by the Bishop of Rome for the time being, unless they be at the point of death and have made previous satisfaction, from daring or presuming to reduce to slavery, to sell, to buy, to exchange or give away, to separate from their wives and children, to plunder of their effects, and goods, and chattels, to carry off and transmit to other places, or in other mode to deprive of their liberty, or to retain in servitude, the aforesaid Indians, or to afford counsel, help, favour, and co-operation under any pretext, and specious colouring; or to preach, or to teach that such conduct is lawful, or in any other manner whatsoever to co-operate in the aforesaid particulars. You are to declare all who contradict you, or prove refractory, or who refuse to obey all or each of you in the aforesaid particulars, to have actually incurred such penalty of excommunication. You are to put down all such opposition, even by other additional ecclesiastical censures and penalties, and by other remedial measures, *de jure et de facto,* without admitting any appeal, and by increasing the severity of such censures and penalties by their repeated infliction, observing therein the legal processes, and you are even to call in, if necessary for such purpose, the aid of the secular arm. For we give and impart to each of you, and of your successors for the time being, full, ample, and free powers thereupon.

Those who refuse to obey are excommunicated.

§. 6. [This clause is a repetition word for word of the third clause of the Brief of Pope Urban VIII. A repetition, therefore, of the translation is unnecessary].

He derogates from all contrary enactments.

§. 7. And it is our will and pleasure that the same credit be given, in and out of court, to transcripts or copies of these present letters, even to printed ones, provided they be subscribed in the handwriting of any Public Notary, and attested by the seal of any person holding an Ecclesiastical dignity, as would be given to these letters themselves, if produced and exhibited.

He directs that copies shall be held to be of authority.

§. 8. As to the rest, Venerable Brethren, do you, keeping watch over the several flocks entrusted to the care of each of you, exert yourselves strenuously, and use your endeavours to fulfil your ministry with that

He calls upon the Bishops to see that these letters be put in execution.

nihil penitus omisso, et forma in illis tradita observata exprimerentur et insererentur, praesentibus pro plene et sufficienter expressis et insertis habentes, illis aliàs in suo robore permansuris ad promissorum effectum, hac vice duntaxat specialiter et expresse derogamus caeterisque contrariis quibuscunque.

Transumptis fidem tribuit.

§. 7. Volumus autem, ut earundem praesentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis, etiam impressis, manu alicujus Notarii Publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in Ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides in judicio et extra adhibeatur quae ipsis praesentibus adhiberetur si forent exhibitae et ostensae.

Episcopos obtestatur pro praesentium executione.

§. 8. Caeterum, Venerabiles Fratres, custodientes Vos vigilias super grege unicuique vestrum credito, ministerium vestrum satagite atque enitamini, ea, quâ obstricti estis, diligentia, sedulitate et caritate adimplere, assiduè in animis vestris recolentes rationem quam et Vos Pastorum Principi Jesu Christo eterno Judici de ovibus suis reddituri eritis, et quam ille accuratissimè a Vobis exacturus erit. Ita enim fore confidimus, ut unusquisque Vestrum omnem operam atque conatum adhibeat, ne debitum in hoc tam eximiae caritatis opere officium desideretur. Interea ad prosperi eventus successum Apostolicam Benedictionem cum uberrima coelestium charismatum copia conjunctam Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, peramanter impertimur.

Dat. die 20 Dec. 1741.

Datum Romae, apud S. Mariam Majorem, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die XX Decembris MDCCXLI, Pontificatus Nostri anno II.

D. Card. Passioneus.

(1) Some of the readers of these pages may, perhaps, be disposed to cavil at a system of making converts to Christianity by temporal inducements. It may, perhaps, therefore, not be amiss to observe, that no express approbation of such a system is here given, but *a fact is stated* as in contra-position to the harshness or tyranny of the slave-holders, which is declared to be evidently in opposition to Christianity. An *abuse* of one system may be, and probably will frequently be, found to be prejudicial to the convert; the other system is, *in itself*, incompatible with Christian principle, and *must be* equally destructive to the eternal interests of the tyrant professing Christianity, and of the heathen who is deterred by such tyranny from esteeming Christianity.

(2) It may be observed that these words are not in the Brief of Urban VIII; and some may perhaps thence conjecture that the conduct of the members of the Society of Jesus, subsequent to the year 1639, towards the Indians of Paraguay,

diligence, assiduity, and charity, which are obligatory upon you, constantly calling to your minds the account which you also will have to render to Jesus Christ, the Prince of Pastors and Eternal Judge, of his sheep, and which he will most rigorously exact of you. For thus it will come to pass as we confidently hope, that every one of you will use every active endeavour, that there be no cause of complaint of neglect of duty in this work of excelling charity. Meanwhile, to promote a prosperous result, We, with the utmost affection, bestow upon you, Venerable Brethren, together with the fullest abundance of celestial graces, our Apostolical Benediction.

Given at Rome, at St. Mary Major, under the Ring of the Fisherman, the 20th day of December, 1741, the second year of our Pontificate.

Dated the 20th Dec. 1741.

D. Cardinal Passionei.

Brazil, and the Southern and Western Indies, had been such as to call for particular notice from the Holy See, on the ground that they had shown themselves disposed to consider themselves as not comprehended within the limits of the Brief of Urban VIII. Any one, however, who has read Juan and Ulloa's Travels in Paraguay, Robertson's History of America, Thompson's Alcedo, or Dallas, on the Conspiracy against the Jesuits, will know that such was not the fact. It is, on the contrary, to the exertions of that society in the protection of the Indians of Brazil and Paraguay, that the Christian Church is mainly indebted for the two Briefs of Urban VIII and Benedict XIV; and it is equally true, though perhaps the fact is less generally known, that it was the obstacle which the remonstrances of that Society at the courts of Spain and Portugal opposed to the oppression, tyranny, and violations of those two Briefs by the Spanish Prime Minister, Aranda, and the Portuguese Prime Minister, Pombal, in the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in Paraguay and the Brazils, which drew upon that society the combined hatred of those two monsters of cruelty and injustice, and induced them, though cordially hating each other, to combine for its destruction under false pretences. Before that time, the Dutch slave-holders had put scores of them, not to say hundreds, to death; not more perhaps out of hatred to Catholicity, than out of fear of them as the avowed and able adversaries of slavery. It is an honour to the Society of Jesus to have had martyrs, and to have at last fallen itself in such a cause; and every sincere slavery-abolitionist has reason to rejoice at its revival, and at its resumption of missionary duties in South America. As for the pretended Tavora Conspiracy, the alleged ground of Pombal's massacre of the family of the Cardinal of Toledo, the light of history has now made manifest the exact truth of the words in which Voltaire characterised it at the time: "The excess of the ridiculous, combined with the excess of the horrible." See Barruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism.

BULL OF GREGORY XVI, POPE,

FOR THE

ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

"*His Holiness issued the following Apostolical Letters, dated at Rome, 3rd December,* 1839, *and signed by Cardinal Lambruschini, in which the commerce of negroes is forbidden in the strongest terms, and interdicting any person, lay or ecclesiastical, from defending its lawfulness either in public or in private. The Brief explains the anxiety of the Church to abolish slavery in all ages, and to extend to all classes of men the equality and prerogatives bestowed upon them by our Lord. Zeal for the suppression of slavery has ever distinguished the Roman Pontiffs; and to the names of Pius II,* (1462), *Paul III,* (1537,) *Urban VIII,* (1639), *Benedict XIV,* (1741), *and Pius VII, who are cited in the Brief, many more might be added. Amongst these defenders of the oppressed, Gregory XVI will not be forgotten.*"—DUBLIN CATHOLIC DIRECTORY.

GREGORIUS P.P. XVI,

Ad futuram rei memoriam.

In supremo Apostolatus fastigio constituti, et nullis licet suffragantibus meritis gerentes vicem Jesu Christi Dei Filii, qui propter nimiam caritatem suam Homo factus, mori etiam pro Mundi redemptione dignatus est, ad Nostram pastoralem sollicitudinem pertinere animadvertimus, ut Fideles ab inhumano Nigritarum seu aliorum quorumcumque hominum mercatu avertere penitus studeamus. Sane cum primum diffundi cœpit Evangelii lux, sen-

GREGORY XVI, POPE,

Wishing eternal remembrance.

Placed, as we are, on the supreme seat of the apostles, and acting, though by no merits of our own, as the vicegerent of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who, through his great mercy, condescended to make himself man, and to die for the redemption of the world, we regard as a duty devolving on our pastoral functions, that we endeavour to turn aside our faithful flocks entirely from the inhuman traffic in negroes, or any other human beings whatsoever.

serunt alleviari plurimum apud Christianos conditionem suam miseri illi, qui tanto tunc numero bellorum præsertim occasione in servitutem durissimam deveniebant. Inspirati enim a Divino Spiritu Apostoli servos quidem ipsos docebant obedire dominis carnalibus sicut Christo, et facere voluntatem Dei ex animo; dominis vero præcipiebant ut bene erga servos agerent, et quod justum est et æquum eis præstarent, ac remitterent minas, scientes quia illorum et ipsorum Dominus est in cœlis, et personarum acceptio non est apud Eum (1). Universim vero cum sincera erga omnes caritas Evangelii Lege summopere commendaretur, et Christus Dominus declarasset habiturum se tamquam factum aut denegatum sibi ipsi quidquid benignitatis et misericordiæ minimis et indigentibus præstitum aut negatum fuisset (2), facile inde contigit nedum ut Christiani servos suos præsertim Christianos veluti fratrum loco haberent (3), sed etiam ut proniores essent ad illos qui mererentur libertate donandos; quod quidem occasione imprimis Paschalium Solemnium fieri consuevisse indicat Gregorius Nys-

Beyond a doubt, when the light of the Gospel first began to diffuse itself, those unhappy persons who were plunged into the severest condition of slavery, in consequence of the numerous wars at that time, found their condition alleviated among the Christians. For the apostles, inspired by the Divine Spirit, taught even their slaves to obey their carnal masters as Christ, and to do the will of God heartily. They also taught their masters that they should act well to their slaves, and do unto them what was just and equitable, and to abstain from threats, knowing that the God both of them and of their slaves, dwells in heaven, and that with Him there is no respect of persons. But while a sincere and universal spirit of charity is especially enjoined by the law of the Gospel, and our Lord himself said that he would consider any act of benevolence and mercy done to the least or poorest, or denied, as done or denied to himself, it readily followed that the Christians not only considered their slaves, especially such as were Christians, in the light of brothers, but were even very prone to endow

(1) Ad Ephesios vi. 5, seqq.; ad Coloss. iii. 22, seqq. iv. 1.
(2) Matthæi xxv. 35, seqq.
(3) Lactantius, Divin. Institution. Lib. V. c. 16. Tom. IV. Biblioth. Veterum Patrum, Venetiis a Gallandio editæ, pag. 318.

senus (1). Nec defuerunt qui ardentiore caritate excitati *se ipsos in vincula conjecerunt, ut alios redimerent;* quorum multos se novisse testatur Apostolicus Vir idemque sanctissimæ recordationis Præcessor Noster Clemens I (2). Igitur progressu temporis Ethnicarum superstitionum caligine plenius dissipata, et rudiorum quoque populorum moribus Fidei per Caritatem operantis beneficio mitigatis, res eo tandem devenit ut jam a pluribus sæculis nulli apud plurimas Christianorum gentes servi habeantur. Verum, dolentes admodum dicimus, fuerunt subinde ex ipso Fidelium numero qui sordidioris lucri cupidine turpiter obcæcati in dissitis remotisque Terris Indos, Nigritas, miserosve alios in servitutem redigere, seu instituto ampliatoque commercio eorum, qui captivi facti ab aliis fuerant, indignum horum facinus juvare non dubitarent. Haud sane prætermiserunt plures glor. mem. Romani Pontifices Præcessores Nostri reprehendere graviter pro suo munere illorum rationem, utpote spirituali ipsorum saluti noxiam, et Christiano nomini probrosam; ex qua etiam illud consequi pervidebant, ut infidelium gentes ad veram nostram

with liberty such as deserved it. Indeed St. Gregory of Nyssa informs us that such liberation of slaves was customary on the occasion of the paschal solemnities. Nor were there Christians wanting, who, stirred up by a more burning zeal, subjected themselves to slavery to redeem others; many of whom that apostolic personage, our predecessor, Clement I, testifies that he knew. Hence, in progress of time, as the clouds of heathen superstition became gradually dispersed, and the manners of the people became civilized by the blessings of faith, operating through charity, circumstances reached that point, that during several centuries there were no slaves allowed amongst the great majority of the Christian nations; but with grief we are compelled to add, that there afterwards arose, even among the faithful, a race of men, who, basely blinded by the appetite and desire of sordid lucre, did not hesitate to reduce in remote regions of the earth, Indians, negroes, and other wretched beings, to the misery of slavery, or, finding the trade established and augmented, to assist the shameful crime of the others. Nor did many of the most illustrious of the

(1) De Resurrect. Domini Orat. III. Tom. III. pag. 420. Operum, edit. Parisiensis, Anni 1638.

(2) Ad Corinth. Ep. I. cap. 55. Tom. I. Bibl. Gallandii, p. 35.

Religionem odio habendam magis magisque obfirmarentur. Quo spectant Apostolicæ Litteræ Pauli III die 29 Maii MDXXXVII, sub Piscatoris Annulo datæ ad Cardinalem Archiepiscopum Toletanum: et aliæ deinceps eisdem ampliores ab Urbano VIII datæ die 22 Aprilis MDCXXXIX, ad Collectorem Jurium Cameræ Apostolicæ in Portugallia; quibus in Litteris ii nominatim gravissime coercentur, qui Occidentales aut Meridionales Indos *in servitutem redigere, vendere, emere, commutare, vel donare, ab uxoribus et filiis suis separare, rebus et bonis suis spoliare, ad alia loca deducere et transmittere, aut quoquo modo libertate privare, in servitute retinere, nec non prædicta agentibus consilium, auxilium, favorem, et operam quocumque prætextu et quæsito colore præstare, aut id licitum prædicare, seu docere, ac alias quomodolibet præmissis cooperari* auderent, seu præsumerent (1). Has memoratorum Pontificum Sanctiones confirmavit postmodum et renovavit Benedictus XIV, novis Apostolicis Litteris ad Antistites Brasiliæ et aliarum quarumdam Regionum datis die 20 Decembris MDCCXLI, quibus eumdem in finem ipsorum Præ-

Roman Pontiffs omit severely to reprove their conduct as injurious to their souls' health, and disgraceful to the Christian name; likewise foreseeing, that infidel nations would thereby be more and more confirmed in their hatred to the true faith. Among these may be especially quoted the bull of Paul III, which bears the date of the 29th of May, 1537, addressed to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo; and another, still more comprehensive, by Urban VIII, dated the 22d of April, 1639, to the Collector of the dues of the Apostolic Chamber in Portugal, most severely castigating by name those who presumed to *reduce to slavery, to sell, to buy, to exchange or give away, to separate from their wives and children, to plunder of their effects and goods or chattels, to carry off and transmit to other places, or in any manner to deprive of their liberty, or to retain in servitude,* either East or West Indians, *or to afford counsel, help, favour, and co-operation in such acts, under any pretext and specious colouring; or to preach or to teach that such conduct is lawful, or in any other manner whatsoever to cooperate in the aforesaid parti-*

(1) In Bullar. Rom. edit. typis Mainardi, Tom. VI. part. 2. Const. 601. pag. 183.

sulum sollicitudinem excitavit (1). Antea quoque alius his antiquior Præcessor Noster Pius II, quum sua ætate Lusitanorum imperium in Guineam Nigritarum regionem proferretur, Litteras dedit die 7 Octobris MCCCCLXII, ad Episcopum Rubicensem eo profecturum; in quibus nedum Antistiti ipsi opportunas ad sacrum Ministerium inibi cum majori fructu exercendum facultates impertitus fuit, sed eadem occasione graviter in Christianos illos animadvertit, qui Neophytos in servitutem abstrahebant (2). Et nostris etiam temporibus Pius VII, eodem, quo sui Decessores, religionis et caritatis spiritu inductus, officia sua apud potentes Viros sedulo interposuit, ut Nigritarum commercium tandem inter Christianos omnino cessaret. Hæ quidem Præcessorum Nostrorum Sanctiones et curæ profuerunt, Deo bene juvante, non parum Indis aliisque prædictis a crudelitate invadentium, seu a Mercatorum Christianorum cupiditate tutandis: non ita tamen ut Sancta hæc Sedes de pleno suorum in id studiorum exitu lætari posset; quum immo commercium Nigritarum, etsi nonnulla ex parte imminutum, adhuc tamen a Christianis pluribus exerceatur. Quare nos tantum

culars. Pope Benedict XIV subsequently confirmed these decrees of those distinguished Pontiffs by a new bull, addressed to the heads of the governing authorities of Brazil, and the other regions, on the 20th of December, 1741. Even before, another predecessor of ours, more ancient than these, Pius II, in whose age the dominion of Portugal was extended to Guinea, wrote on the 7th of October, 1462, to the Portuguese bishop who was about to repair thither, a letter, in which he not only gives to that high functionary powers to exercise with greater success his sacred ministry in those parts; but gravely animadverts on the same occasion upon those Christians who carried away into slavery persons who had been recently baptized. And in our own time Pius VII, moved by the same spirit of religion and charity as those who had gone before him, sedulously interposed his good offices with the men in power, that the trade in blacks should at length be put an end to entirely amongst the Christians. These injunctions and these good offices of our predecessors served not a little, with the help of God, towards protecting the Indians, and the other aforesaid races, both

(1) In Bullario Benedicti XIV. Tom. I. Const. I. 38.
(2) Apud Raynaldum in Annalibus Ecclesiasticis ad An. 1462, n. 12.

hujusmodi probrum a cunctis Christianorum finibus avertere cupientes, ac re universa, nonnullis etiam Venerabilibus Fratribus Nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus in consilium adhibitis, mature perpensa, Prædecessorum Nostrorum insistentes vestigiis, Auctoritate Apostolica omnes cujuscumque conditionis Christifideles admonemus et obtestamur in Domino vehementer, ne quis audeat in posterum Indos, Nigritas, seu alios hujusmodi homines injuste vexare, aut spoliare suis bonis, aut in servitutem redigere, vel aliis talia in eos patrantibus auxilium aut favorem præstare; seu exercere inhumanum illud commercium, quo Nigritæ, tamquam si non homines sed pura putaque animantia forent, in servitutem utcumque redacti, sine ullo discrimine, contra justitiæ et humanitatis jura, emuntur, venduntur, ac durissimis interdum laboribus exantlandis devoventur, et insuper lucri spe primis Nigritarum occupatoribus per commercium idem proposita, dissidia etiam et perpetua quodammodo in illorum regionibus prælia foventur. Enimvero Nos prædicta omnia, tamquam Christiano nomine prorsus indigna, Auctoritate Apostolica reprobamus; eademque Auctoritate districte prohibemus atque interdicimus, ne quis Ecclesiasticus aut Laicus ipsum illud Nigri-

from the cruelty of their invaders, and from the cupidity of the Christian merchants; not to such an extent, however, that the Holy See can have to rejoice at their flocks having totally abandoned such practices, since, on the contrary, the trade in blacks, though diminished to some extent, is still carried on by many Christians. Wherefore, we, desiring to avert this disgrace from the whole confines of Christianity, having summoned several of our reverend brothers, their eminences, the Cardinals, to our council, and having maturely deliberated on the whole matter, pursuing the footsteps of our predecessors, admonish by our apostolical authority and urgently invoke, in the name of God, all Christians, of whatever condition, that none henceforth dare to subject to slavery, unjustly persecute, or despoil of their goods, Indians, negroes, or other classes of men, or be accessaries to others, or furnish their aid or assistance in so doing; and on no account henceforth to exercise that inhuman traffic by which negroes are reduced to slavery, as if they were not men, but mere cattle, and are bought and sold in defiance of all the laws of justice and humanity, and devoted to severe and intolerable labours, which traffic is, moreover, a source of dissension and conti-

tarum commercium veluti licitum sub quovis obtentu aut quæsito colore tueri, aut aliter contra ea, quæ Nostris hisce Apostolicis Litteris monuimus, prædicare seu quomodolibet publice vel privatim docere præsumat.

Ut autem eædem hæ Nostræ Litteræ omnibus facilius innotescant, nec quisquam illarum ignorantiam allegare possit, decernimus et mandamus illas ad valvas Basilicæ Principis Apostolorum, et Cancellariæ Apostolicæ, necnon Curiæ Generalis in Monte Citatorio, ac in Acie Campi Floræ de Urbe per aliquem ex Cursoribus Nostris, ut moris est, publicari, illarumque exempla ibidem affixa relinqui.

Datum Romæ apud S. Mariam Majorem, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die III Decembris MDCCC XXXIX, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Nono.

Alois. Card. Lambruschini.

nual quarrels, by the prospect of gain it holds out for those who can first obtain possession of these negroes. We further reprobate, by our apostolical authority, all the above described offences as utterly unworthy of the Christian name; and by the same authority we rigidly prohibit and interdict all and every individual, whether ecclesiastic or layman, from presuming to defend that commerce in negro slaves under any pretence or borrowed colour, or to teach or publish in any manner, publicly or privately, things contrary to the admonitions which we have given in these letters.

And finally, that this our bull may be rendered more apparent to all, and that no person may allege any ignorance thereof, we decree and order that it shall be published according to custom, and copies thereof be properly affixed to the gates of St. Peter's Church, of the Apostolic Chancery, and in like manner of the General Court at Mount Citatorio, and in the Campo Fiori, and also through the city, by one of our messengers, according to aforesaid custom.

Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major, under the Ring of the Fisherman, on the 3d day of December, 1839, and in the ninth year of our Pontificate.

Alois. Card. Lambruschini.

COPY OF A LETTER

FROM

DR. R. R. MADDEN,

TO THE

MOST REV. AND RT. REV. THE CATHOLIC ARCH-BISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND,

In Synod assembled, in Dublin, 10*th Feb.* 1840.

(From the Dublin "Catholic Directory").

My Lords,

The subject on which I presume to address your Lordships, is one of great interest to religion and to humanity, and the expression of your Lordships' opinion on it of vast importance at the present juncture. The advantage can hardly be overrated of giving the effect of a general publicity to the late Rescript of his Holiness the Pope for the suppression of the odious traffic in human beings, and the unhallowed system of slavery that has grown out of it.

I humbly trust, that your Lordships will consider less the insignificance of the person who addresses you, than the great necessity of adopting the course he has ventured to suggest. In the opinion of some of the best and ablest advocates of this cause, your Lordships' publication and interpretation of this Rescript would be most eminently serviceable to the interests of humanity, which its object is to promote and to protect. The necessity of taking some step for the purpose of making our countrymen in America acquainted with the obligation which this Bull so forcibly points out, is felt by many,

and by none more than the most strenuous and consistent champion of this cause, who advocates the interests of humanity wherever they are outraged, or whatever may be the complexion of the victims of injustice and oppression.

My Lords, in venturing to lay before your Lordships a document containing a report of an Address lately delivered in this city, on this subject, and making use of arguments founded on the doctrines of our Church, the opinions of its divines, and the decrees of its councils, the apparent presumption of one like me referring to such authorities, I trust, will be overlooked, and the object I had in view alone considered—that of taking away a plea, or a pretence, for the continuance of an evil that only wants the public condemnation of our ecclesiastical authorities for its universal reprobation. And thus a scandal to our people, and a pretext for censure, would be removed from the adversaries of our religion, or from those who are ignorant of its obligations. In those distant lands to which I have referred, my official station affords me the means of knowing the ignorance that remains to be dispelled, and the calumnies to be refuted on this subject, as connected with the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church.

My Lords, it may seem an astounding paradox, that the very poverty of our country should raise up a power in a foreign land, potent enough to influence any question of political moment that arises in it, and to turn the scale whatever way its feelings tend. Such is the political influence of the Irish emigrants settled in America, and such over them is that higher influence of their recollection of the piety of the venerated prelates of their native land. And were your Lordships' public response to the recent decree of his Holiness communicated generally to our countrymen, the knowledge of its existence would probably not only be due to that publication, but, I might add, the question even of its very authenticity would be determined by your Lordships' sanction.

My Lords, deeply interested in a subject which the office I have the honour to hold under the British government makes me practically acquainted with, in a Catholic country, where slavery unfortunately exists in all the magnitude of its frightful evils, I address myself to your Lordships under a less painful sense, if it be possible, of the terrible outrages offered to humanity by the trade in stolen men, and

the system that grows out of it, and whose injustice transcends all the other oppressions that are done under the sun, than I feel for the desecration of our religion and the scandals to it, which the baneful breath of slavery and its demoralising influence are the fruitful source of in those Spanish colonies, where that religion is misnamed the religion of the land, and is so shamefully profaned by the contaminating influence of slavery, even over sacred things, and within the precincts of sacred places.

My Lords, even in those countries, the purity of the character of religion in this land is known and acknowledged; and it is in the power of your Lordships' opinion on this subject of slavery, to deal a heavy blow and great discouragement to it by the bare expression of your Lordships' concurrence with the enlightened views that are taken of slavery in all its cruel forms, and expressed in the late decree.

I, therefore, most humbly and respectfully beg to direct your Lordships' attention to the advantages that would arise from giving publicity to any communication, that in your wisdom you might see fit to make known, which may have been made to his Holiness by the Prelates of this country, in acknowledgment of the recent Rescript condemnatory of the crime of slavery.

I have the honour to be, my Lords, with the most profound respect, your Lordships' most obedient humble servant,

R. R. MADDEN.

AUTHORITIES

FROM THE

FATHERS, THE DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH, AND THE DECREES OF THE POPES,

AGAINST SLAVERY,

AND HISTORICAL REFERENCES TO THE CONDUCT OF THE CLERGY.

Referred to by Dr. R. R. Madden in his preceding Letter.

"St. Anselm, in 1102, held a national council in St. Peter's Church, at Westminster, in which, among other things, it was forbidden to sell men like cattle, which had, till then, been practised in England."—*Butler's Lives.*

"In the great provincial council of all the bishops subject to the see of Canterbury, presided over by Archbishop Walfred, in the presence of Kenulf, king of Mercia, it was enacted, on the death of a bishop, that three slaves should be set at liberty, and three shillings given to each."—*Life of St. Willibrord.*

"The great synod of Armagh, at a period of general consternation, declared, 'that the public calamities were to be held as an affliction of Divine justice, on account of the sins of the Irish people, and more especially because that, in former times, they used to make bond-slaves of the English, whom they had purchased as well from merchants as from robbers and pirates—a crime for which God now took vengeance upon them, by delivering them into like bondage themselves. For the English people,' it was added, 'while yet their kingdom was in a state of security, were accustomed, through a common vice of the nation, to

expose their children for sale. And,' adds the historian, 'acting upon the spirit of these humane and Christian views, the synod unanimously decreed and ordered, that all the English throughout the island who were in a state of slavery, should be restored to their former freedom."—*Moore's History of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 232.

(This general act of emancipation of slaves, it is worthy of notice, is the first on record in any European country).

The Northumbrians, according to Malmesbury, sold their own children for slaves, and the pious author of the life of St. Augustin, the apostle of England, reprobating slavery, says these slave-traders of Northumbria "surpassed, in barbarism and ferocity, the negroes of this day."—*Life of St. Augustin.*

"St. Raymond of Pennafort concerted with St. Peter Nolasco, the foundation of the Order of Mercy, for the redemption of captives."—*Life of St. Raymond of Pennafort.*

"St. John the Almoner, (Patriarch), sent two bishops and an abbot to ransom captives."—*St. John's Life.*

"St. Sulpicius Severus set at liberty several of his slaves, and admitted them and some of his old stewards to familiar intercourse and conversation."—*St. Sulpicius Severus.*

"St. Eligius, Bishop of Noyon, was particularly zealous to ransom captives. When a slave was to be sold in any neighbouring place, he hastened thither, and sometimes ransomed fifty or a hundred at a time, especially Saxons, who were sold in great numbers."—*Life of St. Eligius.*

"St. Francis Xavier walked through the streets of Goa with a bell in his hand, summoning all masters, for the love of God, to send their children and slaves to catechism; and such was the effect of his preaching, restitution was made of unjust gains, and slaves who had been unjustly acquired, were set at liberty."—*Life of St. Francis Xavier.*

"St. Bathildes, queen of France, forbade Christians to be made slaves, gave great numbers their liberty, and declared all capable of property. The Franks still retained slaves, with this condition, attached to certain manors or farms, and bound to certain particular kinds of servitude. The kings of the second race often set great numbers free, and were imitated by other lords. Queen Blanche and St. Lewis contributed more than any others to ease the condition of the vassals; and Lewis Hutin abolished slavery in France, declaring all men free who live in that kingdom, according to the spirit of Christianity, which teaches us to treat all men as our brethren."—*Butler's Lives.*

"In 1610, the pious Father Claver was sent to preach the faith to the infidels at Carthage, and the neighbouring country, in Africa. At the first sight of the poor negro slaves he was moved with the strongest sentiments of compassion, tenderness, and zeal, which never forsook him, and it was his constant study to afford them all the temporal comfort in his power. The title in which he gloried was that of the slave of slaves."—*Hist. Eccles. de Berrault.*

"St. Gregory the Great, (Pope), happened one day to be walking through the market, and here taking notice that certain youths of fine features and complexions were exposed for sale, he inquired what countrymen they were, and

was answered, they came from Britain."—*Life of St. Gregory.* (To this circumstance is due the mission of St. Augustin to England).

St. Euphrasia, on renouncing the world, writes to her friends,—"For the sake of my parents, be pleased to distribute their estates among the poor, the orphans, and the church. Set all my slaves at liberty, and discharge my vassals and servants, giving them whatever is their due."—*Life of St. Euphrasia.*

"Genseric, the Arian king of the Vandals, plundered Rome, and brought innumerable captives from Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, into Africa, whom the Moors and Vandals shared among them on the shore, separating, without any regard or compassion, weeping wives from their husbands, and children from their parents. St. Deogratias sold everything, even the gold and silver vessels of the church, to redeem as many as possible; he provided lodgings and beds, and furnished them with all succours, and though in a decrepid old age, visited them that were sick every day, and often in the night."—*Life of St. Deogratias.*

"After the departure of the Vandals with their captives and an immense booty, St. Leo sent zealous Catholic priests and alms for the relief of the captives in Africa."—*Life of St. Leo the Great (Pope).*

"St. Thomas of Jesus, a most holy man, in 1532, caused the money that was sent him for his own use by his sister, the countess of Linares, and by kings Henry and Philip II, to be employed in ransoming slaves, and chose to stay, though no longer a prisoner, at the Sagena, or prison, where were detained about two thousand Christian slaves, of different nations, whom he never ceased to comfort and assist with heavenly exhortations, and the functions of his sacred ministry."—*Life of St. Augustin.*

"St. Augustin sometimes melted down part of the sacred vessels to redeem captives, in which he was authorised by the example of St. Ambrose. He reproved one Romulus for the oppression of his poor vassals."—*Ibid.*

"St. Raymond Nonatus took the new Order of Mercy for redemption of captives. In the discharge of his office of ransomer, he purchased at Algiers the liberty of a great number of slaves. When all his means were laid out in that charitable way, he voluntarily gave himself up as a ransom for the hostage of certain others, whose situation was hardest, and whose faith seemed exposed to imminent danger. It was a saying of his, that 'a man is more precious than the whole world.' St. Raymond was loaded with chains and iron bolts, and cast into a dungeon, where he lay full eight months, till his ransom was brought by some religious men of his order."—*Butler's Lives.*

As to the character of slavery in every age, and the similarity of the outrages inflicted, whether on Christians or pagans, we have but to read the brief account of its horrors, given in the history of the martyrdom of St. Nemesianus and others:—

"When the President of Numidia proceeded, with renewed severity, against the Christians, tortured many, and afterwards put several to barbarous deaths, and sent others to work in the mines or quarries, whilst others continued their lingering martyrdom in hunger, nakedness, and filth, exhausted with hard labour, and tormented with daily stripes and perpetual reproaches and insults—in the

words of Nemesianus, 'though they had manacled their feet with fetters, marked their bodies with infamy, they could not reach their souls.' "—*St. Nemesianus.*

"A number of Christians of both sexes, being taken into captivity, eight bishops wrote to St. Cyprian, imploring his assistance for the redemption of the prisoners. St. Cyprian shed many tears upon reading these letters, and at his recommendation the clergy and people of Carthage raised a sum amounting to one hundred thousand sestertii—that is, about seven hundred and eighty-one pounds, English—for the redemption of the slaves."—*St. Cyprian.*

"In 506, St. Remigius wrote to Clovis,—'Let the gate of your palace be open to all, that every one may have recourse to you for justice. Employ your great revenues in redeeming slaves.'

"Clovis sent a circular letter to all the bishops in his dominions, in which he allowed them to give liberty to any of the captives he had taken, but desired them to make use of that privilege in favour of persons of whom they had some knowledge."—*St. Remigius.*

"St. Hilary, to redeem captives, caused the church plate to be sold, not excepting the sacred vessels, making use of patens and chalices of glass in the celebration of the divine mysteries."—*Butler's Lives.*

"St. John de Prado being sent by the authority of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide, to preach the faith in the kingdom of Fez and Morocco, he discharged himself with so great zeal, that the Mahomedans cast him into a dungeon, loaded with chains."—*Ibid.*

"St. Margaret devoted her extensive alms to restore to foreign nations, especially the English, their captives, and was solicitous to ransom those, especially, who fell into the hands of harsh masters."—*Ibid.*

"In the reign of Pope Pius V, fifteen thousand slaves, that were found chained on board the galleys of the Turkish fleet, were set at liberty."—*St. Pius V, (Pope).*

"St. Vincent of Paul, when taken prisoner by the Mahomedans, with some others, states that they gave to every slave a pair of loose trousers, a linen jerkin, and a bonnet. In this garb they were led five or six times through the city of Tunis to be shown; after which they were brought back to their vessel, where the merchants came to see them, as men do at the sale of a horse or an ox. They examined who could eat well, felt their sides, looked at their teeth to see who were likely for very long life; they probed their wounds, and made them walk and run in all places, lift up burdens and wrestle, to judge of their strength."—*Life of St. Vincent of Paul.*

St. Vincent, like St. Patrick, was a runaway slave. The fact of their flight is a sufficient condemnation of slavery.

"The French and Burgundians laid siege to Arles in 508, and a great number of captives were brought into the city. St. Cesarius furnished them with clothes and victuals, and employed in relieving them the whole treasury of the church. He stripped the pillars and rails of the silver with which they were adorned, and melted down, and gave away the very censers, chalices, and patens, saying, 'Our Lord celebrated his last supper in mean earthen dishes, not in plate, and we need not scruple to part with his vessels to ransom those whom He

has redeemed with his life. I would fain know if those who censure what we do, would not be glad to be ransomed themselves in like manner, were the same misfortune to befal them.' "—*Life of St. Cesarius.*

Lactantius says, that "the redeeming of captives enters not less into the obligations of justice and tender charity, which I rank even above the gifts of munificence. The exercise of the latter requires riches; it does not always pretend to the pure sentiment of justice. It is only the just, properly so called, who make it a duty to feed the poor, to redeem prisoners."

"Beneficence is exercised towards a relation, towards a friend; is there so much merit in that? It is only acquitting a rigorous debt imposed by nature, by decorum, by interest in one's reputation, and fear of blame; but to be generous to a stranger, to an unknown one, that is true merit, because humanity alone has been the mover of it; but to deliver captives, to assist the widow and the orphan, to succour the sick, to bury the dead to whom their family have not been able to render that office, it is not only following a natural sentiment—it is obeying the law of God—it is offering one's-self as a victim to the Lord, and preparing for one's-self a magnificent reward."—*Lactantius, Divine Institutions*, p. 587, &c.

"Give for the redeeming of captives this gold that you destine for the buying of animals."—*Ibid.* p. 587, &c.

"Justice teaches men to know God and to love men, to love and support one another, being all equally the children of God."—*Lactantius, on Justice.*

"You expect from your slave that he be devoted to you, man of a day! Is this slave less a man than you? He came into the world on the same conditions, your equal by his birth, by his death; provided with the same organs, endowed as well as you with a reasoning soul, called to the same hopes, subject to the same laws, as well for the present life as for the time to come; you oblige him to obey you and to be subject to you, and if he happen to forget for one moment the right you have to command him, if he neglect to execute your orders with a rigorous precision—misfortune to him! Imperious master, unpitiable executor of the rights of your domination, you spare neither blows, nor whips, nor privations; you chastise him by the punishment of hunger and thirst, you strip him, often you load him with chains and shut him up in a dungeon. Miserable man! While you know so well how to maintain your quality of master over a man, you are not willing to recognise the Master and Lord of all men!"—*St. Cyprian, Treatise against Demetrius.*

"Both religion and humanity make it a duty for us to work for the deliverance of the captive. They are sanctuaries of Jesus Christ, who have fallen into the hands of the infidel. It is Jesus Christ himself whom we ought to consider in our captive brothers; it is him whom we should deliver from captivity—him who has delivered us from death. We must redeem with a little money him, who has redeemed us with all his blood. Can we, no matter how little humanity we possess, believe that these captives are strangers to any one of us, who altogether form but one family?"—*St. Cyprian to the Bishops of Numidia.*

Of evils similar to slavery Tertullian says, "One cannot argue from scripture that it condemns such practices; but will it be argued from its silence that it does not condemn them?"—*Tertull. Lib. Cor.*, p. 121.

St. Ambrose orders that, for the redeeming of captives, the priests sell, if necessary, even the sacred vases. "The God who had not a piece of gold to give to his apostles, when he sent them to preach the Gospel, had not more to give to his churches when he founded them. The church has gold, not to keep it, but to distribute it to the indigent in their necessities. To what good is it to keep that of which we do not make use? Do we not know of all the gold and silver, that the Assyrians found in the Temple of Jerusalem? Is it not better for the priest to make sure of the riches of the sanctuary, by placing them in the hands of the poor, than to expose them to become the prey of our insolent enemy? The Lord will say to us, 'Why, under your eye, do the poor die with hunger? With the gold that you have, you could give alms. Why are so many unfortunate beings subject to slavery, even to death, for want of being redeemed with gold? Men are better worth preserving than metals. What have you to reply? 'Must we deprive the temple of its ornaments?' But the Lord will reply, 'It is not necessary that the sacred things be clothed in gold.'"—*St. Ambrose, Treatise de Officiis*, p. 103.

As to the express doctrines of the Catholic Church on the subject of slavery, I find them laid down in terms that cannot be misunderstood in "The Catechism of the Council of Trent," written under the direction, and with the sanction, of Pope Pius V. Under the head, "Seventh Commandment," it is laid down—

"The unjust possession and use of what belongs to another are expressed by different names. To take anything from a private individual is called theft; from the public, peculation; to enslave and appropriate the freeman or servant of another, is called 'man-stealing.'"—*Catechism of the Council of Trent. Ed. Ang., p.* 47.

And then, at p. 420, the doctrine is further explained, that "those who pay not the labourer his hire are guilty of rapine, and are exhorted to repentance." In the words of Scripture: "Behold the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which by fraud has been kept back by you, crieth aloud, and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

In Bancroft's recent History of the United States, a work written in no very favourable spirit to the Roman Catholic Religion, the writer acknowledges that "the slave-trade between Africa and America was never sanctioned by the See of Rome; the spirit of the Roman Church was against it."

"The Cardinal Ximenes, the gifted coadjutor of Ferdinand and Isabella, the stern grand inquisitor, the austere but ambitious Franciscan, saw in advance the danger which it required centuries to reveal, and refused to sanction the introduction of negroes into Hispaniola, believing that the favourable climate would increase their numbers, and infallibly lead them to revolt."—*Bancroft*, vol. i.

With respect to the part which the benevolent Las Casas had in the introduction of negroes into the West Indies and America, Bancroft states, (what is, indeed, to be collected from the best of the old Spanish historians), that "it was not Las Casas who first suggested the plan of transporting African slaves to Hispaniola."—*Bancroft*, vol. i. p. 169.

But what Bancroft did not know, and what the earlier historians have not

noticed, has been brought to light by the researches of the recent historians of the apostle of the Indians. In the last document existing in the handwriting of Las Casas, Quintana informs us that Las Casas expresses himself in the most contrite terms for having been instrumental to the introduction of African negroes, with a view of preventing the utter extinction of the Indian race; because in Las Casas' own words, "la misma razon es de ellos que de los Indios." The one had the same privileges and rights as the other; and, therefore, "he repented, judging himself (in his own words) guilty by inadvertence, and trusting that this plea would hold him excused before the Divine Judge of all." And well may his historian say, "Esta confession de su error, tan severa como candorosa, debe desarmar el rigor de la filosofia, y absolverle adelante de la posteridad."

PAPAL SANCTION WITHHELD FROM SLAVERY IN ANY FORM.

Pope Leo the Tenth declared that "not the Christian religion only, but nature herself, cries out against the state of slavery."—*Vide Bancroft's History of the United States*, vol i. p. 172.

Pope Paul the Third, in two separate briefs, imprecated a curse on the Europeans who should enslave Indians or any other class of men. 1537. *(See the brief in Remusal, Hist. de Chiappa*, book 3, chap. 16).

Pope Urban the Eighth issued another bull, still more expressly condemnatory of the slave-trade, east or west, dated 1639, and addressed to the Apostolic Chamber in Portugal.

Pope Benedict the Fourteenth confirmed these decrees by a new bull, addressed to the government authorities of the Brazils, in 1741.

Pope Zachary, on certain Venetian merchants having bought at Rome many slaves, to sell to the Moors in Africa, promptly forbade such an iniquitous traffic, and paying the merchants their price, gave these slaves their liberty.—*Vide Butler's Life of Zachary.*

Pope Pius the Second, even earlier, in 1462, when Portuguese dominion was extended into Guinea, wrote letters to the Portuguese bishop proceeding thither, gravely animadverting on those Christians who carried away people into slavery.

Pius the Seventh, moved by the same spirit, concerted with the European government the means of suppressing this odious trade.

And finally, I refer to the recent bull of Gregory the Sixteenth for the abolition of slavery and the negro slave-trade—a document which must be considered calculated to effect much good in Cuba and other slave countries; and also to a memorial addressed to the Roman Catholic prelates on the subject of the communication of this express denunciation of the traffic in slaves, and the holding of those in bondage wrongfully and illegally enslaved.

FROM THE

"UNIVERS" (PARIS JOURNAL),

13*th November*, 1841.

The actual government of our colonies, based as it is on the maintenance of slavery, has found in the press an organ which deliberately attempts to justify all the monstrous features of that government, as degrading as it is ruinous to the colonists as well as their slaves. This organ is the *Globe*, which has, very naturally, for one of its principal editors, M. Granier de Cassagnac, who has returned from the colonies expressly for the purpose of demonstrating to France and to the rest of Christian Europe, the truth of the following propositions:—

"Civil government is not necessary for man as a social being.

"Christianity has not abolished slavery in principle.

"Christianity has not abolished slavery *de facto*.

"It is not necessary to emancipate the slaves in our colonies, in order to make them Christians.

"The slaves in our colonies enjoy as much of the comforts of life as they can desire, and are more happy than the peasantry and artisans in France."

Such are the extraordinary assertions made, day after day, by the organ of the colonists, and particularly put forward in the *Globe* of the 6th November, in reply to the *Univers*.

The *Globe* is a leading journal, which professes to be strictly Catholic, and it is under this title of Catholicity, that it undertakes to justify the above propositions.

Nevertheless, we do not feel ourselves called upon to refute these absurd paradoxes, since there is no danger of their being propagated; and the writers of the *Globe* have the perfectly original merit of being the only members of the Catholic faith who avow such

opinions. We do not perceive, therefore, much utility in examining sentiments, which, thank God, cannot have any influence on the progress of the human mind.

The writer who has undertaken the special task of defending the government of the colonies, founded upon the principle of slavery, says with imperturbable coolness, " It is a Catholic who speaks; Catholics, therefore, have no reason to mistrust me." Indeed, such Catholicity as this appears to us very suspicious, and the writer must permit us to be less mistrustful of the Pope than of M. Granier de Cassagnac. The editor of the *Globe* is, no doubt, a profound theologian; but we place much more confidence in the theology of the holy Father, who, in his Brief of the 3d December, 1839, has reprobated the " traffic in negroes," in the name of our Saviour, in the name of the Gospel, in the name of the Apostles, in the name of the holy Fathers, in the name of the most illustrious Pontiffs; and who has declared as " unworthy the name of Christian," any ecclesiastic or any layman, who should dare to maintain that it is lawful " to reduce the Indians to slavery, to sell, to buy, to exchange, to give them away, or to deprive them of their wives, or goods and chattels, or to carry them, or to transmit them to other places, or in any manner to deprive them of their liberty, or to retain them in slavery, or under any pretext or false colouring, to show favour, or to give counsel, aid, or assistance, to such acts, or otherwise to co-operate in any manner whatsoever in such proceedings" (1).

(1) Brief of Urban VIII, 22d April, 1639; quoted in the Brief of Gregory XVI, 3rd Dec., 1839.

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SPEECH

OF THE

RIGHT HON. LORD BROUGHAM

ON THE

LIABILITIES OF BRITISH SUBJECTS,

TO THE PENALTIES OF THE LAW,

FOR

HOLDING AND TRAFFICKING IN SLAVES,

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES;

AND ON

SLAVERY

IN

BRITISH INDIA.

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS, 5TH OCTOBER, 1841.

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES.

LONDON:

THOMAS WARD AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW;

AND TO BE HAD AT THE OFFICE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 27, NEW BROAD STREET.

1841.

(Price Five shillings per Hundred.)

NOTE.

As it is believed that not a few British subjects have been led unwittingly to invest capital in certain speculations, which capital has been, to a very considerable extent, appropriated to the purchase of slaves for working Plantations, and Mines in foreign countries, whereby the plainest dictates of humanity and religion, as well as the laws of the land have been grossly violated, and the slave-trade and slavery sustained and strengthened; such persons are earnestly entreated, not less to avoid the penalties of the law, than to purge themselves from the guilt of such transactions, to take steps to secure the immediate and complete emancipation of the slaves thus illegally procured, by their agents or representatives.

SPEECH, &c.

Lord Brougham.—I rise to call the attention of your lordships to a subject of very great importance, and upon which, as there happily exists no difference of opinion either in this or the other House of Parliament,—and as there prevails, indeed, a singular unanimity regarding it in every part of the country,—it will be the less necessary for me to trouble you at any considerable length. The subject to which I refer is the slave-trade and slavery. I believe that there exists in no part of either House of Parliament, or of the community, any description of persons who feel any but the strongest desire to see this most execrable traffic universally and instantly destroyed; and also to see the state of personal slavery itself as universally, and with all practicable expedition, extinguished. The ground upon which I deem it necessary to trouble your lordships, upon the present occasion, is, that great misapprehension has, apparently, gone forth, touching the state of the law with respect to the slave-trade as it at present stands. I presented a petition to your lordships, some ten or twelve days ago, which contained a variety of important allegations upon this matter. I then distinctly stated that the responsibility for the truth of those allegations must, of course, rest with the respectable petitioners who brought the subject before the House; but that, if the facts which they stated turned out to be true, it would follow that, to a large amount, the capital of this country was embarked not only in continuing slavery in foreign countries, but actually in upholding, and even extending, the slave-trade itself. I thought it expedient, in going over the different statements which that petition contained, to specify those dealings which I understood, from the best attention I could give the subject, to be not contrary to the existing law—those dealings which I conceived to be of a doubtful character—and those which are clearly and distinctly prohibited—some of the statements describing acts as having been done, and as still doing by British subjects, which acts, without any doubt whatever, are prohibited by the laws of this country.

I shall begin with the last class of these dealings, namely, those alleged to have been entered into by British subjects, and which are clearly quite illegal. The law is, that any British subject, in any part of the world, whether in a country where the slave-trade is lawful, or in a country where the slave-trade is not only allowed, but protected and even encouraged by the law,—if, except on some savage coast, there be such a country,—the slave-trade, if engaged in by a British subject, is, in that person, illegal—a felony and piracy, punishable with transportation for life, if committed on the high seas, or within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty; punishable with transportation for fourteen years if committed in any place out of the Admiralty jurisdiction. For several years the offence of slave-trading, if committed within the Admiralty jurisdiction, was a capital felony; but, by an act passed four years ago, it has been reduced to transportation for life; though it is still piracy as well as felony. If committed elsewhere, by a British subject, though in a colony or a country where slave-trading is ever so much permitted, and even favoured by the law of the place, it is a felony in that British subject; he is liable to be tried, if taken and brought to a settlement of the British crown, or if taken and brought into this country, he is liable to be tried for that act of slave-trading, as if it had been committed in the county of Middlesex; and, on being convicted, he is liable to be transported as a felon for fourteen years. Having distinctly stated this, I trust I shall not again hear my opinion cited, to show that it

depends on the law of the foreign country where a British subject resides and commits the act, whether he be guilty of felony or not; whereas I have always expressly stated, that the law of the foreign country is utterly immaterial as regards British subjects; and it is equally certain, no doubt, that if a foreigner commits an act of slave-trading within any of our dominions or settlements, he is also liable to be dealt with as a felon, and transported for life or for fourteen years, according as he may have committed the offence within or without the Admiralty jurisdiction. The only question that can ever arise is, whether any given act amounts to slave-trading or not. Now, several of the acts described in the petition do not, as it appears to me, amount to slave-trading; some of them appear of a doubtful character; others appear quite clearly to be slave-trading, and to come within the provisions of the abolition law. If a person fits out a vessel to traffic with a slave factory, and if he sells goods to that slave factory, although these goods may be used in the slave-trade—although they may be of such a kind as can either be used for the slave-trade, or for the innocent commerce of Africa—if they are sold out and out for a price, I do not think that this amounts to slave-trading. Whether it be a commendable use of capital is an entirely different question—whether it be a kind of trade which one would wish to be engaged in, or could approve of on those who drive it, is another matter; but, as regards the law of this country, it does not appear to me to be slave-trading within the meaning of the Abolition Acts. If the goods sent are of such a description that it is by no means doubtful whether they are to be used in slave-trading or not;—if, for instance, a cargo of fetters and shackles be sent out to a slave factory, or any other article which can only be used in the slave-trade, this may be more questionable;—but I am not prepared to say that even this is an act of slave trading which would make the exporter liable to a charge of felony: it appears to me to be, as the law now stands, of a doubtful description. But, if either one kind of goods or the other—either goods that may be used indiscriminately in the innocent and in the guilty commerce, or goods that must needs be intended to be used in the slave-trade by the slave factory to which they are exported—are bargained to be paid for in a price, to depend on the slave traffic, as the petition asserts they are, in many instances,—then I state my opinion, it is of little importance, but, for myself, it is fit I should state it, that this is an act of slave-trading, being a partnership with the slave-trade, and that the person exporting such goods, upon such contract, is guilty of felony, within the meaning of the English abolition laws.

Now, there is another and much more important description of dealing, because much more extensive in its application, to which I entreat the attention of your lordships and of her Majesty's government, that is, the act of holding property in a foreign settlement, which is to be cultivated or worked—cultivated in the case of a plantation, or worked in the case of a mine—by slave labour, and, in consequence of holding such property, being concerned in the purchase or sale of slaves, with a view to cultivate the plantation or to work the mine. Upon this kind of dealing, the question arises, do the abolition acts affect it or not?—Is the ownership of such property, and the management of it by buying and selling slaves, within those acts or not? My lords, this is a matter of very great importance; because it appears, though I do not see how or whence the doubt has arisen,—but I should rather say how the confident opinion is entertained, that this is a dealing in slavery and slaves, to which the abolition law does not apply. That some such opinion is generally prevalent, seems clear, for it has been acted upon by a number of most respectable individuals, and acted upon to a great extent. It has led to their engaging in a variety of important transactions,—it has induced them to invest their capital to a large amount in foreign settlements,—it has encouraged some to purchase and work the slave concerns, others to lend their capital to those who work them. These respectable parties never would have thought of such transactions, had they not been well assured of their legality; and yet, when your lordships come to consider

the provisions of the law, and how it bears upon such dealings, I hardly think I have a right to express a doubt that you will be under the necessity of holding them to be illegal. The acting or dealing on which the question arises, is this:—we are not speaking of holding slave property; that of itself is nothing; for the emancipation act of 1833, did not prohibit British subjects from holding slaves in foreign settlements in the same way that the Abolition Act had prohibited British subjects from slave-trading in foreign settlements; the measures were, in this respect, differently framed, consequently, after the act of 1833, and even after the *final period of emancipation*, 1840, it was lawful for a British subject to have property in slaves in a foreign settlement. But the question is this:—Has it been lawful since the Abolition Law—meaning, of course, the law abolishing the slave-trade,—has it been lawful for a British subject to purchase slaves, voluntarily to make himself the holder of slaves, to buy slaves or to sell slaves, in a foreign country? The question arises upon the legality of that act, I have been represented as having said—I must have been so represented, because I have received one or two letters probably from persons engaged in these transactions, or whose friends are so engaged, and who are desirous of knowing if it be true, that I had no doubt, that such dealing was lawful, and was not struck at by the abolition law. Now, in presenting the petition, I carefully abstained from saying any such thing—I most carefully abstained from giving any such opinion. I could not have given any such opinion; because if called on to say whether it was lawful or not, my opinion certainly was, that it is illegal. I do not say it is a matter free from all doubt; but, certainly, though my opinion may be worth little, yet, as far as it goes, the abolition law strikes at those dealings; and I will state the grounds of that opinion. As your lordships will remember, a change took place in the abolition law in 1824. The act of 1811 (the 51st Geo. III. c. 23.), which I had the great satisfaction of introducing, and which obtained the unanimous concurrence of the House of Commons and of your lordships, in every stage of the Bill, made slave-trading punishable as a crime; before that time, it had only been dealt with as an offence against the revenue laws—treated as smuggling, and visited with fine and forfeiture. But my Bill made it a felony. Then in 1824, a material alteration was made: slave trading was divided into two kinds, one being declared to be piracy, and liable to capital punishment, if committed within the Admiralty jurisdiction; and the other, if out of that jurisdiction, declared to be a *clergyable* felony, and punished with fourteen years transportation. Now, in attaching the lesser punishment to the act of slave-trading committed out of the Admiralty jurisdiction, the statute 5 Geo. IV. c. 113. gives this description. I shall only read the part applicable to the transactions in question—the buying and selling slaves in foreign countries. The first section having declared all such proceedings to be unlawful, and having generally prohibited them, the tenth declares them to be felony, and punishable, as I have stated, with fourteen years transportation, in these terms:—

"Except in such special cases as are hereinafter provided for, if any person shall deal, trade in, purchase, sell, barter, or transfer, or contract for the dealing, trading in, purchasing, selling, bartering, or transferring of any slave or slaves, or persons intended to be dealt with as slaves, he shall be deemed and taken to be a felon, and, being convicted thereof, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and suffer fourteen years transportation."

Then the thirteenth section provides for these special cases, contemplated in the exception of the tenth section, following precisely the words of the enacting part of that section:—

"Provided always, that nothing hereinbefore contained shall be deemed or taken to prevent any person from dealing, trading in, purchasing, selling, bartering, or transferring, or contracting, to deal, trade in, purchase, sell, barter, or transfer any slave or slaves, lawfully being within any island, colony, dominion, fort, or factory, belonging to, or in the possession of, his Majesty, in case such dealing, &c., be with the true intent and

meaning of employing such slave or slaves in such colony in which he or they may be at the time of such employment."

And then comes the fourteenth section, which gives power to remove, by land or by sea, any slaves from one part of any such colony, in the possession of his Majesty to another part of any such colony; but if the other part of the colony happens to be another island, then that person shall only be allowed to transfer a slave from one island to another by licence first had and obtained from the governor of the colony, upon satisfactory proof being made to such governor, that the slave is only intended to be removed from one estate, the property of the owner of the slave, to another estate, also the property of such owner of the slave. Then how can a person in Brazil or Cuba be authorized to buy a slave under the thirteenth section, or to remove a slave by land or by sea from one part to another of Cuba or Brazil under the proviso in the fourteenth section, when neither Cuba nor Brazil are places in the possession or under the dominion of the British crown; the special cases in which, alone, it is provided by the thirteenth or fourteenth sections, that the felony is not committed, namely, the cases of buying, selling, or removing in the colonies' settlements or possessions of the British crown? It is upon these grounds, I feel bound to state my inability to understand on what view of the law those respectable parties have been advised to proceed, who have embarked in these speculations—have become the owners of slaves by purchase, or, which is the same thing, have, by their agents, purchased and sold, or transferred and removed, slaves in Cuba or in Brazil. I am unable to perceive upon what view of the law they can have been advised that they may safely embark in such speculations. So, likewise, it is made felony by the tenth section, knowingly to lend or advance money or goods to be employed in accomplishing any of the objects hereinbefore forbidden or declared to be unlawful,—those objects being the buying, selling, bartering, or in any manner dealing in slaves or persons intended to be dealt with as slaves. How any person can have been advised, with a due regard to the provisions of these Acts, either to send goods or to advance money for the purpose of working a concern which requires the buying and selling of slaves, surpasses my powers of comprehension. Nevertheless, that such advice must have been given,—that such a view of the law must have been taken, there cannot be a doubt; because numbers of wealthy and respectable individuals are known to have embarked their capital in the cultivation of foreign plantations, and the working of foreign mines; to say nothing of the original act of becoming owners of the stock of slaves upon the property by the purchase. What then remains to be done? I trust that my Noble Friends opposite will turn their attention to this subject at the earliest possible period; and if any doubts should, upon a full consideration of the statutes appear to exist, that they will, as soon as Parliament meets, come down with a declaratory Act to have those doubts removed; but if there should be no doubt,—if it should be clear that the Acts in question are illegal,—then the most satisfactory course would be to notify the law by Proclamation, warning all persons who have unwarily got into the predicament which I have described, that the sooner they remove themselves from that predicament the better and the safer will it be for them. Such a course is only fair towards the parties, more especially towards those who have unwarily purchased shares in joint-stock concerns, most of whom may be supposed ignorant of the dealing in slaves which their capital has been supporting. The proclamation will give them due notice of this, and put them upon withdrawing from the partnership. At all events, it will prevent the possibility of any persons hereafter embarking in the same speculations, by stating what the inevitable consequence must be of such transactions.

My Lords, the course which the legislature formerly took with respect to the slave-trade, appears to me, in connexion with the present question, to be well deserving the attention both of the government and your lordships. In 1806, the first Bill prohibiting the traffic, was brought in by my late learned and excellent friend, Sir Arthur Pigott, then Attorney-

General under Lord Grenville's Administration; it passed with little opposition, and is the 46th Geo. III. It prohibited the foreign slave-trade; that is, it forbade any British subject to engage in the slave-trade carried on by foreign countries or colonies; and it forbade the lending of money, or sending goods, or in any way embarking capital in transactions connected with that foreign traffic. In 1807, Lord Grey (then Lord Howick) brought in the first general Abolition Act, the 47th Geo. III., which made all slave-trading within the dominions of the British crown, and all slave-trading by British subjects everywhere, liable to pecuniary penalties, including the forfeiture of the ship and cargo. Then came the 51st Geo. III., the Act which I had the honour of passing through parliament, and which declared slave-trading to be felony, in the way I have already described. And, lastly, the Act of 1824, brought in by Mr. Canning, (the 5th Geo. IV.) made the change in the law which I before stated, repealing or consolidating the former statutes; but that Act, so far from diminishing the stringency of their provisions, extended them considerably, and made some dealings which before were not deemed slave-trading to be clearly slave-trading; and amongst others, made the transactions to which I have called the attention of your lordships punishable as felonies, with the differences to which I have adverted.

It thus appears that the slave-trading of British subjects in foreign colonies was the first branch of the traffic which the law struck down, and that when all slave-trading was not only made illegal, but, in the end, felonious, the foreign branch was, as might be expected, included in the enactment. My lords, nothing but the late period of the session prevents me from taking the course, now, which I took in 1810, with respect to the African slave-trade, when it was found that the acts of 1806 and 1807 were ineffectual; namely, the moving a resolution and address, pledging the house, "at an early period in the next session, to take the subject into its serious consideration, with a view to prevent such daring violations of the law." That proposition was adopted unanimously by the House of Commons; and, in consequence of the address, the felony Bill was brought in the next year, and passed with equal unanimity. If your lordships see any objection to such an address now from the session being about to close, I should be unwilling to press it on your attention. At any rate, I shall be satisfied with the declaration of the noble earl, the president of the board of trade, that he will lose no time, upon the prorogation of parliament, in drawing the attention of the law-officers of the crown to the subject, and in dealing with it as the result of the inquiry may show to be most effectual for carrying into complete execution the existing laws. Legal proceedings may probably be required in some cases; but the proclamation will also be advisable. With respect to the report of Dr. Madden, on the state of things upon the African coast, I understand my noble friend has some objection to its being laid before parliament. I have no doubt he will state the nature of that objection. As it contains some valuable details, I shall move for its production. But whether it be produced or not, I trust the government will not fail to act immediately upon the information which it conveys.

Before concluding my statement, I wish to call the attention of my noble friend, the president of the board of control, to the state of slavery and the slave-trade, in that part of the world with which his duties are most immediately connected. Much doubt has been expressed as to the legal existence of slavery in Malacca. It certainly was the opinion of one Malacca government that there was no such thing countenanced by law, although another entertained, subsequently, a different opinion; but all doubts should have been removed by the unanimous resolution which was adopted by the whole body of the proprietors, in November, 1829, to liberate all their slaves on the 31st December, 1841. I think this would be perfectly good ground for an order in council, putting down slavery in the colony; and I have no doubt my noble friend will take that subject into his consideration, the rather that I believe he agrees with those who hold it to be unsanctioned by law. I will now

draw his attention to the dreadful effects of slavery and slave-trading in that part of the world which is under his administration. By the kindness of one of the individuals engaged in the law commission in India, I have had access to a report made by Lord Auckland, and which I apprehend has been sent to my noble friend.

Lord Ellenborough.—It has been sent, and was printed and laid on the table of the House of Commons early in April.

Lord Brougham.—I was not aware of that, having been abroad at the time. It contains a report made to the commissioners by Major Sleeman, who describes the practices resorted to by certain gangs of the natives for the purpose of supplying the slave-market, he says:—

"These gangs invariably take their families with them on their expeditions, and the female members of the gangs are employed as inveiglers to win the confidence of the emigrant families they fall in with on the road. They introduce these families to the gang, and they are prevailed upon to accompany them to some place suitable for their designs upon them, when the parents are murdered by the men, while the women take care of the children."

He then gives the examination of a number of the wretches who belong to those gangs. One of them says,—"We call our trade megpunna, our trade being," he adds, "the murder of travellers for their children." Another of them, being examined, says, in answer to the question:—

"Are you not afraid that the children will disclose the manner in which you got them, and thereby get you into trouble?—We invariably murder our victims at night, first taking the precaution to put the children to sleep, and in the morning we tell them that we have purchased them of their parents, who have gone off and left them."

Again he is asked:—

"You seem to have been in the habit of selling children in all parts of the country, how have you avoided being apprehended?—The children are seldom aware of the fate of their parents; and, in general, we sell them to people very well acquainted with the nature of our proceedings.'

But it is not merely a general description which they give. The details of their commerce are presented to us. Another Jemadar, or leader of one of these gangs, says:—

"After the capture of Bhurtpoor," (which, according to my recollection, was in the year 1826,) "Nanoo Sing, Brinjarah, and four other Brinjarahs, residents of Kurnoul, came to me with four travellers and their four children, and invited me to participate in their murder, which I consented to, and with the assistance of my gang we strangled the whole of them, preserving the lives of the children, whom we sold at Jelpore for 120 rupees,"—(that is about £12.) "half of which was divided among the members of my gang. After this affair, I resolved on selecting for my victims the poorest class of travellers,"—(which they do manifestly because poor people are less likely to be inquired after), "and murdering them for their children, for whom there was so great a demand in all the great cities. Since which I have committed the following murders ——."

And then, I presume, he related the number of murders, though the report omits them.

Another of these jemadars, when examined, is desired to give the particulars of the Husseeagunge affair, and he says,—

"I left my home with a gang of forty Thugs, and proceeded to Husseeagunge, where Heera Dass and Rookmunee went to the city of Muttra for the purpose of buying some clothes, and succeeded in winning the confidence of four travellers, two men and two women, with their three children, whom they brought with them to our encampment; after passing two days with us, Teella Dass, Mudhoo Dass, Brinjarahs, and Dewa Hookma, Teelake, Gungarum, Brinjarahs, Balluck Dass, Chutter Dass, Neput Dass, and Hunooman Dass, prevailed on this family to accompany

them to the banks of the Jumma, and murdered the four elderly travellers in a garden near the village of Gokool; after throwing their bodies into the Jumma, they took their three children to the tanda, or encampment, of Dewa Brinjarah, near the village of Kheir, and sold the two female children for forty rupees, and the male for five rupees."

The murder, therefore, of these four persons was committed for between £4 and £5. Another person, a woman, who was examined, said,—

"We now went off to Thuneiseir, where we encamped in a grove on the bank of a tank, and here several parties of travellers were inveigled by the wives of the leaders of our gangs to come and take up their lodgings with us:—1. A Chumar, with three daughters, one thirty years of age, and the others young. 2. The widow of a carpenter, and her son, ten years of age. 3. A Brahmin and his wife, with one beautiful daughter, fourteen years old, another five, and a son six years of age. 4. A Brahmin and his wife, with one daughter about fourteen, another twelve, and a son three years of age. These travellers lodged for two or three days among the tents of the Naeks and Brinjarahs; after which we all went one morning to a village in the territory of the Toorooee Rajah; I forget his name. Here very heavy rain fell at night, and deluged the country, and we got no rest. The next morning we went to a village on the bank of the canal, still in the same Rajah's country. The next day we went to a village on the bank of the Jumma; and two hours after night Kaner Dass proposed that we should go down to the sacred stream of the Jumma, say our prayers, and remain there. They all went down accordingly, leaving me, Roopla and his second wife (Rookmunee) at the village. They murdered the seven men and women, and threw their bodies into the river; but who killed them, or how they were killed, I know not. The Chumar and his eldest daughter, the two Brahmins and their wives, and the carpenter's widow, were all murdered. They brought the nine children back to us a watch and a half before daylight. They were all crying a good deal after their parents, and we quieted them the best way we could with sweetmeats and playthings. We came to Beebeepore, and encamped in the grove. A daughter and son of the Brahmin's were extremely beautiful, and these we left with Dhyan Sing for sale. We came on to a village, a *coss* distant from Beebeepore. Here a trooper came up to Beebeepore, saying that he had heard of several people being murdered, and suspected us of the crime. The head men of the village of Beebeepore, and some of the Brinjarahs came to our camp with the trooper, and assured him that he must be mistaken, as they knew us all to be very honest, inoffensive people; and, taking him back to Beebeepore, they treated him with great consideration, and he went away apparently satisfied. But, fearing that our deeds had become known, Pemla and Newla's wives and Pemla's mother took off the seven other children to Dhyan Sing, and left them all in his charge. Pemla went to Kurnaul, and Goorbuksh and his gang went to Beebeepore, while my husband and his party remained where we were. A woman who keeps prostitutes came from Kurnaul, and purchased and took away all the children."

Human language sinks under the vain attempt at giving utterance to the mingled feelings of pity and of horror which rise in the breast upon the recital of such atrocities as these,—a vain attempt, and as superfluous as vain,—for I defy any power of the imagination to paint a scene more hideous, more unbearable than the simple description of the deeds themselves, in the plain words of the monsters who perpetrated them. Africa itself, steeped in blood for centuries by other branches of the infernal slave traffic, and still laid waste by the Spaniards and Portuguese,—with the connivance, I am grieved to say, of more humane nations,—Africa itself never presented a more appalling sight,—a more horrible example of that utter disregard for human life,—that proneness to take it away,—with which the traffic in human beings appears to strike and blight the heart in every region which it is permitted to curse.

My lords, while giving way to our natural feelings respecting these wretches, we ought to reserve a part of our indignation for the system in which their execrable enormities have their origin. They are the naturally appointed fruits of slave trading; but you may be well assured that, as long as it is lawful to hold human beings in slavery, the dealing in slaves cannot be put down; and atrocities like these which I have deemed it my painful duty to detail, will, in one shape or another, never cease to be committed.

My lords, I have no doubt whatever, that the advice will now be adopted which was given by my noble friend, formerly the secretary for the colonies (Lord Glenelg), a few months before he left that department, when—well acquainted as he is with all Indian affairs, and anxious for the general emancipation of the slaves,—he strongly recommended the acceleration of that great event in Ceylon. Considering the great weight of his authority on this subject, I have no doubt that his very important despatch of the 24th of November, 1838, will be taken into early and attentive consideration by my noble friend at the head of the Indian department. It applies, in principle, to India, as well as Ceylon, and it will, I trust, lead to measures, accelerating, as much as possible, a general emancipation,—the most effectual means of extinguishing the slave-trade, and preventing such atrocities as we have just been forced to contemplate.

PETITION OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, REFERRED TO IN LORD BROUGHAM'S SPEECH.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

Sheweth,

That, whilst your petitioners sincerely rejoice in the fact that the African slave-trade has been declared piracy by the legislature of this country, and that the law of the land denounces every British subject directly or indirectly engaged therein as a felon, and subjects him, on conviction, to the ignominious punishment of a felon; they deeply lament that not a few of their opulent countrymen, occupying influential positions in society as manufacturers and merchants, as officers in her Majesty's army and navy, and as civil functionaries, are well known to have been guilty of this flagrant crime, either personally or by their agents, unawed by the fear of God or of man, and still persist in the same, unaffected by the cruel sufferings and degradation they inflict on humanity, and uninfluenced by the requirements and denunciations of law, whether human or divine.

That your petitioners would call the attention of your right honourable house to the fact, that there have been formed, at different periods during the last fifteen years, various mining companies in this country, with large capitals at their disposal, who carry on their operations in the empire of Brazil, or in the Spanish island of Cuba; that their mines are worked principally by slaves purchased by the agents of those companies; that the greater part, if not the whole, of these victims of oppression have been illicitly imported into these countries since the period when such importation was declared contraband, felonious, or piratical; and that as your petitioners are informed and believe, these companies still continue to purchase newly imported Africans, to supply the wastes of mortality, or to meet the other exigencies of their establishments.

That your petitioners lament to say that officers of her Majesty's army and navy, as well as functionaries in the civil service, have accepted engagements in connexion with these companies; and that they are informed and believe that such persons have been the agents employed in the purchase of slaves on account of the same.

That your petitioners call the attention of your right honourable house to the fact, that banking companies, with large funds at their disposal, have also been formed in this country; and that they either have already formed, or are in process of forming branch establishments in countries where the slave-trade is carried on, or where slavery in all its horrors still exists.

That your petitioners grieve to say that there are manufactured in this country, in enormous quantities, articles known by the name of *coast goods*, which are employed exclusively in the African slave-trade, in barter for human beings; and that these form a considerable branch of the export trade of this country to Brazil and Cuba, and to the western coast of Africa.

That the consignees of British merchants and manufacturers, or branch houses of their establishments in Brazil and Cuba, dispose of such goods to persons well known as traffickers in human beings; that they not unfrequently have, if not a direct, yet an indirect interest, by conditional arrangements, in the guilty traffic itself; and that in all cases they vend such goods, well knowing the disgraceful and inhuman object to which they are to be applied.

That your petitioners are informed and fully believe, that fetters and shackles employed in the slave-trade, or in the punishment and torture of slaves, form part of the export trade of this country to Brazil and Cuba.

That your petitioners have grounds for knowing that vessels have been built in this country specially for the slave-trade, and they have reason to fear, that many have been covertly prepared for that nefarious traffic in British harbours.

That your petitioners deeply regret to add, that British subjects have become the purchasers of estates in Brazil and the Spanish colonies, which they work by slaves, and which they have stocked, either wholly or in part, with newly imported Africans, thus giving the benefit of their wealth, skill, and enterprise to the maintenance of these enormous evils.

It will thus be seen by your right honourable house, that British subjects, instigated by the sordid love of gain, to the great dishonour of their country and in defiance of its laws, are, either directly or indirectly, among the chief props and supports of the African slave-trade; that they supply capital or the means of carrying it on to a fearful extent, reckless of the miseries which they inflict on the human race, the insult they offer to the Most High; and the evil example they set to others: that they obstruct the consummation of that great work to which the legislature, the government, and the people of this country have so nobly devoted themselves, and to secure which they have spent millions of the national treasure; that they offer the chief impediment to a peaceful, legitimate, and lucrative commerce with Africa; that they prevent the civilization and religious improvement of its people; and that they render the expensive armaments which are kept up on the coasts of Africa, Cuba, and Brazil, the means of increasing the horrors, without diminishing the extent of the slave-trade.

Your petitioners, therefore, earnestly implore your right honourable house, either to extend the provisions of the act, 5th Geo. cap. 113, commonly called the Consolidated Slave-trade Abolition Act of 1824, so as effectually to prevent British subjects from holding and purchasing slaves in foreign countries, under any pretences whatsoever, and to bring to speedy and condign punishment those of them who have hitherto violated with impunity the existing laws; or to appoint a committee of your right honourable house to inquire forthwith into the facts alleged by your petitioners, whose duty it shall be to report to your right honourable house such measures as may be deemed requisite to suppress effectually the guilty practices referred to.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

John Woodwark,
Chairman of the Committee.

British Subjects implicated in the Slave-trade and Slave-holding.

The gold mines of Minas Geraes, in Brazil, are held by British Companies, and are worked principally by slaves purchased contrary to the laws of this country, which declare such dealings in "the persons of men," to be felonious and piratical, and punishable, on conviction, by transportation for fourteen years, or for life, according to circumstances.

	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
The Gongo Soco Mine . .	176	113	129	418
" Cata Branca ditto . .	256	86	64	406
" Concéicào ditto . .	30	10	10	50
" Macaubes and Cocaes ditto	328	156	155	619
" St. Joaò del Rey ditto .	234	96	30	360
	1024	441	388	1858
" Candonga ditto	——	——	——	240
				2093

The Minas Geraes Company having abandoned their mine, sold the negroes to the Imperial Mine and the St. Joaò del Rey.

In Cuba, Mr. Turnbull found that British subjects were part proprietors in the copper mines of that colony. In one which he visited (Cobre,) he states, that "the labourers employed were nearly 900 in number," and that "more than one-half of them were slaves, some the property of the Mining Company, and others hired out, as is not uncustomary, from their owners in the neighbourhood."

British subjects are also extensive proprietors of plantations worked by slaves, both in Brazil and the Spanish colonies; and it is evident from the official reports of her Majesty's Commissioners, as well as from private authority of the highest character, that British capital, in one form or another, is extensively employed in prosecuting the slave-trade, as well as sustaining the system of slavery in different parts of the world. It is well known also that the "coast goods" used in the purchase of slaves in Africa, as well as the instruments of torture used for the confinement and punishment of slaves during "the middle passage," and on the plantations, are manufactured for those purposes in this country.

Slavery in British India.

Although it is impossible to arrive with any accuracy at the exact number of slaves in British India, an idea of its extent may be formed from the following statement, drawn almost exclusively from parliamentary papers, viz.:—

Tipperah . .	343,065	Shahabad . . .	21,340
Sylhet . . .	361,240	Assam	27,000
Mymensingh . .	363,677	Arcot . . .	20,000
Dacca . . .	275,190	Surat	3000
Chittagong . .	175,200	District between the Kistna and Toongbutra	15,000
Rajeshaye . . .	766,341	Southern Mahratta country	7500
Cuttack . . .	600,000	Malabar, Canara, Coorg, Wynad, Cochin, and Travancore	401,000
Rungpore . . .	536,140		
Sarun . . .	180,509		
Tirhoot . . .	212,210		
Behar and Patna .	131,280	Tinnevelly .	32,4000
Moorshedabad . .	95,366	Trinchinopoly . .	10,000
Bhaugulpore . .	49,861	Ceylon, Malacca, and Penang, about	30,000
Purneah . . .	24,560		

In all 4,974,079! Large as this amount may appear, it forms but a part of the entire slave population of British India. What their condition is, may be gathered from a pamphlet, entitled, "Slavery and the Slave-trade in British India," published by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to which attention is earnestly directed.

Johnston and Barrett, Printers, 13, Mark Lane.

HILL COOLIES.

A BRIEF

EXPOSURE

OF THE

DEPLORABLE CONDITION

OF THE

HILL COOLIES,

IN

BRITISH GUIANA AND MAURITIUS,

AND OF

THE NEFARIOUS MEANS BY WHICH THEY WERE INDUCED TO RESORT TO THESE COLONIES.

"Under the colour of a Bill for protecting the Indian labourers, it is proposed to legalize the importation of them into the colonies." * * * * * * "Hundreds of thousands of poor helpless women and children are now to be abandoned to want, that the growth of sugar in the West Indies may not languish." It is in vain to shut our eyes to the calamities which impend on India. It was in this manner that the Slave-trade crept in, under the shadow of Parliamentary regulation; a race was then begun between *abuses* and *legislation*, in which *legislation was always found to be in the rear.* AND SO IT WILL BE WITH THE COOLEY TRADE. We must tread the same circle; and, after years of the most poignant misery, come to the same result, that in the case of the *new*, as of the *old*, trade, THE ONLY PATH OF SAFETY LIES IN ABSOLUTE PROHIBITION."

Friend of India, Calcutta, 3rd Aug., 1839.

LONDON:

HARVEY AND DARTON, GRACECHURCH STREET.

BALL, ARNOLD AND CO., 34, PATERNOSTER ROW; HATCHARD AND SON, 187, PICCADILLY; AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 27, NEW BROAD STREET.

MDCCCXL.

LONDON:
JOHNSTON AND BARRETT, PRINTERS,
MARK LANE.

A BRIEF EXPOSURE, &c.

In sending the following statement to the press, my single object was to fill up the *hiatus* left in the papers recently presented to the House of Commons respecting the Hill Coolies in British Guiana, in return to an address moved by Mr. William Gladstone on the 18th of February last. It appeared to me desirable that the country should know that a large fund of information respecting the general treatment of the Coolies in that colony existed besides the very partial, and, I have no hesitation in saying, because I am personally familiar with the facts, most unfair representations made to the Home Government on the whole subject.

Before I visited Guiana in the early part of the year, 1839, the system of *concealment* was adopted with admirable success: when, however, concealment was no longer possible, *palliation and apology* were resorted to; and to me, were it not a source of deep sorrow that the exposure of the hardships and sufferings of the wretched Coolies were treated with lightness, and that an attempt was made thereby to impose on the British public, it would be infinitely amusing to observe the attempts of Governor Light, to account for his own ignorance of the facts brought to light, the studied silence of his magistracy, and the conduct of the parties implicated in the guilty transactions to which reference is made. The ridiculous attempt of his Excellency to fasten unworthy motives on me, in the part I felt it to be my duty to take in the affair. I pass by as unworthy of observation. However much it may please the planters, it cannot injure me.

It was not my intention to have added my name to the statement, now given to the public—not judging it to be necessary; but having submitted it to the perusal of some friends after it was in type, they suggested the propriety of my doing so, and this must be my apology for the form in which it appears.

JOHN SCOBLE.

London, 28*th February*, 1840.

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1. ORIGIN OF THE COOLIE SLAVE TRADE:—On the 4th January 1836, JOHN GLADSTONE, ESQ., addressed a letter to Messrs. GILLANDERS, ARBUTHNOT & Co., of Calcutta, in which he says, "You will probably be aware that we are very particularly situated with our negro apprentices in the West Indies, and that it is matter of doubt and uncertainty, how far they may be induced to continue their services on the plantations after their apprenticeship expires in 1840. This, to us,—is a subject of great moment and deep interest in the colonies of Demerara and Jamaica. We are, therefore, most desirous to obtain and introduce labourers from other quarters, and particularly from climates similar in their nature." After giving a most glowing account of the colony—the lightness of the labour required, and the repose enjoyed by the people—their "comfortable dwellings, and abundance of food"—the "schools on each estate for the education of children; and the instruction of their parents in the knowledge of their religious duties"—*(there are no schools on Vreed-en-Hoop, or Vriedestein!!)* he sums up all by observing, "it may be fairly said they pass their time agreeably and happily." Full of fears, however, for the future, he adds, "It is of great importance to us to endeavour to provide a portion of other labourers, whom we might use as a set-off, and, when the time for it comes, make us, as far as possible, *independent of our negro population.*" He then gives an order for 100

Coolies—"young, active, able-bodied people," to be bound to labour "for a period not less than five years, or more than seven years," the wages not to "exceed four dollars per month," to provide themselves! To which communication Messrs. GILLANDERS & Co., gave the following "encouraging" reply, on the 6th June, 1836; "within the last two years, upwards of 2000 natives have been sent from this to the Mauritius, by several parties here, under contracts of engagements for five years. The contracts, we believe, are all of a similar nature; and we enclose a copy of one, under which we have sent 700 or 800 men to the Mauritius; and we are not aware that any greater difficulty would present itself in sending men to the West Indies, *the Natives being perfectly ignorant of the place they agree to go to, or the length of the voyage they are undertaking.*" They then go on to state that the men selected for Mauritius, have "hardly any ideas beyond those of supplying the wants of nature;" and, therefore, we suppose, more likely to become the dupes of the cunning knaves who would entrap them into engagements, of the nature of which, they would be entirely ignorant. The "Dhangurs," they add, in a subsequent part of their letter, "are always spoken of as more akin to the monkey than the man. They have no religion, no education, and, in their present state, no wants, beyond eating, drinking and sleeping; and to procure which, they are willing to labour." Fit subjects, truly, to be made slaves, and to cultivate the estates of JOHN GLADSTONE, ESQ., in Demerara! Now what reply was made to the proposition of GILLANDERS AND CO.? Did the wealthy planter express his indignation that the Indian labourers were to be spirited away from their native land, under the idea that they were going to the "Company's Rabustie," to be engaged in "gardening?" Did he express his disgust that his agents should select such ignorant and wretched creatures as the *Dhangurs* to practice deceit

upon? No! On the 10th March, 1837, he and his friend, JOHN MOSS, Esq., of Liverpool, gave Messrs. GILLANDERS & Co. to understand, that in the following May, they intended to forward the good ship "*Hesperus* to take Coolies to Demerara," to the number of 150, and that should they have children to take with them, fifteen or twenty may be sent in addition. "In Demerara," Mr. GLADSTONE adds, "the females are employed in the field as well as the men; and if the female Coolies will engage to work there, a larger proportion may be sent, say two women to three men, or, if desired, equal numbers; but if *they will not engage to work there*, then the proportion sent to the Isle of France, of *one female to nine or ten men*, for cooking and washing, is enough!" *It is enough* to give these quotations to show the origin of the Coolie slave-trade: and all we need add, is, that "ANDREW COLVILLE, Esq., ("a near connexion of Lord AUCKLAND'S") and Messrs. DAVIDSONS, BARKLEY & Co. of London," joined their friend Mr. GLADSTONE in a similar commission to Messrs. GILLANDERS & Co.

2. PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT.—It became necessary, in consequence of the state of the law in British Guiana, which restricted contracts for labour to three years duration, that Mr. GLADSTONE and his friends should be accommodated with an Order in Council to sanction their contracts for a period of five years, commencing on the arrival of the Coolies in Demerara. This was complaisantly granted them by LORD GLENELG, with the concurrence of Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE, and, of course the whole of her Majesty's then ministry. Under date of the 20th May, 1837, Mr. GLADSTONE writes GILLANDERS & Co. "I have now made the necessary arrangements with the colonial department, and an Order in Council corresponding with them will be immediately published." He then increases the order for Coolies from 150 to 200, (stating the tonnage of the "*Hesperus*" to be 334,) but he adds, "If

that number should be considered too many, do not reduce it under 150," and remember, "one-third for the Messrs. Moss, two-thirds for me." The Order in Council was of the most objectionable kind. It gave a *carte blanche* to every villain in British Guiana, and every scoundrel in India to kidnap and inveigle into contracts for labour for five years, in a distant part of the world, the ignorant and inoffensive Hindoo!

3. The Discovery. The Order in Council was issued the 12th of July, 1837; but it was not until the 3rd of January, 1838, that the public in this country became aware of its existence, when it was denounced in the *British Emancipator* as giving birth to a new slave-trade. In May, intelligence was received through the medium of the Calcutta papers of the most painful nature, detailing the infamous conduct of the "*Chokedars* who were put on guard over the Coolies, shipped for Demerara on board the *Hesperus*." One man died "in consequence of his having been kept below;" and "the Coolies," it is added, were made to pay by the Chokedars, *for the privilege of coming on deck?* The same papers state that "*the agent for shipping these poor unfortunate people has stated that he is authorized to ship* TEN THOUSAND!" Private letters also corroborated the fact, that the Coolies "*had to be forced on board*" the *Hesperus*—that "the hatches were bolted down," and that one man died from suffocation." It is stated also in the same communication that the *Whitby* found difficulty in inducing the natives to go, and that *force was required to accomplish the object*." These statements are made on the authority of the Rev. Mr. Boaz, a Missionary in Calcutta. It was subsequently discovered that the trade of kidnapping Coolies had been extensively carried on, and that prison depôts had been established in the villages near Calcutta for the security of the wretched creatures, where they were most infamously treated, and guarded with the utmost jealousy and care, to prevent their escape,

until the Mauritian and Demerara slavers were ready for their reception! A full account of the discovery of the kidnappers, their modes of procuring Coolie labourers, and their places of retreat was inserted in the *Asiatic Journal* of Calcutta, 5th of July, 1838, copied from the authenticated report of Sergeant FLOYD to the magistrates. It further appears, that through the exertions of a Mr. DIAS, a magistrate, *twenty* of the kidnappers were punished, and *one hundred and twenty-five Coolies* released from their grasp, who were described as "*highly delighted*" with their deliverance; and "as each group left the office, they gave three or four hearty cheers, and showered down blessings on the magistrate's head." Ought not the agents who employed these execrable kidnappers to have been punished? They most righteously deserved to have been placed by the side of the villains they employed.

4. ARRIVAL OF THE COOLIES IN BRITISH GUIANA.—According to the official account, the number of Coolies shipped from Calcutta, per *Hesperus*, was 155 men, five women, and ten children, in all 170 persons for Messrs. GLADSTONE and MOSS; per *Whitby*, there were shipped, 250 men, seven women, and ten children, in all 267 persons, to the care of JAMES MATTHEWS, Esq., attorney to ANDREW COLVILLE, Esq., and JOHN CAMERON, Esq., agent to Messrs. GILLANDERS & Co., of Calcutta. The Coolies consigned to Mr. CAMERON, were disposed of to Messrs. DAVIDSONS, BARKLEY & Co., and to JAMES BLAIR, Esq. The mortality on board the *Hesperus*, during her voyage, was fourteen, of which number two are represented to have been drowned (suicides?) The mortality on board the *Whitby*, amounted to four. There were consequently landed from both vessels 419 Coolies, which were distributed in the following manner, viz. :—

	Males.	Females.
Vreed-en-Hoop (John Gladstone, Esq.)	65	5
Vriedestein, . . . (Ditto.)	31	0
Anna Regina, (Messrs. Moss,)	46	3
Belle Vue, (A. Colville, Esq.)	79	3
Waterloo, (James Blair, Esq.)	47	0
Highbury, (Messrs. Davidsons & Co.)...	117	11
	385	22

In all 407 persons, according to the official returns of the special magistrates, printed by order of the House of Commons, 21st of February, 1840, No. 77, pp. 51, 52. This will show a difference in the numbers landed and located upon the estates, of twelve Coolies, the cause of which cannot be gathered from the papers. It is of importance, that this point should be cleared up.

5. Condition of the Coolies after Arrival.—On the 30th of August, 1838, Governor Light, having just made the tour of the colony, writes to Lord Glenelg, as follows:—"From the reports I have received, and from my personal observation, the Coolies appear *satisfied* with their position, and have not disappointed their employers." In another dispatch, dated the 19th of November, 1838, his Excellency states, that "the general *good health* of the emigrants from India, is equal to that of any other labourer in this colony," the Creole Negro, of course not excepted; and in this view the assistant Colonial Secretary, Mr. Wolseley, concurs, for he appends to his general report on the state of the immigrants, "The Coolies have *acclimatized well*, and have suffered *no disadvantage* by emigrating to this colony." At a still later period, the 11th of January, 1839, Governor Light, in a dispatch to Lord Glenelg, observes, "If my information be correct, the Hill Coolies were accustomed to a marshy soil, to very low wages, and precarious scanty food, and though on limited wages, in comparison with the free labourer, yet are as *carefully protected* from

oppression, and their complaints *redressed as speedily*, as those of other labourers!" He adds, "the Coolies on Mr. GLADSTONE's property, are a fine healthy body of men; they are beginning to marry or co-habit with the negresses, and take pride in their dress; the few words of English they know, added to signs common to all, prove *that 'Sahib' was good to them.*" On the 30th day of January, 1839, Mr. Special Justice COLEMAN inspected the Coolies on plantation Vriedestein, the property of JOHN GLADSTONE, Esq.; and gives a most favourable report of their condition. The labour required of them, only two-thirds of that expected from the late apprentices; and that "always of the lightest work going on." Their allowances, as per contract. To be sure, their houses were "not in good repair," but that is a matter of little importance in a colony where the climate is so "genial!" and where Governor LIGHT firmly believed they had "more means of enjoyment than in their own country." Vreed-en-Hoop, another property of Mr. GLADSTONE's, was visited by Mr. Special Justice DELAFONS, on the 20th February, 1839; who reports, that the Coolies were "cheerful and contented;" but, unlike their brethren on Vriedestein, they were compelled to perform the same description of labour as the negro gang, and had one and a-half-guilder stopped out of their wages monthly, to be paid on their completing their servitude, as per agreement. The deaths on *Vriedestein*, in eight months, two males; on the sick list ten: and on *Vreed-en-Hoop*, in nine months, four males; on the sick list four. On the 31st January, 1839, Mr. Special Justice COLEMAN inspected the Coolies on *Belle-Vue*, the property of Mr. COLVILLE, and reports that they were "lodged in a large logie built purposely for them," and were not required, or expected, to perform more than "two-thirds of the tariff of labour for seven hours and a-half." He states the number of deaths in eight months, to have been nine males, and one female child; on the sick list twenty. Mr. Special Jus-

tice MURE reports, the Coolies on *Anna Regina*, belonging to the Messrs. MOSS, to be "very cheerful and contented," and that only one death had occurred in eight months. Mr. Special Justice ROSE reports, that the Coolies on *Waterloo*, the property of JAMES BLAIR, Esq., "are apparently quite satisfied," and that during a period of eight months, there had been four deaths, and fifteen were on the sick list. On plantation *Highbury*, belonging to Messrs. DAVIDSONS & Co., visited by Mr. Special Justice MACLEOD, on the 31st of January, 1839, he reports, the Coolies "cheerful and contented," and the number of deaths fifteen males, and two females, with from ten to fifteen on the sick list. It thus appears, that the mortality during a period of rather more than eight months after arrival, on 419 Coolies had been thirty-eight, viz., thirty-five males and three females, and that seventy were usually on the sick list. Up to this period, there was not a whisper to be heard in the colony of the ill-treatment of the Coolies, although it must have been known to the special justices of the various districts in which the Coolies were located, that they were frequently in the habit of running away from the estates, on the ground of alleged ill-treatment and anxiety to return to their native land. It was known, that a large number had fled from *Belle-Vue*, and were found on plantation *Herstelling*, on the opposite side of the river, where they declared that, in consequence of the severity of the treatment they had endured from their manager, Mr. YOUNG, who accompanied them from India, they would rather die than go back, and it was only when the promise was given that the individual complained of should be discharged, that they returned to the estate. It is known also, that many fled at different times from plantation *Vreed-en-Hoop*, and that two "Jummun and Pulton, who left on the 11th of October, 1838," were never afterwards discovered. The bodies of two strange men were discovered about that time at Mahaica dead, in the bush,

no doubt they were the missing Coolies; and the female child, about ten years old, who was reported dead in Mr. Special Justice COLEMAN's report, perished from the dreadful effects resulting from the forcible violation of her person. An account of these things, and much more, that might be mentioned, is carefully excluded from the reports; but we must not anticipate.

The real condition of the Coolies was brought to light, in consequence of a paragraph which appeared in the columns of the *British Emancipator* of the 9th Jan., 1839, which had reached the colony. JAMES MATTHEWS, Esq., after allowing three weeks to elapse to put his house in order, requested the Governor to appoint a commission of inquiry into the condition of the Coolies on *Belle-Vue*, with the view of proving that the statements in the *Emancipator* were false and scandalous. It was to have been a very snug affair, but Mr. SCOBLE, being at that time in the colony, and having been privately informed of the intended investigation, determined to be present at the proceedings. The evidence taken by the Commissioners, though of the most partial and limited nature, established the general accuracy of the report which had been made, and was the means of bringing to light the hidden horrors of the system which had been pursued on *Belle-Vue*. To detail the whole of the iniquities practised on the wretched Coolies on that estate would fill a volume. It will be sufficient, to say that the general manager of the estate, Mr. RUSSELL, SHARLIEB, the manager of the Coolies, and Dr. NIMMO, a relation of Mr. GLADSTONE, the medical man of the estate, as well as of Vriedestein and Vreed-en-Hoop, were all indicted and convicted of brutal assaults, before the Inferior Criminal Court of British Guiana, and either fined or imprisoned! One incident however connected with the sick-house on Belle-Vue must not be omitted; it is taken from an account given by an eye-witness of the melancholy scene. "The spectacle," he writes, "presented to the observer, in the

sick-house was heart-rending! The house itself was wretchedly filthy, the persons and the clothes of the patients were filthy also; the poor sufferers had no mats nor mattresses to lie on; a dirty blanket was laid under them *and their clothes wrapped togeher formed a kind of a pillow.* In one room where there were raised boards for the accommodation of seven persons only, eleven were confined—four of them lying on the floor. The squalid wretchedness of their appearance, their emaciated forms, and their intense sufferings from disease and sores, were enough to make the heart bleed! In the second room were found a worse class of patients. The scene in this chamber beggars description; out of the five confined there, two were dead, and one of the remaining three cannot long survive; should the others ultimately recover, it will be by a miracle—their bones appeared ready to protrude through their skins! (these three died shortly after.) When the magistrate inquired by signs of the miserable creature who appeared to be near death, what food he was allowed—*he pulled out some hard brown biscuit from under his head,* and exhibited it!! The Coolies confined in other apartments appeared in the same state as those confined in the first chamber; in one of them was a man whose limbs have become contracted by disease since he came to the estate. In fact, you may suppose, that it must have been misery in perfection to have drawn from Mr. Wolseley this observation:—"*I never saw such a dreadful scene of misery in my life as is now to be seen in the sick-house. I have been in a great many hospitals on various estates for the last twenty years; but I never saw such a melancholy scene!!* But lest it should be suspected that the description is overwrought, attention is called to the remarks of Sir M. McTurk, one of the Commissioners appointed by the Court of Policy, to visit the estates on which the Coolies were placed, and to report thereon. In his place in the Court of Policy, he said, "He would now say that,

before that inquiry, it had often been his lot to witness scenes of distress, of acute bodily suffering, and deep affliction; but such unalleviated wretchedness, such hopeless misery as he beheld in that hospital, never before had he seen, nor could he have imagined that it existed in this colony. The Coolies in it were not suffering merely from sores; *they had mortified ulcers, their flesh rotting on their bones, their toes dropping off. Some of them were in a dangerous state from fever, and all were in the utmost despondency.*" And this appalling statement was corroborated by the Commissioners in their official report. On *Belle-Vue*, they say, "twenty have died from diseases contracted in the colony, and twenty-nine are now in a wretched state from ulcers, many of whom, in all probability, will die; and should they survive, they will (some of them) *be rendered unfit to support themselves, from the loss of their toes, and part of their feet—the sick-house presents a spectacle pitiable to behold.* These poor people are in a state of great misery, and from whatever cause it may have sprung, the effects are *so appalling, that humanity calls loudly for the interference of the executive.*" The consequence of this appeal was, after considerable opposition from Mr. Matthews, the attorney of the estate, and Dr. Nimmo, the medical attendant, they were removed to the colonial hospital, and placed under the humane care, and skilful treatment of Dr. Smith, the physician of that establishment.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Colville, to whom the government imparted the information relative to the treatment of the Coolies on his estate, instead of expressing his warm indignation against the brutal system of oppression practised there by his agents, should have sought to extenuate, if not to justify, their criminal deeds. (Vide Par. Pap. No. 463, p. 98.) But that gentleman should be told that when his portion of the Coolies arrived in Demerara, there was no building prepared for their reception; that the sick-house was emptied of its patients,

to make room for them; and that in four rooms in that sick-house, the whole eighty-two Coolies were thrust, men, *women*, and children, without regard to delicacy or decency, together; and kept in that loathsome den for nearly three months, before a shed could be erected for their shelter! And let that gentleman be told also, that the whip, the bamboo, and the dungeon, were constantly resorted to, to compel labour or to gratify revenge. And further, he should know that the schoolmaster BERKLEY, who first hinted the cruelties that were practised on miserable Coolies, after having his stock wantonly killed, has been driven from the estate, without payment of the miserable sum due to him for salary; and is now the victim of a most bitter persecution on the part of every manager in the district! Happily, however, for the cause of humanity, and probably, for the interests of Mr. COLVILLE, the atrocious conduct of his agents has been partly made known; but who shall say that similar atrocities may not again be perpetrated? There are not always to be found in the colony, men who have the courage to expose and denounce the evils which exist. The last report of the special magistrate, dated 1st November, 1839, states the mortality to have been, up to that period, *twenty-two males*, besides the murdered girl!

Let us now take a glance at *Vreed-en-Hoop*, the property of Mr. GLADSTONE. We find, that in consequence of a communication made to the Governor that the Coolies on that estate were ill-treated, an inquiry was ordered into the circumstances. The result of the first inquiry is summed up by Mr. YOUNG, the Government Secretary, in a letter, addressed, by order of his Excellency, to JAMES STUART, Esq., the attorney to the property; and is as follows:—

Government Secretary's Office, 2nd May, 1839.

A report having reached the Governor that the Coolies of Vreed-en-Hoop had been flogged, and that two of them, in consequence of ill-treatment, had fled from the estate, and had since perished in the

neighbourhood of Mahaica, his Excellency directed a court of inquiry, consisting of three stipendiary magistrates, to be assembled for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of the report. I am now directed to recapitulate to you the facts elicited by the investigation; to inform you of the ultimate measures which have been determined on; and to suggest to you such a course of proceeding, on your part, towards the individuals whose conduct is implicated in these transactions, as, in his Excellency's opinion, humanity towards the Coolies, and a due regard of the reputation of the colony at large, render just and necessary.

As you were yourself present at the court of inquiry, it is not, perhaps, necessary to set forth in detail the whole of the evidence, (of which, however, you may obtain a perusal at this office, should you desire it); in the margin will be found the names of the witnesses who speak to the facts which I am now to recapitulate.

"The Coolies were locked up in the sick-house; saw them the day after they were flogged; their backs were swollen; they were in the sick-house for two days after the flogging."—*Will. Clay.*

"When they run away and are stubborn, they get two or three lickings; they are flogged with a cat-o'-nine-tails; they were tied with a rope round the post, and were licked on the bare back."—*Alexander.*

"They appeared to me as severely punished as my matties were, during the apprenticeship; when flogged, they were flogged with a cat, the same as was formerly in use; they brought all from the sick-house together, and took them to the negro-yard to be flogged; they were tied to a post."—*Rose.*

"The Coolies were locked up in the sick house, and next morning they were flogged with a cat-o'-nine-tails; the manager was in the house, and they flogged the people under his house; they were tied to the post of the gallery of the manager's house; I cannot tell how many licks; he gave them enough. I saw blood. When they were flogged at manager's house, they rubbed salt pickle on their backs."—*Elizabeth Cæsar.*

"I think two of the Coolies were brought into the hospital to have their backs dressed; I rubbed them with camphor and high wines; the backs were bruised. The first time seven Coolies were locked up; the second, six Coolies."—*Betsey Ann Sick Nurse.*

"Their hands were tied behind their backs; they were beaten with a rope; ten times they lick them; heard them complain to manager; Mr. Jacobs lick Modun every day. When licked, they put the breast to the post with hands stretched out; some tie the hands before, some behind. Coolies run away because they are licked."—*Narrain.*

His Excellency desires me to observe, that although some of the other witnesses, as well as those whose names are mentioned in the

margin, in other parts of their evidence, give a description, perhaps, somewhat less revolting than that contained in the foregoing extracts, yet the fact of flogging and confinement having been inflicted is proved beyond all dispute.

The minutes of the court have been referred to Stipendiary Justice Coleman (who was not on the commission of inquiry) in a letter, of which I annex a copy, and you will perceive that he has been instructed to adjudicate upon the cases, or to refer them, for trial, before the Supreme Court of Criminal Justice, as may be most consistent with his own judgment, and the laws in force.

His Honour the Sheriff of Berbice, who is acquainted with the Hindostanee language, has been summoned from Berbice, in order to assist in interpreting the complaints of the Coolies, and for the purpose of conveying to them an explanation of the punishment which Captain Coleman is enabled, by law, to award against any one who shall, in future, at any time, commit similar outrages on their persons. His Excellency confidently expects your entire concurrence in the above measures, for the punishment of the wrongs these strangers have hitherto sustained; and, under this expectation, I am to suggest to you, that, although a legal tribunal can visit Mr. Sanderson and Mr. Jacobs (either or both, as the evidence may appear to the court to justify such a sentence) with punishment for what the Coolies of Vreed-en-Hoop have, hitherto, wrongly suffered, yet, that the most efficient protection, for the future, can best be afforded, by your dismissal of Messrs. Sanderson and Jacobs.

Mr. Sanderson, as the resident manager, either did know, or ought to have known of these transactions; under the most charitable supposition, his ignorance must be esteemed highly culpable.

Of Mr. Jacobs' unfitness to retain any authority over the Coolies of Vreed-en-Hoop, there cannot be a doubt; and it is reported that, pending the investigation, he brutally assaulted one of them, and that he is, at this moment, on his trial, before Stipendiary Magistrate Mure, for the offence. It has also been reported to the Governor, that the wages due to the Coolies, are paid to the interpreter Jacobs, on their behalf, a practice which his Excellency considers may have been a source of discontent. I have, &c.,

(Signed) H. E. F. Young,
Government Secretary.

James Stuart, Esq.,
Attorney of Plantation Vreed-en-Hoop.

To this communication, the attorney sent a scornful reply, and refused to accede to his Excellency's request. The investigation, however, led to the trial and convic-

tion of JACOBS for assault on the persons of five Coolies, and the sentence of the court, was a fine of £20 sterling, and one month's imprisonment in George-town Jail. Subsequently to this, JACOBS was again tried for another assault on a Coolie, and fined 30 shillings by the Court. A third assault was proved against him, and a fine of forty shillings inflicted. These convictions were deemed sufficient by those who originated the proceedings, to convince the offenders of their illegal proceedings, and to establish the fact, that as part of the regular discipline of the estate, the wretched Coolies were most cruelly whipped and injured. But this was only part of the system: JACOBS was also proved to have mulcted the Coolies of their money, which the wretched creatures paid to him instead of a threatened beating. A list of thirty-one cases is given in the report of the Commissioners, who were thus robbed of their hard earned money to the extent of 28½ dollars at various times. The amount of punishment inflicted on the Coolies first and last, must have been enormous, and yet because there was no legal evidence to prove that SANDERSON, the general manager of the estate, had personally directed the flogging, either in the house or in the field, he was retained in his situation. To suppose that for twelve-months, these things could have occurred under his own eye, and he not know it, must be to disqualify him for the situation he holds, and ought of itself to have been a sufficient reason for his immediate dismissal from office. But he is too good a manager, in the colonial sense of the term, to be lost, so he still represents his wealthy master on plantation Vreeden-Hoop. And now what does Mr. GLADSTONE do, when put in possession of the documents, forwarded to him by the government, containing the melancholy details referred to? Why, like Mr. COLVILLE, he has not one word of commisseration to expend on the Coolies; but a great deal of indignation against Messrs. SCOBLE and ANSTIE, to whom reference no doubt is made, in the

following passage:—"The people continued cheerful and contented; but *evil disposed persons* have recently gone among them, and have endeavoured to create a bad and dissatisfied feeling, in which they have partially succeeded, as it is at present too generally the case in England, where similar effects are produced by the *Chartists* and *others*, among the *lower classes*."—(Vide letter dated 3rd August, 1839.) Perhaps, as the letter which contains this paragraph, was addressed to the Marquess of NORMANBY, the "others" may refer to that noble lord himself, and to his noble colleague in office, Lord JOHN RUSSELL; so that Mr. SCOBLE, and his friend, Mr. ANSTIE, find themselves in grand company indeed, and, of course, will thank Mr. GLADSTONE for the honour done them! The number reported dead on Vreed-en-Hoop, on the 1st of November, 1839, was nine, and two absent, who, no doubt, perished in the bush at Mahaica, eleven in all; and thirteen were then on the sick list. The general treatment of the Coolies on *Vriedestein*, has been the same as on *Vreed-en-Hoop*, and the mortality greater, in proportion to the number settled there, viz.: eight males, to the 1st of November, 1839, when there were five on the sick list. The original number placed the two estates, the latter end of May, 1838, was 104, and the mortality has been nineteen in a period of eighteen months, in addition to the fourteen who perished on the voyage from Calcutta, and who formed part of the original number of 170 shipped on the joint account of Messrs. GLADSTONE and MOSS.

In reviewing the foregoing facts, one cannot fail being struck, first, by the circumstance, that so much oppression, cruelty, and misery, should have escaped the attention of managers, attorneys, magistrates, and even the executive itself, for nearly twelve-months; and that it should have been left to a visitor to the colony, to expose successfully the horrid truths which are now submitted to public attention; secondly, that these things should have oc-

curred on the estates of two men of princely wealth, who affirm that they gave their agents the most positive instructions—that the Coolies entrusted to them should be treated with the greatest imaginable tenderness and care! Thirdly, that when the facts of the inhuman treatment of the Coolie labourers are brought to the knowledge of these gentlemen, they either affect to palliate or deny them, or to justify their agents; and to characterise those who have been providentially the means of dragging the offenders to justice, as among the most infamous of men; and, fourthly, that they should have had the audacity to appeal to the Government of this country, to allow them, and others like them, to introduce, *ad libitum*, as many thousands of the natives of Hindostan, as will enable them effectually to coerce the labour of the negro freemen, and still further, to enrich themselves at the expense of the liberty and happiness of mankind!

On plantation *Highbury*, notwithstanding the favourable reports of the treatment of the Coolies there, the mortality has been very great, viz. seventeen males and one female, and twelve reported on the sick list, the 1st of November, 1839. From this estate, as well as those already mentioned, the Coolies have repeatedly run away. On one occasion, sometime in April or May last year, upwards of twenty of them cut their way, *due east*, for many miles through the bush, in the hope of reaching Bengal! When in the presence of those they know to be their friends, and really interested in their welfare, they give full vent to their feelings, and exhibit their real sentiments, and with tears and clasped hands, and in broken English, entreat to be sent back to their native country and to their kindred from whom they have been wantonly separated.

On plantation *Anna Regina*, the deaths have been two; and on plantation Waterloo, five are reported dead, and three on the sick list, on the 1st of November, 1839. Thus, then, it appears from official documents, that out of the 437 Coolies shipped at Calcutta, eighteen

died on the voyage to Demerara; and that out of the 419 settled on the various estates referred to in May, 1838, sixty-four have died from various diseases, two have perished in the bush, and one has been murdered; making a total of sixty-seven deaths in eighteen months, being about one-sixth of the whole!

It may be added that there is no legal provision made for the restoration of such of the Coolies as may survive the period of their Indentures to India!

6. Measures of the British Government:—In consequence of the facts brought to light in the early part of the year 1838, as to the true character of the Order in Council of the 12th July, 1837, and the public indignation felt at the proceedings of the planters, in Mauritius and elsewhere, and their agents, and kidnappers in India, the Government declared its intention on the 20th July, of that year, to rescind the obnoxious Order in Council; and Sir John Hobhouse stated, in the course of last session of Parliament, that not only had Her Majesty's ministers put an end to the traffic in Coolies, but that the Governor-General of India had anticipated them, and had issued a prohibition against the further exportation of Hill Coolies. The humanity and justice of these measures were not less honourable to the Government than they were satisfactory to the public.

7. Immigration Scheme:—Notwithstanding the Order in Council of the 12th July, 1837, admitting the introduction into British Guiana of Hill Coolies, under indentures of five years, had been rescinded, the proprietary body in the early part of last year, obtained a vote by means of the financial representatives of the colony, seconded by the zealous exertions of the governor, of the enormous sum of £400,000 sterling, to be devoted exclusively to the increase of their stock of labourers; and, subsequently, passed an ordinance, similar to the Colonial Passengers' Bill, now under the consideration of

the House of Commons, with the view of securing the concurrence of the Home Government, in their gigantic immigration scheme. Their object was, not merely to draw labourers from the smaller West India colonies, and from Europe, but principally from Africa and Hindostan. Hence they had actually provided for the support of a resident agent in Calcutta, and for another on the western coast of Africa! This scheme was recommended to the acceptance of the Home Government, with all the zeal of a partizan by the executive; but it did not meet with the anticipated success. Lord Normanby, in a despatch, dated 15th August, 1839, which did him honour, conveyed the intelligence to the colony, that her Majesty had been pleased to disallow the immigration ordinance, and, in reference to that part of it which proposed to import Africans and Hill Coolies, observes:—With regard to the introduction of labourers from India, *more than enough has already passed to render her Majesty's government decidedly hostile to every such project, and the laws now in force in different presidencies would effectually prevent the execution of this part of the scheme.* We are not less opposed to the plan of recruiting the negro population of the West India colonies from Africa. *No precaution which has been, or which could be devised would prevent such a measure from giving a stimulus to the internal slave-trade on that continent, or from bringing discredit on the sincerity of the efforts made by this nation for the suppressson of that system of guilt and misery.*" On what grounds then, we ask, does the government now propose to relax the prohibition on the export of Coolies in the case of Mauritius? Are the planters of that colony more worthy of the confidence than those of Guiana? Are they more honourable and humane? We assert not: then why the preference?

8. Subsequent movements of the planters. The restless activity of this powerful body, supported as it is by

a corrupt and venal press, in the colonies, and by a well-paid band of agents in this country, was never more manifest than at the present moment, or directed to more unworthy objects. Convicted again, and again, of the grossest mis-statements respecting the conduct of the free negros—the state of the crops—and the general prosperity of the colonies, they continue to assert the absolute ruin of these possessions of the Crown, and call upon the Government to give them laws to coerce labour under a state of freedom, and to place the administration of the laws entirely in their own hands by the removal of the Stipendiary Magistrates; and to allow them to import, to an unlimited extent, and under contracts of service for five years, the natives of India, that they may be able to reduce the wages of their late slaves to the minimum point, and thus force them, once more, under their cruel and despotic sway.

In consequence of their exertions and misrepresentations, there is the most imminent danger at the present moment, that the Coolie slave-trade will be revived, and that the measures for which the abolitionists of this country have striven so long, and so zealously, will give place to others of the most objectionable kind. Already has it been announced in parliament, by Lord John Russell, that the restriction imposed on the exportation of Hill Coolies, so far as they relate to Mauritius, are to be abandoned, and the intimation has been received with unbounded joy by the felon-planters of that colony. In the papers, which have just been printed by order of the House of Commons, we learn by a letter, dated Mauritius, the 11th of June, 1839, that the planters "yesterday received the gratifying intelligence, that Sir William Nicolay submitted a despatch to the Council here, by which it appears that the ministry apprise him of a bill which would be laid before Parliament, authorising the introduction of Coolies, and *permitting them to engage for* five years. "This intelligence," it is added,

"has spread universal joy throughout the colony, and 'nous sommes saurés,' escapes the lips of the least sanguine!" Whatever might have been the intention of the ministers of the Crown, they were not able, during the last session, to carry such a measure, neither the house nor the country would have permitted such an iniquitous scheme to be carried into effect.—One fact is clear, however, that the admirable Order in Council of the 7th of September, 1838, regulating contracts in the Crown colonies, and which limited their duration to *one year*, and provided that where the labourers had been "induced to enter into the same by ANY FRAUD, MISAPPREHENSION, MISREPRESENTATION, OR CONCEALMENT," the same should be void; and which further required, that all contracts, *to be valid*, must henceforth be made, not at Calcutta and elsewhere, but *in the colonies* to which the labourers might resort, in the presence of the proper authorities, and under the forms therein set forth, was to be set aside in Mauritius, within a few months after it had gone into effect! And now what the Government dared not, or could not do last session, they propose to do this: Lord JOHN RUSSELL, will relax the restrictions on this infamous traffic in the persons of men, and throw open India, once more, to the Mauritians, who have ever shown themselves as destitute of every human sympathy, as they have proved themselves regardless of all laws human and divine!

In the papers which have been recently laid before parliament, which embrace but a very small part of the proceedings relative to the Hill Coolies in Mauritius, and are consequently extremely defective in the information they contain, will be found enough to convince the most sceptical of the inhumanity and wickedness of the doings of the Mauritian planters. The whole system has been characterized by the grossest fraud and cruelty, and has been sustained by the most infamous tyranny and oppression. How were the Coolies in Mauritius obtained previously to the restrictions being laid on? Mr.

F. R. PRINSEP, secretary to the government of India, in an official report on the subject, states: "The methods adopted for procuring labourers to engage for service in colonies and places beyond sea, are productive of serious frauds, and have led to much oppression, and," he further observes, "the system is a source of injury and abuse, rather than of benefit to the labourers, in the form in which it is at present carried on." The governor, Sir WILLIAM NICOLAY, in referring to the same subject in a despatch to Lord GLENELG, dated 21st May, 1839, observes, "That *very nefarious practices* have been resorted to, in many instances, in order to procure labourers for embarkation for this island, *is beyond all doubt*," and Mr. Special Justice ANDERSON asserts in one of his letters to the governor, that "many of them have actually been KIDNAPPED from their own country, which," he adds, "they have ALL been induced to leave, under circumstances of GROSS FRAUDS." To go into the history of all those "frauds," would be to detail circumstances, second only in atrocity to those connected with the African slave-trade. The fact is established beyond dispute, that multitudes have been kidnapped—forced into prison-depôts until the Mauritian slavers were ready to receive them—hurried on board—put under hatches and guards—robbed and pillaged of the advances made to them by the Mauritian agents in Calcutta—shipped in large numbers on board vessels, without the requisite accommodation, food, or medical attendance—brought under the most fraudulent contracts to labour for years on scanty wages, and scanty fare—separated from their families and from their homes—compelled to perform the hardest agricultural labour known, at the discretion of their masters—and without the protection of an upright, impartial, and efficient magistracy.

It is difficult to ascertain when the first shipment of Coolies to Mauritius took place, or the exact number of them which has been, at various periods introduced. It

appears that from the 1st of August, 1834, to the 24th October, 1838, there were received from *Calcutta* 13,243 Coolies, viz., 12,994 men; 198 women; and fifty-one children. From the 1st June, 1837, to the 22nd June, 1838, there were shipped from *Cochin* 308 Coolies, supposed to be all males. From the 1st June, 1837, to 24th June, 1838, there were shipped from *Pondicherry* 5058 Coolies, supposed to be all males. From the 1st June, 1837, to the 25th August, 1838, there were shipped from *Rajahmundy* 441 Coolies, viz., 434 men and seven women; making a total of 19,050—viz., 18,794 men, 205 women, and fifty-one children. But it is quite clear, from the petition addressed to her Majesty by the planters and others, dated 18th May, 1839, that a much larger number of Coolies had been introduced. The 100 persons who signed that document state, that within the "last four years" they had "caused to be brought from British India upwards of 20,000 native Indian labourers." It is stated, by some parties, that the whole number introduced cannot be much short of 30,000!

With respect to the mortality which has occurred since the arrival of the Indians at Mauritius, the statements are various. It is, however, admitted by the Governor, to have been great, and to have been "the source of deep regret" to him. In a despatch, dated 31st Dec., 1838, the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Dick) thus writes:—"The mortality which has prevailed among the Indian labourers, *as well on their voyage as after their arrival here*, and more particularly on some estates and establishments, has been the source of deep regret to his Excellency. Mr. Special Justice Anderson, states the mortality of the Coolies in Port Louis, to amount to eight or nine per cent., per annum! This would be equal to the destruction of the whole number of Coolies introduced every twelve years!!

Out of the 19,050 Coolies introduced, of which we have any account in the papers before me, only 205 were

women! It is easy to conceive, that, from this frightful disparity of the sexes, the most horrible and revolting depravity and demoralization must necessarily ensue; and that such large masses of ignorant and degraded beings must carry with them a most corrupting influence on others.

As to the general treatment of the Coolies in Mauritius, but one opinion can be entertained by the friends of humanity. Independently of the evidence derived from private sources, on which implicit reliance can be placed, which represents the state of the Coolies as deplorably wretched, and their hardships and sufferings even greater than those endured, by the negroes when slaves, the fact of their having become the prey of the MAURITIAN PLANTERS would be sufficient to justify the worst apprehensions that could be entertained on that point. One honest functionary in Mauritius, Mr. Special Justice ANDERSON, has spoken out upon this point in opposition to those who would have us believe that the Coolies in that colony are treated with "humanity and kindness;" and, we have no doubt, in opposition to his own interests and personal ease and comfort. In his letters to Governor NICOLAY, dated the 19th and 30th of November, 1839, he states, that those whom he had examined in Port Louis, were "overworked," were subjected to severe "personal chastisement," were without proper shelter and "lodging accommodation," were deprived of necessary medical attendance and care when suffering from disease, and in other ways seriously injured and abused, insomuch that he says, "it is a source of astonishment to me, that any body of freemen, whatever may have been their former condition, should have borne, with the patience and forbearance which the Indian labourers at Port Louis have displayed, *the bitter disappointment which must have attended their introduction into this island*," and, he adds, "to induce them to come here, their ignorance is worked upon in India by the

most false and deceitful representations, and the robbery and pillage which has been practised on them at Calcutta, would scarcely be credited, if the fact was not established by the most convincing testimony. They reach this colony after having been robbed of six months pay, which is advanced, (or said to be advanced,) in India; and when here, their comfort is in every way neglected, while they are compelled by the engagements to which their own ignorance, or the avarice of others have bound them, to toil during five years for a recompense bearing no proportion to the work to which they are subjected, when compared with the common estimation of the value of labour in this colony, or to the sum which they would earn if they had the free disposal of their own time."

In view of these facts the writer of this article would, earnestly call on every philanthropist in the kingdom, to use his utmost exertions and influence, in public and in private, to prevent the relaxation of the restrictions to which reference has been made; and to urge on the government the paramount importance of maintaining, in all its integrity, the Order in Council of the 7th September, 1838; and to demand that all the fraudulent contracts into which the Coolies have been induced to enter, whether in Mauritius or Guiana, shall be immediately cancelled, and the unfortunate victims of cupidity be permitted to return home. And that the parties whether in India, who have been guilty of entrapping them into fraudulent contracts, or in the colonies, who have injured and oppressed them, shall be brought to condign punishment. This would be a useful lesson to the planters. It would teach them to husband their own resources, and would procure for the emancipated negroes the consideration and care which are their due, for so long as the planters in the British Colonies can calculate upon the cultivation of their estates by the introduction of *adult* labourers,

they will be as careless of the general welfare of their peasantry, in future, as they have been reckless of the lives of their slaves in times past.

Note.—The Parliamentary Papers which should be consulted on the subject, treated of in the foregoing statement, are as follows, *viz.*, No. 180, 2nd March, 1838; No. 232, in continuation; No. 463, 1839. Hill Coolies in British Guiana, No. 77, 1840, in continuation, and No. 58, 1840, Mauritius; and to the information contained in these documents should be added, that which may be found in the columns of the *British Emancipator*, from the 29th May to the 2nd October, 1839, and in Number 4, of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, dated 26th February, 1840.

P. S. Whilst the foregoing statement was passing through the press, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society presented a Memorial to Lord John Russell on the subject to which it refers. The deputation who presented the Memorial to his Lordship, were as follows, viz. :—Sir Charles Style, Bart., M. P.; Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M. P.; Edward Baines, Esq., M P ; Dr. Hodgkin, and Messrs. W. Ball, G. Stacey, H. Tuckett, D. Turnbull, C. F. Brown, J. Beaumont, R. Russell, C. Phipps, John Scoble, and J. H. Tredgold. In the interview had with his Lordship, it was understood that the government would persevere in their intention of relaxing the restrictions on the exportation of Coolies to Mauritius within certain limits. This is deeply to be regretted; let but the friends of humanity, however, be on the alert, and the design may yet be defeated.

The following is a copy of the Memorial presented :—

To the Right Honorable Lord John Russell, M.P., her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

My Lord,

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, have learnt with the deepest regret, that it is

your Lordship's intention to recommend to the Queen in Council, to relax the existing restrictions upon the exportation of Hill Coolies from Hindostan, so far as they affect Mauritius, and that initiative measures have already been introduced to the attention of the House of Commons for the accomplishment of that purpose.

In approaching your Lordship, for the purpose of respectfully submitting to your Lordship's consideration, the reasons which induced them to give to the contemplated measure, their most earnest and determined opposition, the Committee beg to assure your Lordship, that they are governed only by a sincere desire to secure the native Inhabitants of the East from injustice and oppression, and the recently emancipated Negroes in Mauritius, the full enjoyment of that liberty which has been obtained for them at so costly a sacrifice to the British nation.

1. The Committee would remind your Lordship of the fact, that the Mauritian Planters have always been conspicuous for their daring violation of the laws under which they are placed; for their disloyalty to the Crown of these realms; and for their unwearied opposition to the humane measures of the Home Government, intended for the benefit and protection of their late bondsmen, as a decisive proof that no confidence can be placed in their good faith and honour, and that no substantial justice can be obtained at their hands for the Asiatic Labourer, or the emancipated Negro; and they are further confirmed in this view of the case by the notorious fact, that for the most part, the Authorities in Mauritius are influenced by the predominant party there, which is known to be hostile to British Laws and to British Rule, and to be violently opposed to the full and fair development of the great measure of freedom lately bestowed on the Negroes.

2. In opposition to the facts which have come to their knowledge, the Committee can place no reliance whatever on the general statements put forth by interested parties, representing the Coolies at present in Mauritius, as happy in their condition, and as having no wish to change it. Independently of other evidence, in their opinion, it is impossible to conceive, that these wretched persons can be contented with their lot, when it is remembered that large numbers of them were conveyed to Mauritius, under the most fraudulent pretences;—without regard to the equality of the sexes, to the separation of families to their social elevation, or to their moral welfare,—and forcibly brought under contracts for labour, for long periods of time at the smallest rate of wages. And in their judgment

also, it would be contrary to the universal experience of mankind, to believe that they can be happy, when it is known, that the parties who introduced them into that colony, were influenced only by the sordid purposes of gain, and by the avowed intention of coercing the labour, and of keeping down the wages of the Negroes in a state of freedom.

3. As the Committee would earnestly deprecate the further introduction of Hill Coolies into any of the emancipated colonies, as fraught with the most injurious consequences morally as well as otherwise, to the existing labouring population, and as, therefore, calculated immeasurably to impede their advance in civilization and religion; they would respectfully submit to your Lordship that, on this ground also, the Mauritian planters are least of all fit to be entrusted with the care of the ignorant and degraded natives of Hindostan, inasmuch as they have shown themselves not only utterly regardless of, but entirely opposed to the education of their late slaves in morals and religion.

4. The Committee are firmly persuaded that the proposed measure, instead of inducing the Mauritian planters to act upon just and equal laws, and to depend on the exercise of humane treatment and good faith towards their present labourers, for the cultivation of their estates, will cause them to rely on unjust and adventitious expedients for the accomplishment of their objects, and will have the effect of reviving the traffic in the persons of men which no enactments in this country, however humanely intended, can prevent, or even control. It appears also to the Committee, that the necessary consequence of the relaxation of the restrictions on the exportation of Coolies to Mauritius, must lead to a similar measure in favour of British Guiana and Trinidad; an event, which they would greatly deplore, as fatal to the interests of humanity and destructive of the hopes they have cherished in connexion with the freedom of the slave.

5. The pretence that the natives of India would be benefited by the proposed measure, the Committee venture respectfully to deny. In order effectually to relieve the suffering and oppressed Hindoos, they humbly conceive a series of enlightened, humane, and comprehensive laws must be substituted for those which exist; and the present system of mis-government be entirely abandoned. All partial expedients to relieve the misery which so extensively prevails in that vast country, can, in their judgment, only have the effect of retarding the introduction of those searching reforms which the exigen-

cies of the people, and the prosperity and security of the empire so immediately and peremptorily require.

6. The distance of Mauritius from the controlling power of the home government, and the consequent difficulty and delay in obtaining information relative to the evils which exist in that colony, and of applying early and efficient remedies to them, has been felt by your lordship's predecessors in office; whilst the signal success of the Mauritian planters, in carrying on their nefarious schemes —in frustrating the measure of government, and in displacing its officers—and in obtaining an immense sum of money as compensation for slaves which had been feloniously introduced. by means the most fraudulent, fully justify, in the opinion of the Committee, the alarm they feel as to the consequences which will result from the projected measure.

7. For these reasons the Committee earnestly entreat your Lordship, and your Lordship's colleagues in office, not to advise her Majesty, to sanction the relaxation of the restrictions referred to, but to maintain them inviolate; and to order such measures to be immediately taken, as shall restore to their families and to their homes, those wretched Coolies who have been fraudulently introduced into Mauritius, and are held to service contrary to the Order in Council of the 7th September, 1828.

(Signed W. Ball,
Chairman of the Committee.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
27, *New Broad Street*, 28*th February*, 1840.

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THE

JAMAICA QUESTION:

PAPERS

RELATIVE TO THE

CONDITION OF THE LABOURING POPULATION

OF THE

WEST INDIES.

PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT BY HER MAJESTY'S COMMAND:

1839.

From the Edinburgh Review, July, 1839.

BY PERMISSION.

LINDFIELD:

PRINTED BY W. EADE, AT THE SCHOOLS OF INDUSTRY.

MDCCCXXXIX.

THE JAMAICA QUESTION.

The events which followed the defeat of the Bill for the temporary government of Jamaica, though they have somewhat damped the interest, have not diminished the importance, of that question. The new measure which the anomalous position of the Ministry, on their return to office, compelled them to introduce, must be regarded as a temporary expedient at best. Should it be carried, it will prevent some very serious evils, but it will not stop the source out of which all evils flow. The quarrel between the Assembly of Jamaica, and the Government and Parliament of Great Britain, springs from an incompatibility of feeling, an opposition of purposes, and an unhappy divorce between constitutional privilege and natural right, which no forms of speech can remove, and which *occasional* exertions of power rather aggravate than allay. It must therefore be expected that the original question (which by the original Bill would have been set finally and happily at rest) will rise again; in what precise shape, it would be rash to predict; but certainly in some shape or other more difficult to deal with than the present. In whatever form it may present itself, however, it is of the highest importance that the Public should be prepared, by a knowledge of what the thing itself is, to resist impressions which are due only to the names by which it may be called. In what motives the opposition to the dropped Bill originated, we do not pretend to say; nor would we hastily presume that the leaders of it were incapable of being imposed on by their own arguments; but of this we are sure, that if the real nature of the question had been generally understood, those arguments could never have prevailed with half the House of Commons. By a review of the debate, it would be easy to remove all the grounds of objection which were then urged; but this would be hardly worth while; for the stock of bad objections is inexhaustible. We prefer to present a plain statement of the circumstances which made the measure necessary; leaving all objections, past and future, to fall away of themselves.

The knowledge of the question with which gentlemen came away from the debate, does not appear to have been considerable. That an Act for the regulation of Prisons in Jamaica was hurried through Parliament, towards the close of last session, with unusual rapidity, attracting little notice and meeting with no opposition; that this Act interfered with certain privileges of the local Legislature; that the Assembly took offence at it, and refused to proceed with their

business until some reparation should be made; that the reparation which they desired could not be conceded; that the Ministry proposed, therefore, to suspend their functions at once; but that Sir Robert Peel thought it better to give them a *locus pœnitentiæ*, and try whether they would not resume their functions when duly warned of the consequences of continuing refractory;—such, we conceive, would be the best account of the question which an ordinary member of the Opposition could give. Some may know a little more, and some a little less; but this we take to be the average acquaintance with the subject, in virtue of which the two hundred and eighty-nine gentlemen who voted against the Jamaica Bill, thought it their duty to take the management of the business upon themselves.

Now, if this were all;—if it were the first time the Jamaica Assembly had taken offence at an Act of Parliament; if their dispositions and intentions were to be interpreted from this particular act alone; if there were no points in their past career from which their present direction and future course might be determined; if the circumstances of the time were ordinary, and could be trusted to regulate themselves;—in short, if neither the past, nor the present, nor the future, had any bearing upon the question, we should ourselves be inclined to agree with Sir Robert, that the effect of a warning ought to be tried in the first instance. But when we know that this is not the first, nor the second, nor the third time, that they have become refractory upon this very same quarrel;—that the *locus pœnitentiæ*, in all its shapes, has been already resorted to rather than bring it to a final issue; that reasoning, entreaty, admonition, intimidation, promises, and large sums of money, have in turn been tried for the chance of avoiding a rupture; that they have still persisted in their original demand, and shown a fixed determination to be neither begged off, nor reasoned off, nor bought off, from the assertion of what they deem their rights; that the daring step which they have now taken has not been taken in ignorance or momentary passion, but with the deliberate purpose of cutting short all further evasion, and forcing Parliament to decide the question at once, yes or no; when we know that the quarrel is not accidental, but inherent in the relation in which the bodies permanently stand towards each other;—when we remember all this, we cannot consent with Sir Robert Peel, with Lord Stanley, even (strange to say) with Mr. Gladstone, to argue the question without reference to any thing which has gone before. We need make no apology, therefore, for entering upon a history of past transactions, which will be thought irrelevant by those persons alone, who care for nothing in the present question beyond its bearing upon the interests of political parties in this country.

The constitution of Jamaica was framed upon the model of our own—very much as the 'High life below Stairs' was framed upon the model of the high life above; only that, in the latter case,

together with the names of the original, something of its intrinsic properties and relations is retained in the copy; whereas, in the other, they are entirely wanting. The privileges and forms of the House of Commons are transferred to an Assembly representing a constituency of 2000, in a community of nearly 400,000; those of the House of Lords are entrusted to a Council, appointed by the Governor, and removable at his pleasure; the prerogatives of the Crown are vested in a Governor, who has no natural influence or authority in the colony—whose name commands no reverence, whose powers are sufficient to make him obnoxious, without procuring for him either fear or respect; who represents nothing but the policy of the British Government, which, for the last fifty years, the dominant classes in Jamaica have always hated. Such is the parody on the Three Estates, which is now extant in the local constitution of Jamaica. Upon the laws passed by these powers, the Crown has a veto, and Parliament has its transcendental authority over all—an authority not confinable within definite limits, but the exercise of which is generally understood to be an awful thing, not to be resorted to except in extremity.

Now, so long as these several powers were of the same mind on all important questions, they might proceed together harmoniously enough. But it must have been obvious from the beginning, that so soon as a difference of policy should arise between the Assembly and the Home Government, a war of legislation must follow, in which the latter must either give way or call in the aid of Parliament; and that a direct collision must then take place between the local and the imperial Legislature. Accordingly we find, from the Journals of the Jamaica Assembly, that altercations between them and the Government commenced at a very early period, and were renewed from time to time; but that, the matters at issue attracting no national interest, they always succeeded in carrying their point; to their own great profit and triumph, and to the serious inconvenience of the public. But as soon as the agitation of the Slave Trade question, towards the close of the last century, roused the people of England to take a part in the quarrel, it assumed at once a different aspect; and discerning men soon saw that it could end only in one way, and the sooner the better. It soon became apparent that the prospect of inducing the Assembly to conform its policy to that of the mother country, was quite hopeless. All the arts of encouragement were tried in vain. Every step, every pretence of a step, in the right direction, was hailed with delight as a pledge of future progress; every thing was conceded which could be conceded, without abandoning the cause; nothing was insisted on which was not essential; whatever it was necessary to urge, was urged in the tenderest manner, with anxious professions of respect and deference—with unweariable confidence in their good intentions —with patient reasoning. But all was worse than fruitless. Every thing turned into bitterness. The whole conciliatory process served

only to fill them with false ideas of their own importance; to render them more obstinate in their prejudices, more tenacious of their rights, more reckless in their actions;—to aggravate the original difference into an abiding system of hostility, which drew away the attention of the Legislature from all public objects, bred nothing but altercation, and made the hopes of a final reconciliation more distant every session. This tendency was so evident from the first, that the process ought to have been cut short long ago. The authority which, it was plain, must be resorted to at last, should have been used at once. So, the disease would not have settled into the constitution, and the civilisation of Jamaica might have commenced half a century the sooner. But distant evils, of which, though we know the magnitude, we do not feel the smart, are most easily dealt with by hoping that they will abate; and there is probably no hope which will outlive so many disappointments. Thus we have gone on for more than forty years—grieving that each successive effort to secure the cordial co-operation of the Jamaica Assembly had only exasperated their hostility, but still hoping that the next effort would be successful; and now, in 1839, we are as ready to hope as ever, that a few fair words, and a *locus pœnitentiæ* would really turn their hearts towards us.

Now, patience is a great virtue; but, when cultivated at other people's expense, it is apt to be abused; and hope, indulged beyond a certain point, may become criminal as well as foolish. Let us review the history of our attempts to conciliate the co-operation of the Jamaica Assembly, since the beginning of the great quarrel; with what forlorn prospects they were commenced; with what patient perseverance, under what manifold discouragements, they were renewed; in what mere failure they have all ended; and let us then ask, whether we have any right to persist in the same course still.

The temper in which a proposal to co-operate for the extinction of the Slave Trade, in 1797, would probably be entertained by the Assembly of Jamaica, might have been inferred from a variety of reports and protests which they had been putting forth during the ten years preceding. Mr. Wilberforce's Bill was denounced, not merely as an invasion of their constitutional privileges, but as an act of spoliation;—'an absolute breach of the solemn assurances held forth by repeated proclamations and Acts of Parliament, to supply the sugar colonies with labourers from Africa, which must ultimately alienate the minds of his Majesty's subjects in those colonies.'* But when the hoping faculty is strong, protests like this only act as stimulants. And when, in 1797, the question of immediate abolition was revived, it was suggested by persons friendly to the object, that the Colonial Assemblies would be best able to bring it about. Certain preliminary measures were neces-

* Resolution of Assembly, 8th November 1792. See Journals, x. p. 130.

sary to prepare the way;—the condition of the slaves must be improved, and the annual decrease of their numbers checked, and then the trade would come to a natural end, to the general benefit of all. But these measures must be left to the local legislatures. The Jamaica Assembly had said, indeed, that the abolition of the trade would certainly ruin them, and that they would resist it by all constitutional means; but they only meant to protest against its being done by the Imperial Parliament:—let them be requested to do it themselves, and those 'who were best acquainted with their feelings,' undertook for them that they would cheerfully set about it. The experiment was not a very hopeful one; but, perhaps, it was worth trying for once. And so it was resolved to try it. A recommendation from the King was laid before the Jamaica Assembly, in August 1797, that they should adopt 'such measures as might appear to them best calculated gradually to diminish the necessity of the slave trade, and ultimately to lead to its final extinction.'* In December they sent their answer. They had already passed two Bills for the benefit of the negroes; one to increase the efficiency of the clergy, the other to prohibit the importation of Africans above twenty-five years old; they would do more as they saw occasion; but they 'must at the same time declare that they were actuated by feelings of humanity only, and not with any view to the abolition of the slave trade:' the right of obtaining labourers from Africa, was an essential right, 'which they could never give up, nor do any thing that might render it doubtful.'†

Such was the result of the first experiment towards securing the cordial co-operation of the Jamaica Assembly by conciliation. It might have been thought sufficient to extinguish for ever so young and so forlorn a hope. But no! Gentlemen who were acquainted with their feelings, assured the House of Commons that their meaning had been misunderstood: when they said they would never give up the slave trade, they only meant that they would not give it up *for fear of Mr. Wilberforce.*‡ So, conciliation was still to be the order of the day. What they had done was accepted as a pledge of their good intentions; for what they said they meant to do, they were liberally thanked; what they said they meant *not* to do, was overlooked. A year or two was allowed to pass, that the first wound might have time to heal; and then, by way of a gentle stimulant, a series of suggestions was laid before them, concerning the best means of carrying their intentions into effect. They were proposed in the most delicate manner—rather as inquiries for the information of Government, than as hints for their own guidance. But they drew forth nothing except a Report on the general state

* See Debate on Mr. C. R. Ellis's motion. Hansard, vol. xxxiii. p. 252.
† Journals, vol. x. p. 99.
‡ Mr. Sewell's speech, Parl. Hist. vol. xxxiv. p. 531.

of the island, declaring that every thing which could be done for the benefit of the slaves, 'consistently with their reasonable services, and with the safety of the white inhabitants,' had been done already; —that on this point they alone were competent to form an opinion; that the policy of Ministers was unwise, unjust, and cruel; that 'the being supplied with labourers from Africa, for supporting, improving, and extending settlements already made, and also for making new settlements,' was a sacred right, in the defence of which it was their duty to resort to every constitutional measure; and concluding with an intimation that, should the present course be persevered in, they would not be able to raise the taxes from which alone their engagements with the British Government could be made good.*

Here was another extinguisher. If hope could be defeated by words alone, this should have been enough. But no: they were only words—the outbreak of a natural irritation: only let them alone, and see what they would do. It was plain that nothing could be *said* which would not provoke hostility, but they might perhaps be moved by silence. Silence, however, did not answer. For two years they did nothing which even an agent could represent as tending to follow out the recommendations of the Government; and in the third they did worse. In 1802 they passed an Act to prevent unlicensed preaching; the intention and practical effect of which was to silence the missionaries;—to cut off all the moral and religious instruction which could really find its way to the heart of the slave. The system of saying nothing, therefore, proved the greatest failure of all: bad deeds were worse than bad words. It was next determined to try the effect of a definite recommendation, backed by the show of authority. In signifying the disallowance of the Act in question, as contrary to all principles of toleration, Lord Camden forwarded, for the information of the Assembly, the draft of a Bill which, if passed in Jamaica, would be confirmed by the Crown. If the recommendations of Government were to have any influence with them whatever, such a communication would at least be entertained with respect. But it only called forth a resolution, that the proposition was an unconstitutional interference with the appropriate functions of the House, 'which it was their bounden duty never to submit to.'†

This at last appears to have been decisive. When their friends in England found that seven years' conciliation had procured no measure affecting the condition of the slaves, except one to their disadvantage;—when they found that the Slave Trade was going on with greater activity than ever, and was as far as ever from its termination; when they found that general intimations of the wishes of Parliament produced nothing but flat refusals to comply with them; that specific inquiries were treated with neglect, specific

* Journals, vol. x. p. 416. † Ibid. vol. xi. p. 287.

recommendations rejected as dictation—they do seem to have inferred that cordial co-operation for the suppression of the Slave Trade was not to be obtained by that process. They agreed therefore to abolish it at once.

Such was the grand result of the first series of attempts at conciliation. The trade was abolished in 1807. Why should it not have been abolished in 1792? The slave population was not worse prepared for it; the Colonial Assemblies could not have been worse disposed to co-operate; fifteen years would not have been lost; hundreds of thousands of Africans would not have been imported into the West Indies; the difference between the Jamaica Assembly and the Government would not have been fretted into a never-ending quarrel, which has now become part and parcel of its constitution.

The immediate result of the Act was, of course, a furious protest, with threats of resistance. Unless their grievances were redressed, (that is, unless the Act were repealed, full compensation granted for all losses and disappointments, military protection provided at the expense of the mother country, and all pretensions to interfere with their internal government and affairs abandoned by Parliament,) they could not again vote the usual provisions for the troops; and in the mean time all grants for public buildings, barracks, &c., would be suspended.* All this was very properly received in silence. It was hoped that the cause of quarrel was now removed. The supply of slaves being stopped, the planters must, for their own sakes, improve the condition of the existing stock; and their interests might be safely left to the Assembly and to time. This new hope seemed more reasonable than the last; but that it was not the less to be disappointed, the very next proceeding of the Assembly plainly showed. A Bill for the prevention of unlicensed preaching, (framed, we presume, on the model of Lord Camden's draft,) was brought in and rejected. They had not given up their own measure yet; and they were resolved that, by fair means or by foul, the disallowed law should still be the law of Jamaica. They therefore passed an Act, such as it had been usual to pass from time to time, consolidating in one all former laws for the order and government of slaves; and in the middle of this Act they silently inserted a proviso which had never been inserted before, namely, 'that no methodist missionary, or other sectary, or preacher, should presume to instruct the slaves, or to receive them in their houses, chapels, or conventicles of any sort or description.' This Act became law in Jamaica in November 1807, but was not forwarded to England in the usual course. As soon as it did arrive, it was of course disallowed, and (the better to provide against the repetition of such an act of treachery) the governor was forbidden to sanction any

* Journals, vol. xi. p. 600.

Bill touching on religious liberty, unless it contained a clause making it inoperative until specially confirmed by the Crown.*

Here, again, was a case from which the hopelessness of getting any good out of the Assembly might have been learned. If the wishes and recommendations of the Government, acting in accordance with the known views of Parliament, were to have any weight with them, this surely should have been decisive. Yet, mark the result! They promptly resolved that this new instruction was 'a violation of their birthrights;'—they had an indefeasible right to enjoy the immediate operation of such Acts, 'without the same being suppressed in their progress to his Majesty by the arbitrary fiat of a minister,' (meaning the Governor's veto)—they would not submit to this—they would grant the usual provision for the troops for one quarter more; but after that, unless their grievances were redressed, (*i. e.* unless the instruction were withdrawn) they would refuse it.† This was a little too much, and that Assembly was dissolved. It would appear, however, that nothing is gained by dissolutions in Jamaica. The new Assembly, indeed—so decidedly did Lord Liverpool refuse to withdraw the instruction—durst not *openly* re-affirm the original resolution. They intimated their dissatisfaction, and re-asserted their right; but said nothing about the supplies.‡ They had, however, one trick left; and they were silently resolved not to be beaten. They passed a new Bill for the prevention of unlicensed preaching, containing the same forbidden and now twice-rejected provisions; on the 14th of November (by what art we cannot learn) they obtained the Governor's assent to it;§ and on the 15th they consented to vote the supplies for the troops!‖

Such are the manœuvres by which a legislature 'co-operating' on the spot, may defeat a policy which it disapproves. During the fourteen years which had now elapsed since the Jamaica Assembly was first invited to assist in devising measures for the benefit of the negro population, they had so far prevailed against the direct, the repeated, the strictly constitutional resistance of a strong Government, backed, if necessary, by an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons, that this obnoxious law had actually been in force in Jamaica for separate periods, amounting in all to five years. Yet we are still called upon to seek the accomplishment of our hated purposes, by trusting it to them!

It is perhaps to be regretted that this last act of contumacy did not lead at once to an open and final rupture. But such a quarrel was not forced upon the Government, and they did not choose to seek it. The Assembly, knowing that the law would be disallowed as soon as it reached England, had enacted it for one year only, and it expired a few weeks before the disallowance reached Jamaica.

* Journals, vol. xii. p. 153. † Ibid., vol. xii. p. 241.
‡ Ibid. vol. xii. p. 251. § Ibid. p. 275. ‖ Ibid. p. 277.

They did not venture to renew it. They had found by this time that a fresh season of patience had set in upon the good people of England; and they could best effect their own purposes by avoiding any further collision. The missionaries might be silenced by other means than legal ones. The matter, therefore, was permitted to drop. Session after session the people waited, and the slave code remained unaltered. At last, they became sensible that something more must be done. Eight years had elapsed since the passing of the Abolition Act, and not one of those measures had been adopted by the Jamaica Assembly which their friends had promised, in 1797, that they would adopt at once if they were but asked to do so. In 1815, therefore, Mr. Wilberforce proposed his Slave Registry Bill; and the revived threat of Parliamentary interference reminded them of the expediency of seeming to be doing something for the amelioration of the condition of the negroes. The subject was dealt with in an elaborate Report drawn up towards the close of that year; which is interesting as giving their own account of what they had done for that object, since the matter was first agitated in Parliament. By their own showing, they had done *nothing*. To prove the charge of inattenion to the welfare of the negroes groundless, they appeal—to what?—to a succession of Acts for humanizing their condition, raising their morals, enlightening their minds, securing them more effectually against oppression? By no means: no such Acts existed. They appeal to an Act for their better order and government, passed in 1784!—to that Act of which Burke spoke in 1792, when he said—'I have seen what has been done by the West Indian Assemblies. It is arrant trifling. They have done little; and what they have done is good for nothing, for it is totally destitute of an *executory* principle.'* To this Act they appeal in 1815, as containing every thing needful for the good of the servile population!†

Mr. Wilberforce's Bill was, of course, denounced with the usual epithets. But the passion for conciliation had not yet abated. Gentlemen, who understood the feelings of the Colonial Assemblies, were as ready as ever with assurances, which Ministers were as ready as ever to confide in, that in their hearts they were anxious to pass such a Bill. In virtue of these promises the measure was withdrawn, and the subject was recommended to the consideration of the Assembly, with a warning which, since the Abolition Act, had acquired some significance;—namely, 'that should the recommendation be wholly disregarded, or should some measure be adopted altogether nugatory, however much, in the present agitated state of the population in the West Indies, the interference of the British Parliament was to be deprecated on a question of this description, his Majesty's Ministers were persuaded that this inter-

* Burke's Works, vol. ix. p. 283. † Journals, vol. xii. p. 791.

ference could not be effectually resisted.'* This was to the purpose. To avoid this dreaded interference, and put off for an indefinite period the adoption of effectual measures, they must at least pretend to be doing something. And let us now enquire how they sped in so novel an enterprise.

First, they passed a Slave Registry Bill, which, though not perfect, was eagerly hailed as a pledge of the best intentions in the world—as the commencement of a new era of justice and liberality. In fact, it was so far from perfect, that it might almost have been described as nugatory. The object was, to prevent the smuggling of slaves into the island: it was to be effected by compelling every owner to send in periodically a return of the names and descriptions of all the slaves in his possession. Of course, the efficacy of the measure depended upon the accuracy of these returns. But this Bill provided no sufficient regulations for identifying the *persons* named in the return; nor any security against the falsification of their *numbers*. A slave-owner, therefore, who intended to increase his stock, could escape detection by simply returning the names of as many slaves as he *expected* to have before the next census. For the purpose in view, this Bill was worth little or nothing. Secondly, they passed a revised Slave Act, containing little new except a clause prohibiting the purchase of slaves by middlemen—a real improvement, though a slight one; and another, enlarging the powers of vestries, as a council of protection for negroes wronged by their masters—a clause practically worthless, because the vestries consisted of masters. Thirdly, they passed an Act for appointing twelve additional curates, making the number of clergy in the island twenty-four—about one clergyman to every 14,000 slaves;—an improvement certainly, but so utterly inadequate, that it could hardly make itself felt as a practical benefit; an admirable *show* measure, but not a working one. Altogether, the improvement was not considerable. Still they were all steps in the right direction, and were hailed with applause as promising marvellous things. The defects in the Registry Bill were ascribed to inadvertance; the *animus* was inferred from the rest. The age of liberality and justice was setting in in earnest, and the people need only wait to hear of the good things that were coming to the negroes. So they waited for *seven years* more; and then they inquired whether any thing had been done; and the answer was, in this as in all former cases, *nothing*.

Now came the question, How long was this to last? Was Slavery, or was it not, to continue for ever? Fifteen years had now passed, since, by the abolition of the Slave Trade, it was supposed to have become the interest of the planters to adopt such measures as might gradually prepare the slave population for freedom; and in Jamaica, at least, no such measures had been taken. In 1823, the prospect

* Minutes of Assembly, 1816, p. 18.

of ultimate emancipation seemed no nearer than in 1807. Such being the history of former hopes, what mere mockery to renew them now! Surely now, at least, Parliament would assume another tone, and insist upon the preparatory measures being passed at once. But it was not to be so. After so many trials, all ending in disappointment, it was yet determined to try one more. General resolutions were passed by Parliament: specific measures were to be proposed by Government; the Colonial legislatures were to be recommended to adopt them: should they refuse contumaciously, it would be then time to take further measures. Such was the result of Mr. Buxton's motion in 1823. Once more the co-operation of Jamaica was to be sought by conciliation; once more her friends in England came forward with liberal promises on her behalf; once more, let us ask, what was the result?

The result was not long in coming. The resolutions of the House of Commons, indicating the general wishes and views of Parliament, were laid before the Assembly; and were answered by an angry protest, and a flat refusal to comply. '*So long as the right of unqualified legislation was denied*, the House could not yield to any measure proposed for their consideration; however specious the object might be, or however high the authority from which it emanated.'* Was not this enough? Simple admonition had always been unavailing; to give the admonition weight, you accompany it with a menace; and now you are told that, until that menace be withdrawn, your suggestions cannot even be taken into consideration. Surely if authority is to be used at all, it should be used now.

But no: not yet! That would be to unveil the transcendental majesty—to take the *arcanum* out of the *penetralia*. Gentler methods were not yet exhausted. It was true that argument and persuasion had been tried in vain; true, that suggestions had been rejected as dictation; advice resented as unjustifiable interference; the declared wishes of the Parliament and the people of England entertained with contumely; their resolutions and deliberate determinations answered with defiance;—true, that the show of compliance which the dread of Parliamentary interference had extorted, was too plainly a mere pretence; true, that year after year had passed away since our eyes were opened to the iniquity of the system, leaving us still burdened with the sin, the shame, and the growing danger involved in it—a burden which a word would relieve us from;—but all was not done yet: one course yet remained, 'the *slow* and steady course of temperate but authoritative admonition.'† Here, then, was a new experiment, or series of experiments, to be entered on, which certainly could not be tried out within any assignable period, and might easily be made to last for ever. With a view to the question before us, the results of this experiment

* Parliamentary Papers, 1824, No. 2, p. 7.
† Mr. Canning's speech in 1824.

(though we have not room to trace them in detail,) are well worth a careful study; for they show us what is to be expected from a body like the Jamaica Assembly, in circumstances very closely resembling those in which it has recently been proposed to place them. The system of conciliation was to be partly abandoned; a series of specific measures was to be proposed to them for adoption, with a fair warning that, in case of refusal, those measures would be forced upon them by the supreme authority of Parliament. The issue of this policy can only lead, we think, to one conclusion—that it ought never to be tried again;—a policy which, under pretence of avoiding an appeal to the transcendental powers of Parliament, escaped none of the evils of such an appeal, while it missed almost all the good; which, under pretence of forbearance and conciliation, bred nothing but controversy the most irritating, and agitation the most dangerous; which, under pretence of securing the co-operation of the Assembly in a work of great moment, urgency, and necessity, did in fact only postpone the commencement of that work for many years; which, after all, left the original evil unsurmounted and unabated;—for the transcendental powers of Parliament had to be appealed to in the end, in circumstances much less favourable than before. We must content ourselves with a hasty review of the principal stages of the controversy.

A copy of a law framed for the Crown Colonies was sent to Jamaica in 1824. The governor, having called the attention of the Assembly to it in two successive sessions, reported (22nd December 1825,) that 'there was no hope of persuading that House to do any thing effectual for the relief of the slaves.'* On the 13th of March following, he was instructed by Lord Bathurst to dissolve them. For the information of the new House, eight separate Bills were drawn up, embodying the measures proposed by the Government for their adoption. The new House replied (November 1826,) that such measures, 'if adopted in that island in their present shape, would not only endanger their lives and properties, but would ultimately terminate in the ruin and destruction of the Colony.'† They felt, however, that something must be done: another flat refusal to do any thing, would be beyond the patience of Parliament. They would, therefore, do something:—'sincerely actuated by that ardent desire, which had long distinguished the Assembly of Jamaica, to embrace every opportunity of improving the condition of the slave population,' they passed an Act 'to alter and amend the slave laws of the island.' We have now to see what sort of things these gentlemen do when they can no longer persist in doing nothing. Into this new Slave Act, which (though falling far short of what was wanted, and still subject to Burke's censure—worthless, because destitute of an executory principle) did certainly contain many plausible appearances of improvements upon the old one, they intro-

* Parliamentary Papers, 1826, (2.) p. 5. † Ibid., 1828, (1,) p. 60.

duced restraints upon the free communication of religious instruction, which would unquestionably have operated as a great hindrance every where; and might easily be abused into a total and absolute stoppage of all those sources of instruction from which the slaves drew real benefit. But this was to be the price of their approaches —their distant and ineffectual approaches—to a compliance with the wishes of Parliament. Only let the planters have the benefit of the preaching clauses, and the slaves were welcome to all the benefit they could get out of the others. This would never do: the law was disallowed. The reasons were stated by Mr. Huskisson in a long despatch, very liberal of compliments for what had been done—most patient in explanations of what had been left undone,—full of regret at the course which it had been necessary to pursue—and of hope that they would speedily pass another Bill free from those insuperable objections. At the same time the Governor was reminded of the instruction which forbade him to sanction any law infringing on religious liberty, unless it had a suspending clause.* But the Assembly were not to be argued into liberality, or complimented into co-operation. They resolved that 'the disallowed law contained every real and substantial improvement which could be adopted with safety to the country and benefit to the slave; they could not (for the purpose of gratifying the Parliament and Government of Great Britain) agree to adopt measures incompatible with the best interests of the colonies; and as the Governor was forbidden to sanction any Bill on the subject of religion unless it had a suspending clause, and *as they would never make a deliberate surrender of their undoubted and acknowledged rights, by legislating in the manner prescribed*, they would not present any Bill respecting the slave population.'† This was in December 1827. Thus the 'slow and steady course' had now continued for four years: and the slave law was scarcely better, by a single clause, than it had been in 1784. A long reply to Mr. Huskisson's objections, and a long rejoinder from him, consumed one season more: and then a change of government made fresh explanations necessary. Sir George Murray, adopting the policy and the tone of his predecessor, pointed out the various measures to which the Government and Parliament were pledged by the resolutions of 1823; and urged them, for their own sakes, at least to pass some measure which might satisfy people that *something* was about to be done; for the people were impatient, and it would be impossible much longer to avoid some efficient and authoritative interference.‡

A few years before, this prospect might have alarmed them. But what did they care for such a threat now, when they had been braving it for the last five years with impunity? The disallowed Bill was brought in again, and passed the House in precisely the same words before, with the difference only of dates; and the

* Parliamentary Papers, 1828. † Ibid. 1828, p. 8.
‡ Ibid. 1829. pp. 5—9.

Governor, of course, refused his assent.* Still, no symptoms of coercion. A new Governor was going out, and perhaps he would find a new people. But Lord Belmore himself could not prevent a third Act from passing, containing the same obnoxious clauses, only more rigorous than before; and Sir George Murray had no choice but to disallow it. Still, however, as if each successive Secretary of State felt bound to reject as irrelevant all the experience of his predecessors, he persevered in hoping that, on reconsideration, the Assembly would abandon their present course;† and when pressed in the House of Commons to say what he meant to do, he seemed to think this quite enough. 'The resolutions of 1823 were, in his opinion, sufficient warrant for him'—to do what? To come down to Parliament for powers to carry them into execution? No—'to continue urging these ameliorating measures as rapidly as they could be urged.'‡ In other words, the 'course of temperate but authoritative admonition' had been pursued for seven years without intermission; nothing had been gained by it, except accumulated proofs of its fruitlessness; *therefore*, it might still go on.

At length, however, this wretched hope was cheered with a brief gleam of encouragement—a lightening before death. In February 1831, a law was actually passed (without the inadmissible clauses,) by which the Ministers were at length able to say, that upon the whole, the existing slave code would be improved. It was accepted, as usual, with many compliments and thanks; and the many defects which *made it utterly inadequate to its professed* purposes, were, as usual, patiently pointed out;—of course, with the usual result. The Assembly declined to hazard any further changes in a law so recently passed.§

There was now no further colour for prolonging the experiment. It was clear that Parliament must either recede from its determination, or prepare to enforce it by some other means; and it was resolved to try whether the co-operation which could not be conceded to reason, to entreaty, or to menaces, might not, after all, be had for money. A new law was framed for the Crown Colonies, embodying all the measures of amelioration which were then thought requisite, and relief from certain fiscal burdens was promised to all the legislative colonies which should adopt them. The strength of the principle so often avowed by the Assembly of Jamaica, and never for a moment receded from—not to endure *dictation* in whatever form it might come—was now to be fairly tested: and it stood the test bravely. The proposition was met by a direct refusal 'to entertain any proposition for the further amelioration of the slave population, *which did not emanate from themselves*.' This determination was communicated by the Governor on the 8th of March 1832, with an intimation that nothing could be gained by a dissolution.

* Sir J. Keane's Despatch. Parliamentary Papers, p. 10.
† Parliamentary Papers, 1830, p. 35. ‡ Debate of July 13, 1830.
§ Parliamentary Papers, 1832, p. 19.

Thus, in the ninth year of its progress, the 'slow and steady course of temperate but authoritative admonition,' which had been growing slower and steadier every year, at last stood quite still; and the hope of ending the difference without a quarrel was finally extinguished. Surely not too soon! But all its fruits were not yet gathered. Had it led to nothing more than a nine year's postponement of the commencement of a work most urgent and necessary, that fact would have been enough to condemn it. But this was not all. The long vexation of these questions had fretted the Planters into wild and impotent fury. During 1831, Jamaica swarmed with parochial meetings, where language was used, and resolutions were adopted, which filled the slaves with such terror and suspicion—such vague surmises of evil meditated against them by their masters, and of good unjustly withheld—that the next year they rose up in open insurrection.

We might almost stop here, and leave Sir Robert Peel and his *locus pœnitentiæ* to be judged by the very example to which he had the simplicity, or the hardness, to appeal. A course of treatment is tried for the cure of an enormous and admitted evil; for eight years it produces nothing but barren controversy, and in the ninth a rebellion—the evil remaining all the while unmitigated. Is this a course of treatment to be tried again? But we must still go on; for another experiment upon the gentler sensibilities of this Assembly was still in store;—another result of experience was to be laid up for our guidance.

For a few years, indeed, it appeared that the last lesson had not been taught in vain. Conciliation was abandoned. Committees of both Houses of Parliament were appointed to enquire into the question; and their report was speedily followed by the Act for the total abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions. The Jamaica Assembly were induced to co-operate in this work, by a clause declaring the compensation money payable only on that condition;—effectual co-operation the condition, Government the judge. Among the innumerable inducements which had been held out with the same view for the last forty years, this, it will be seen, was the first which answered its purpose. A prudent statesman would have been the more careful to keep it in reserve till the work was done. But in this there seemed something ungracious, as implying suspicion; and something impolitic, as tending to check the growth of that friendly feeling which can never thrive under the consciousness of distrust. There were many instances on record (especially in works of fiction) in which a generous nature had won the entire confidence of another heart, by suddenly bestowing all his own; or escaped a fight by simply throwing away his weapon; or changed an inveterate enemy into an eternal friend, by putting himself entirely in his power; and Lord Stanley resolved to try a similar experiment upon the Jamaica Assembly. By paying the money before all the work was done, he could at once give them a clear

proof that he did really confide in the fairness of their intentions; and an excellent opportunity for shewing that his confidence was not misplaced. This was the last experiment. The particulars we need not detail here, as they may be found in a former Number of this Journal;* but we must briefly notice the result. Out of this very display of unnecessary and misplaced confidence, there grew the necessity for three separate acts of super-legislation; three separate violations of the constitution of Jamaica within the space of three years; and finally, the precipitate, if not premature, breaking up of the whole system. To concilitate the Assembly, Lord Stanley had shut his eyes to many serious defects in their first Abolition Act; and trusted to them for the removal of the rest. In gratitude to Lord Stanley, the Assembly consented to adopt many of his suggestions *for one year*; but after that they were inexorable. They presented a third Bill more objectionable than the first; and with one or other of those Government was to be contented. The second, the partially amended Act, was re-enacted in 1836, by an unanimous Parliament. But this was not the end. Out of the many defects which had been allowed to remain in this Act (Lord Stanley having, from delicacy to the Assembly, refrained from insisting on the removal of them,) there arose that brood of practical abuses and oppressions of which we have all heard too much;—which, in spite of unwearied exertions on the part of Lord Sligo first, then Sir Lionel Smith—in spite of the most earnest representations, remonstrances, and lastly admonitions of the Government—the Assembly would not stir a finger to remedy;—which were allowed to go on month after month, and year after year, unabated, rather aggravated, by the discussion;—which finally set all England in an uproar, and raised a storm of opinion that swept every thing before it; and ended in another Act of 'super-legislation,' against which, though most stringent and arbitrary in its provisions, not a single voice was raised in remonstrance. This same clamour it was, that drove the Assembly to abandon the Apprenticeship of their own accord; and lastly, out of the sudden announcement of that resolution, arose the necessity of suddenly passing the very Prisons Act, which has brought every thing to a stand-still.

From all this miserable history of delays, disappointments, and disasters, it must, we think, appear that the quarrel between Parliament and the Jamaica Assembly (whatever may have been the particular occasion of the last outbreak,) is not about the terms of a Despatch or the form of a communication; but about the possession of substantial powers for working effects of great practical moment. They think our whole policy with regard to the negroes wrong, and are determined to defeat it if they can; we think it right, and are determined that it shall prevail. For carrying this policy into effect,

* Edinburgh Review, No. 134, p. 488.

no means have been left untried; and two only have been successful;—namely, the direct application of authority, and the payment of sterling money. Our money has been already paid away; and the question now is, whether our authority is to be promised away—which, as things at present stand, would be nothing less than an abandonment of our policy. That this is the real condition which the Assembly demand, and that they really mean to be satisfied with nothing less, cannot, we think, be reasonably doubted by any one who, bearing in mind the event which we have already gone through, attends to their words and deeds during the few months which preceded the final rupture.

We have seen how jealous they have always been of interference in all its shapes. Not merely super-legislation by Parliament;—not merely authoritative advice proceeding from the Secretary of State; but even the exercise of the Royal Veto, has always been regarded as a grievance. Since the abolition of slavery, this power has been called for very often; as occasions for fresh legislation, with reference to the negroes (that is, for fresh attempts, on their part, to defeat the policy of this country,) have become more frequent. Towards the end of the apprenticeship, the number of disallowed laws had become so great, as to induce a distinct declaration, that if their power of legislation was to be thus fettered and controlled, it were better they should be deprived of the power at once.* While they were making this complaint, the Abolition Act Amendment Bill (the history of which is sufficiently familiar to our readers) was passing through Parliament without a dissentient voice. On its arrival in Jamaica, it was received with an indignant protest; as an usurpation of their privileges hardly compatible with their continued existence as a legislative body. It might indeed be enforced; 'but *there could not be two Legislatures in one state.* If the British Parliament was to make laws for Jamaica, it must exercise that prerogative without a partner; the freeholders of Jamaica would not send representatives to a mock Assembly, nor would representatives be found to accept a service so docked and crippled; the popular branch of the legislature would cease to exist, and, if any taxes were demanded, they must be demanded at the point of the sword.'† Such was *their* feeling with regard to an act which was carried with approbation so undivided, that even Mr. Burge did not hazard a protest against it; and which Mr. Gladstone has since described as 'not involving any assumption or aggression on the part of the British Parliament, but as only a part of the great compact of 1833.'‡ But, to do the Assembly justice, they have never been wanting in courage, however wanting in all those other qualities without which courage is apt to become a public nuisance; and they now determined to

* See Report of Committee, dated March 24, 1838: published in the *Jamaica Gazette*, p. 349.

† Protest of Assembly, Parl. Papers, p. 50.

‡ Speech on Jamaica Bill, May 7.

bring the question between them and Parliament to an immediate issue. They resolved to abolish the remaining term of apprenticeship at once; and, having thus got rid of the compact, to make a resolute stand against any further super-legislation. In announcing their intention to pass such a Bill, they took occasion to express an 'anxious hope that they would then be left in the exercise of their constitutional privileges, *without any further Parliamentary inteference.*'* Now, it so happened that another case of this very inteference which they so much deprecated, was inevitably brought on by this very announcement. We believe that the consequence was unforeseen, but it was not less unavoidable. It will be remembered that the worst abuses which had arisen under the Apprenticeship law, were owing to the prison regulations; over which the Executive Government had no control.† To transfer the management of all places of confinement, so far as Apprentices were concerned, (and almost all the inmates were Apprentices,) from the parish vestries to the Governor in Council, was one of the main objects of the Abolition Act Amendment Bill. This law was to continue in force so long as the Apprenticeship lasted; and so long, its provisions were stringent enough to prevent any evils that could reasonably be apprehended. But the moment the Apprenticeship expired, those provisions expired with it; and, under his new name of free labourer, every negro who might be committed to a house of correction by any justice of the peace, was in danger of all the collars, chains, cart-whips, and solitary cells, of the familiar application of which, under the management of the parish vestries, such ample evidence had been produced. It was absolutely necessary, therefore, as soon as news came from Jamaica that the Apprenticeship was to cease on the 1st of August by Act of Assembly, to pass through Parliament, without a moment's delay, a fresh Bill to revive those provisions; and such was the object of all that was obnoxious in the Prisons Act —an Act hurried through Parliament, not without notice, though altogether without opposition.

The Assembly saw at once that, now or never, they must make their intended stand. They no sooner met in November, than they resolved that the Prisons Act was illegal, and ought not to be obeyed; and—seeing 'the continued aggressions of the British Parliament, and the confusion and mischief which must result from the present anomalous system of government'—they proceeded to declare, that 'they would abstain from the exercise of any legislative function, except such as might be necessary to preserve inviolate the faith of the island with the public creditor, *until they should be left to the free exercise of their inherent rights as British subjects.*'‡ Upon this, Sir Lionel Smith prorogued them for a few days, that they might

* 5th June, Parl. Papers, p. 45.
† Edinburgh Review, No. 134, p. 519.
‡ Address, 2nd Nov. Parliamentary Papers, p. 154.

have time for reconsideration; and, in calling them together again, reminded them of the many measures which it was important to pass, and of the many explanatory communications from the Secretary of State, which he had to lay before them. But it would not do. They wanted no explanations; they were well aware of the difficulties in which their conduct would place the colony; but 'their legislative rights had been violated, and *so long as those rights continued to be invaded,* they must adhere to their resolutions.'* As it was plainly impossible for Sir Lionel to promise them either satisfaction for the past, or security against future invasions of these privileges, he could only dissolve them at once. A new Assembly met on the 18th of December; but their spirit was not changed. They also felt the evils attending their course; they knew how much laws were wanted; 'but the power was no longer left in their hands to apply the remedy;' 'their legislative rights had been invaded by Parliament;' and 'even in their ordinary legislative proceedings they were fettered by an overruling authority' (meaning the Veto of the Crown:)—they must, therefore, 'adhere to the determination which was come to by the late House of Assembly.'†

Now we put it to an unbiassed man, whether the meaning of all this is not as gross and palpable as words and actions can make it. We must be permitted to believe that the Assembly mean neither more nor less than this—that they will not proceed with their work till some security be given them against further Parliamentary interference. We believe that they not only meant to say this, but mean to stand by it; that nothing short of some assurance of the kind will satisfy them; that no such assurance can be given which would not be construed into a distinct renunciation of the *right* to interfere; and that, had the Government pretended to understand their words in any other sense, they would have been justly chargeable with stooping to a miserable and most unseemly quibble, for fear of frankly accepting a challenge which could not have been more frankly offered.

Such, then, being the condition on which alone they offer to resume their functions, the question is, whether it ought or ought not to be complied with? That it ought to be complied with, no one has ventured directly to maintain; and only one speaker of note seemed disposed to recommend. Lord Stanley, we think, implied as much; though it is not easy to disentangle his *argumentum ad rem* from the *argumenta ad homines* in which it is wrapped up. For although he *praised* Sir Robert Peel's proposal of a *locus pœnitentiæ* backed by a threat, he *recommended* something very different; —namely, a mode of dealing at once 'plain, frank, sincere, *and conciliatory*:'—conditions which it is plainly impossible to combine in any course which does not involve a promise of non-interference for the future. As Lord Stanley's personal experience

* Parliamentary Papers, p. 156. † Ibid. p. 160.

in dealing with the Assembly gives a peculiar weight to his opinion in such a matter, we must explain our reasons for believing that there never was a time at which such a promise could have been less safely made; or at which a prompt and decided refusal was more urgently called for.

That the interests of all classes in Jamaica urgently called for the enactment of many new laws, adapted to their new relations, will hardly be disputed. The means which have hitherto been available for protecting the mutual interests, and regulating the mutual duties, of the different classes into which society is distributed, and for guiding the labour of the population into profitable channels, have suddenly ceased to exist. Hitherto, seven-eighths of the population have been held under a supervision and control, which provided sufficient securities for the peace of society, the productiveness of capital, the competent supply of labour, the orderly subsistence of the lower classes, the relief of the poor and infirm, and the prevention and punishment of crime. But these ends were attained by sacrificing the freedom of seven-eighths of the population. They must now be secured without that sacrifice. Without interfering with the freedom of locomotion, of speech, of intercourse between families, of assemblage for lawful and inoffensive purposes, of choice of abode—sufficient securities are yet to be taken against crime, riot, vagrancy, squatting, and the like. To the labourer, the profits of his labour are to be secured—to the capitalist, the produce of his capital. For the improvement of the social condition of Jamaica, much more is required—but this much, at least, is necessary for the protection of the mere *rights* of each class.

Now, that these ends are not duly provided for by the existing code of Jamaica, might be proved by reference to the practical working of all her institutions, from her high courts of justice to her parish vestries; for it must be remarked, as one consequence of the long controversy in which she has been engaged with this country, that, pending that controversy, all public objects have been neglected. But a single illustration will be sufficient. The following case may occur at any time;—may be occurring whilst we write.—It is known that the great mass of labourers are tenants-at-will of their former masters, and have no homes but such as belong to them. The manager (having previously given to all or any of the labourers dwelling on the estate, three months' notice to quit—a precaution which, in many cases, has been actually taken) calls on them to enter into a contract, involving heavy duties and small pay, and lasting for a long time. If they consent, they bind themselves to a bad bargain; and in case of any kind of failure to fulfil the entire conditions of it, *(which need not be expressed in writing,)* they may be deprived of all their wages; or imprisoned, with hard labour, for three months in a Jamaica prison, at the discretion of any justice of the peace.* If they refuse, they are liable, at the discretion of any

* Contract Law.

two justices, to be summarily ejected from the estate;* being ejected they may be brought before the nearest justice as vagrants, proved to have been found 'wandering abroad,' homeless;—'not having wherewith to maintain themselves,' and to have 'refused to work for the usual and common wages;'—and sentenced to hard labour in the house of correction for six months.† If they have wandered far from their native parish before they are taken up, they may besides (be they males or females) receive thirty-nine lashes; and so be sent from parish to parish the nearest way to the place they came from; where the original alternative awaits them. Various other mischances might be pointed out to which they would be exposed in the event of their escaping these. But this is enough to show that the existing laws of Jamaica, far from providing adequate protection for the labouring population, may readily be used to deprive almost the whole of that population of their liberty.

Does it, on the other hand, afford sufficient protection for society? Far from it. The police law has expired. The trespass law has expired. There is no law to prevent squatting. The courts of law are so overcrowded with business (350,000 persons having been recently brought within their jurisdiction, in addition to the 50,000 which it formerly embraced,) that the Chief Justice complains of the consequent delay as 'almost amounting to a denial of justice.'‡ The prisons are at once badly regulated and insecure; judges are incompetent; juries are corrupt; the colony is deeply in debt, and money is extravagantly dear.

Lastly, does the existing law provide sufficient protection even for the proprietary body, by whom and for whom it was made? We believe that in this also it will be found to fail. We believe that the planting interest has grasped at so much, that it is in imminent danger of losing all. The contract law is so severe, that no one dares to enter into a contract. The ejectment law, connected with the contract law, may be made such an instrument of oppression, that arrangements have been made in some places, by benevolent individuals, to provide independent locations for all labourers who may be ejected from estates. The vagrancy law, boldly executed, is indeed stringent enough to *compel* the peasantry into contracts of service; but, so executed, it would be a tyranny too tremendous to be safely enforced without the aid of soldiers. The local magistracy have so much of the confidence of the planters, that they can enjoy no confidence from the other party.

The effect of all these laws put together, is general discontent, distrust, and alarm. The peasantry feel their liberties insecure. They begin to be unsettled in their thoughts and habits, and anxious to be independent. A few months more of this uncertainty, and we shall see them rapidly drawing off the estates, and estab-

* Apprenticeship Abolition Act. † Vagrancy Law.
‡ Parliamentary Papers, I. p. 162.

lishing themselves in independent freeholds; or if any attempt be made to enforce a more rigorous discipline, we may see them marching off in bodies, and taking possession of unoccupied lands, which abound in Jamaica, and where, in the present state of the law, it would not be easy to prevent them from establishing themselves; still less easy to dislodge them when once established;—probably impossible to tempt them back to a life of regular labour.

Such is the state of the law as at present in force in Jamaica; and such it must remain unless the Assembly choose to alter it, or unless Parliament interfere. Is there, then, any reason to hope that the Assembly would consent to make such alterations in the law as are required by the exigency? And is the reason strong enough to justify Parliament in encountering the danger of delay? Surely there is no ground whatever for such a hope. Look back through the last half century. From November 1784, to December 1838, what can you see but bad laws, no laws, nugatory laws, or laws enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain? Has the civilisation of the colony during all these years been advanced a single step by its own agency? Yes, one!—one gleam of light to make the darkness visible! Free people of colour have been admitted, first, to give evidence in the courts of justice; and next, to the same political privileges with their whiter neighbours: yet, even these measures were only conceded for the purpose of strengthening the white interest against the great body of the black. What, then, has happened now to work the sudden conversion of the Assembly? Circumstances have changed; but the dispositions and interests of the planters (their immediate interests at least) remain unaltered. It has been said that their consent to terminate the Apprenticeship before its time, 'proved them to possess moderation and firmness.' We say, no: it proved only, that they felt, in common with the proprietary body and their friends in England, that the violence of public opinion could not at that time be safely or successfully resisted. It has been said that 'their interests are now identified with the interests of the whole community.' We say, no: it is their interest to oppress the labouring population as much as they can, and as much as they dare; and (only let them have the making of their own laws, and the support of the Government in executing them) they will be able to do much in that way, and will perhaps *dare* still more. It has been urged that their dispositions must have changed with their circumstances. Again we say, no: what their dispositions were in the times of Slavery, the same they continued in the times of Apprenticeship; and every manifestation of their feelings during the last year—reports, protests, addresses, resolutions, debates—show that they continue the same still.

Suppose, then, that between the smiles of Lord Stanley and the terrors of Sir Robert Peel, the Assembly should consent to abandon their present position, and resume their functions:—What will be

the consequence? First, with regard to the protection of the labouring classes, two courses are open to them. They will (unless their spirit is indeed changed, the probability of which, it lies with the assertor to make out) either simply refuse to repeal the existing laws, which have been shown to be utterly insufficient to secure the labourers from a fresh Apprenticeship, deprived of the protection which they enjoyed under the old one; and this would be the most unfavourable case; because a flat refusal would be met at once by suspension or abolition, and there need not be more than ten or twelve months' delay.—Or, secondly, they will have recourse, as in former cases, to evasion and delay. They will pass amendment laws—that is, laws professing to be amended, and really altered. These laws must be sent home, examined, reported on, and disallowed. Then other alterations will be introduced—amendments, perhaps, so far as they go—but still not going far enough to reach the object. The same process must then be gone through again. The existing Vagrancy and Contract Laws might receive successive amendments, for ten successive years, and still be unallowable. Yet all this time there might occur no single period in the controversy at which they could be convicted so clearly as now, of a deliberate determination not to co-operate with the Government for the protection of the newly emancipated population. At this moment, distrust and disapproval of the policy of the mother country are written on every act and every expression; and they have deliberately chosen their own ground to try which is the stronger—which policy is to prevail.

So much for the chance of obtaining adequate laws for the protection of the labouring classes. Now for society. Acting in the same spirit, they will pass a Police Bill speedily enough; but it will contain the same clauses which, on the 11th of April 1838—(in violation of their constitutional privileges—Lord Stanley himself standing by)—were repealed by an unanimous Parliament. Both in the Report of their Committee of the 24th of March 1838, to which we have alluded, and in the debates which followed the announcement of the Amendment Act, the repeal of these clauses is spoken of in terms of complaint, which leave no doubt that they will be obstinately adhered to. Their Police Act, therefore, must be disallowed. Then they will pass a Trespass Act; but it will contain some clause which may be used to prevent labourers from visiting each other's dwellings without the express permission of the overseer. This Act must likewise be disallowed. A law for the prevention of squatting, may easily be made to contain most dangerous and oppressive provisions; and this law must be disallowed like the rest; though it is much wanted even now, and, if the present state of things be suffered to continue, it will soon become indispensable. Again, what will they do for the improvement of the prisons? What do they care about the loathsome condition of these places, or their defective discipline? They can

think of nothing but the violation of their constitutional privileges by the Prisons Act. This Act, therefore, will remain inoperative, so far as the improvement of the system goes, for want of funds.* Will they agree to provide a new court of law, and a new judge with an adequate salary? Will they take measures to cleanse the existing courts, and invent some new machinery for dispensing equal justice to all complexions? Will they take the election and control of the militia out of hands that are likely to abuse their power?—for if we are prepared for another beginning of the 'slow and steady course' of 1823, we should be prepared also for another termination, like that of 1832; and we have not yet forgotten the bloody work in which the Jamaica militia then figured; not in the fight only, but in the courts-martial, regular or at the drum-head, after the fight was over. Will they pass a law declaring the validity of marriages celebrated by dissenters and missionaries? Will they make proper provision for the destitute and aged, without reserving to the planter that quantity of discretion in granting it, which may make the relief an act of indulgence, and the threat of withholding it a means of oppression? Is it not evident that every one of these laws will raise questions for dispute, between two authorities which think differently on all the subjects with which they are connected? Yet the worst of the laws which will be proposed (bad as it will probably be,) may perhaps produce less practical evil than the non-existence of any law at all.

Such, we believe, would be the practical result of any measure which should imply any kind of promise that the system of super-legislation shall hereafter be abandoned. Since the Assembly have declared as distinctly as their gift of speech enables them to do, that they will not be satisfied with any thing less than such a promise; since such a promise would be thus highly inexpedient; and since Jamaica cannot be safely left at this juncture without a legislature of some kind or other—it follows, that they must be dealt with as a body which cannot be satisfied, and ought therefore to be superseded.

For these reasons (for in the foregoing pages we have but explained and justified the allegations contained in the preamble of the defeated Bill)—and to meet promptly an occasion which can ill brook delay—the Ministry proposed to transfer to the Governor and Council, for a limited time, the power of making laws for Jamaica. Such a constitution would have differed from the existing constitution of our Crown colonies in two material points only; three salaried commissioners, selected in England for that office, were to be added to the Council; and all legislative proceedings were to pass more immediately under the supervision of Parliament. It was to last for two years and a half. That such a Government would have been much better, and much more truly representative of the

* Parl. Papers. (1,) p. 169.

entire people of Jamaica (counting, of course, the 320,000 blacks,) and of her several interests, than any Government she has yet had, or can hope to have under the existing law for many years to come, no one, we presume, can seriously doubt.* Once admit that Parliament ought not to abandon its authority (and in such a case to hesitate is to give way)—once admit that *some* coercive measure is required,—and the objections to the measure proposed—such as the danger of enforcing it, which is nothing; the fear that it may be *permanently* enforced, which could only be effected by a fresh Act of Parliament; the difficulty of determining whether to call it a penal measure, or a measure of general policy (seeing that it is in fact a measure of general policy, brought on by the misconduct of the parties whose privileges it happens to interfere with)—these and the like objections may be safely left to themselves. The advantages, direct and collateral, which would have flowed from such a measure to Jamaica first, and through her to all our West Indian possessions, would be a more fruitful topic. But it is idle to dwell upon them now, since the occasion for securing them has been so miserably thrown away. The mischief is already done, and will hardly be retrieved. The Bill now before Parliament, if it be allowed to pass, will save something from the wreck. Three important measures will be gained; but the rest is to be left to chance. The management of this most critical time, in which five-sixths of the people of Jamaica are passing from slaves into citizens—in which 'the full light of liberty is suddenly let in upon the scarcely unsealed eyes;'†—this most difficult and delicate task of securing to the negroes the enjoyment of real freedom, and at the same time making it their real interest, and making them feel and understand that it is their real interest, to remain in the condition of a labouring peasantry in the service of their former masters—a task requiring, if ever any did, both strength, and skill, and zeal—is to be trusted to the present House of Assembly;—a body how qualified at any time for such a task we know too well, and now worse disposed than ever;—irritated by opposition, insolent from a victory over the Government, and emboldened by a belief that Parliament no longer cares, or no longer dares to interfere. Meantime, this very body is standing on the brink of a vast, a sudden, and (cheerfully as our Conservatives regard it,) we must add, a very perilous change. For one or two years more, it will continue to represent the existing constituency of 2000 whites, who were slave drivers a few months ago; the year after, that constituency may be augmented by an overwhelming and rapidly increasing majority of the blacks,

* The House of Lords has produced, since this was written, an illustrious exception. The Duke of Wellington seriously believes, that under such a Government no white man could have remained in Jamaica! The Duke's authority is fairly against us, we admit. But no authority can give weight to such an opinion.

† Canning in 1823.

who a few months ago were slaves. Who can tell how such a change will work hereafter, or how the temper of the Assembly may be affected by such a prospect now? Thanks to the Conservative party, we have lost the means of watching and guiding the present, and of preparing to meet the future. A competent Legislature on the spot, desiring the real welfare of the whole community, and able not only to make laws but to superintend their operation, and remodify them as occasion may suggest—able to feel their way as they proceed—they will not let us have. For what to them is the good of a distant colony, though linked with the prosperity of a mighty cause, when weighed against the inconvenience of a majority for Ministers! This is our loss. Something, however, we have gained, which may turn to advantage hereafter;—a distinction between the characters of the two political parties which divide the nation, more deep and vital than any which their recent disputes have turned upon. Much as the present Ministry have been taunted with tenacity of office, with over-readiness to sacrifice party measures rather than fall in defending them, and with the slenderness of the differences which separate them from their rivals—we now know that there is at least this difference between the parties—that when the interests of a great colony are at stake, the sacrifice of which will involve no general unpopularity, no loss of party favour, nothing more and *nothing less* than the abandonment of a great public duty, the Whigs will not sacrifice them for the sake of office, and the Tories will.

FINIS.

W. Eade, Printer, at the Schools of Industry, Lindfield.

[NOT PUBLISHED.]

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

IN THE

UNITED STATES:

THEIR VIEWS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY QUESTION, AND TREATMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF COLOUR.

COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

DARLINGTON:

PRINTED BY JOHN WILSON, MARKET-PLACE.

1840.

INTRODUCTION.

THE documents contained in the subsequent pages, owe their present degree of publicity, to a solemn and overpowering conviction upon the mind of the individual into whose possession they came, that the interests of truth, and the cause of humanity require, that facts so startling, and, if true, so deeply affecting the character of Friends in America, should be made known to the Members of the Society on this side of the Atlantic; more especially, as great stress is also laid upon the hurtful tendency of the course of late years pursued by ministers from England,* visiting the United States, and the salutary influence of remonstrances sent from this country.

The information now given, and much more of a corroborative character, has been forwarded to England, in consequence of a wish having been expressed by individuals, to ascertain, if possible, what amount of credit was due to a variety of painful reports, respecting the conduct of American Friends upon the Anti-Slavery question, and their treatment of the People of Colour.

The individual in this country, who is responsible for the appearance of the following pages, is conscious of no desire to bring unfounded charges against Friends in the United States: or, to make known, unnecessarily, existing defects and inconsistencies; or, to call in question the faithfulness and integrity of those who have paid religious visits to America; or, to witness a relaxation of the strict and wholesome discipline of the Society; or, a compromise of any of the distinguishing doctrines and peculiarities of Friends. On the contrary, the object sought, in putting Friends in possession of the annexed statement of facts and opinions, is

* In the original documents, there are many references to the course which particular individuals have felt it their duty to adopt, during their ministerial visits to America. These, for obvious reasons, have been omitted.

such a revival of their ancient and holy zeal in the cause of pure religion and practical piety, as shall wipe away the reproach, now cast upon a large portion of the Society, and shall render the Body, on both sides of the water, as conspicuous for self-denial, and the acting out of its great principles, as it was in the days when it renounced all participation in the oppressive systems of the nominally Christian world.

The grave and momentous character of the subjects now brought under notice, will, it is believed, be universally admitted; whatever difference of opinion may exist, as to the value of the evidence brought forward to sustain certain allegations. The object of this pamphlet will be gained, if it leads to an impartial and complete examination of the whole matter, and to such expostulation and reproof, subsequently, as may seem to be demanded, by the circumstances of any who have failed in their duty, or have lost the spirit of HIM who was no respecter of persons, and who came to "preach deliverance to the captive."

NOTE.—Friends, into whose hands the following documents may fall, are requested to lend them to those to whom, through inability, they may not have been sent. Copies may be obtained, gratis, on application to EDMUND FRY & SON, 4, Bishopsgate Street, London, to whom, also, reference may be made, by any who desire to inspect the Manuscripts, from which the Pamphlet has been compiled.

LETTER

FROM

WILLIAM BASSETT,

LYNN, MASS., U. S.

Lynn, Mass. U. S., 8 mo. 3, 1839.

DEAR FRIEND,

A FEW months since our mutual friend, * * * , showed me a letter from thee, in which thou asks for information in relation to the position which the Society of Friends in this country hold, with reference to the question of the Abolition of Slavery, and the course which it takes, respecting its own members, who are engaged in the Anti-slavery cause. * * * requested me to furnish thee with such information on these subjects as might be within my knowledge. I do not feel at liberty to decline doing so, for it has long seemed desirable to me, that our friends in England, should be informed of the existing state of things here, that they might exercise such influence as they may have with their brethren and sisters on this side the Atlantic, to produce a feeling among us more congenial to the spirit of true Christianity. I have heard the same desire expressed by others, and I trust it has not arisen from a disposition to lessen our society, or any of its members, in the esteem of our Trans-atlantic friends; but, from a sincere wish that, your strength might be put forth, to aid in removing the dishonour which we have suffered to settle upon the fair inheritance which has descended to us from our worthy predecessors in religious profession.

It is not without a struggle with a naturally ease-seeking disposition, that I have brought my mind to speak plainly of such things as I conceive to be wrong in the Society of which I am a member, and which, in days that are past, I have fondly hoped would shine forth with increased brightness, as a beacon to the world; but, I have felt

myself impelled by my love for its best interests, and still more by an apprehension of duty to the cause of truth, to interpose my feeble influence against the current which threatens to overwhelm our Society, and make it "a hissing and a bye-word" among the people.

It is difficult to convey to one, situated at so great a distance, such information as is necessary, in order to judge correctly of the true state of things. There are many little incidents continually occurring, each apparently unimportant in itself, which, in the aggregate, would go far, and properly too, to influence the judgment; but which, in the nature of things, cannot be communicated in this manner.

The Society of Friends in this country, as such, has done little or nothing towards agitating, enlightening, and purifying the public mind on the subject of Slavery. I never heard the subject alluded to, with this view, in any of our meetings, nor have I ever heard of any such discussion in any meeting of the Society, until it has been sometimes introduced, recently, by professed abolitionists, with how much effect the sequel may shew. We formerly in New England Yearly Meeting, had a query on the subject, something like this,—"Do Friends faithfully maintain their testimony against Slavery?" This was expunged some years since, and an advice substituted, to be read once a year in our preparative and monthly meetings, "that Friends maintain their testimony faithfully against Slavery." On these occasions, I have never known any expression to be elicited. The subject may have been incidentally alluded to in some of our public documents, but, if so, it has been passed over so slightly, as not to produce any impression, and, indeed, I am not aware that such has been the case. I believe, one or more of our Meetings for Sufferings did memorialize Congress several years since against the admission of Missouri into the Union, as a Slave State. And the Meeting for Sufferings of Virginia Yearly Meeting, in 1832, petitioned the Legislature of that State for some measures to be taken for the *gradual* abolition of Slavery, and for the *removal* of the emancipated from the State or Country! Besides these, I know of no public action in reference to the subject, with the exception of several addresses which have been issued by some of our Yearly Meetings, since the commencement of, and occasioned, as I believe, by the *external pressure* of the Anti-slavery Reform; and, in most or all of these, Friends have been especially careful to caution our members against moving in this matter, *except as the body should see fit*. In these remarks, I

would also except the action of a very small number of Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, in which abolitionists have had a sufficient influence to procure it. This has been the case, I believe, in one or more instances in the western part of New York Yearly Meeting, and in our own (Salem) Quarterly Meeting, to which I shall have occasion to refer. I think, I am not unjust or uncharitable in saying, that a general torpor and indifference, in relation to this vastly important subject, has prevailed among us; and we have been satisfied with the Society having prohibited its own members from holding slaves, (for which no credit is due to the present generation,) considering that, by that act, we had borne our "testimony faithfully against slavery." I may here mention, however, that the General Epistle of London Yearly Meeting, I think of 1829, which advised Friends "individually to co-operate with others," in the Anti-slavery cause, Temperance reform, and for other benevolent purposes, was printed and distributed by our Meeting for Sufferings, without comment, as has been usual. But it should be remembered, that this was previous to the commencement of the present Anti-slavery reform, and before the subject had begun to awaken public sentiment. Moreover, at that time, many Friends were connected with popular benevolent associations, even some of those who now most loudly and harshly denounce their fellow-members for acting in the same capacity. What has brought over them such a change? perhaps the information which will be laid before thee, may enable thee to judge. I may say, in passing, that until we were disturbed by the "*excitement*" of abolition, the propriety of Friends so associating, was scarcely questioned, and did not in any degree, interrupt the harmony of the Society. Those who doubted the expediency of such a course, governed themselves accordingly, leaving others in the free exercise of their consciences, and no jarring, no contention, was known among us.

For several years after the commencement of this great reform, it did not seem to claim much of the attention of Friends, as a body, the number of our members who were connected with it, being but small, and *not being among the most influential in the Society;* but, as the spirit of abolitionism more pervaded the Society, and the infection seemed to be extending *upwards* towards the higher class, the opposition to its influence increased. The opposition began to manifest itself in some of the leading members of this Yearly Meet-

ing, chiefly of a prominent Quarterly Meeting, at the time when our dear friend, J. Backhouse, was in this country, and I am satisfied that he was not a little exercised on account of it. The opposition was not merely against our *action*, but against our *principles*, as I think he will recollect, if he should be reminded of a discussion which he and Charles Stuart held with some of our friends at Newport, at the time of our Yearly Meeting. Here, I think, is still the groundwork of the difficulty to a very great extent. I believe Friends are not prepared to come up to the high ground of *Immediate, Unconditional Emancipation.* There is too much of that anti-christian prejudice among us, to admit our acknowledging "every man as our *brother*." I heard J. Backhouse say to a Friend, speaking of the Abolitionists, "See, that you do not lay a *finger* in the way of these men." * * * * But to return.

The position which I have held, has rendered me peculiarly obnoxious, and has made me, more, perhaps, than any other member of the Society in this country, the object of opposition; hence, I shall be under the necessity of speaking of myself, even at the risk of being considered *egotistical.* Although agreeing in the principles of Immediate Emancipation, and, from the first, sympathising with Garrison, the pioneer in the cause, yet, until within three years, I had withheld active participation, having been placed within the reach of adverse influences which I had suffered to control me. I was a Member of our Meeting for Sufferings, and of our Yearly Meeting Boarding School committee, besides holding various appointments in my own Quarterly and Monthly Meetings. Thus situated, I was brought much into contact with those who were most opposed to the Abolition movement, and under an influence not the most favourable for independent freedom of thought and action, and for imbibing a predominant feeling of *individual responsibility.* About three years since, I was led to reflect more on the importance of *action*, and felt as if I could not be much longer excused from it; still, however, looking to the Society as the medium through which our efforts must be made. In the winter of 1836-7, several of the able advocates of the cause, visited our town, and I was induced to attend some of the meetings, and the irresistible appeals which I then heard, had the effect to enlist my feelings and sympathies more strongly in the great enterprise, and after serious reflection and deep exercise of mind, I came to the conclusion that

I could no longer stand aloof, but that I had *individual duties* to perform, from which my connexion with the Society of Friends could not absolve me. I had previously, as an Overseer of our Monthly Meeting, united in a decision refusing the use of our meeting house for lectures on the subject, by W. L. Garrison and H. B. Stanton. I now became uneasy with the stand we had taken, and communicated my feelings to the other Overseers, whereupon, we again met and reversed our decision, and granted the use of the house for that purpose. Strong feelings of disapprobation were now manifest from a very few members of our meeting, among them a Minister, whose influence, has, perhaps, more than all others, contributed to array against us the opposition with which we are contending. On conversing with him about this time, he made an expression like this,—" There is so much corruption amongst the Abolitionists, that the few conscientious men among them, cannot save them from destruction;" and spoke in a very contemptuous manner of calling on one, " not a member of our Society, to teach *Friends* their duty," &c. Said that it was like employing a Clergyman to preach for us, instead of our own ministers, &c. I introduce such examples with no invidious design, but that thou may better judge of the character of the opposition.

At our Yearly Meeting in 1837, a proposition was received from Salem Quarterly Meeting, that the Yearly Meeting memorialise Congress for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. Without any discussion, the subject was referred to the Meeting for Sufferings. It was entered, in course, on their minutes, and was called up at each meeting of that body for the ensuing year, and a minute made that, "*no way opened to act.*" At this same Yearly Meeting, the situation of the Indians of this country was introduced into the meeting, which at once excited apparently a lively interest, and elicited an animated debate, which resulted in the prompt appointment of a committee. I could not help remarking the striking contrast between an *Indian* philanthropy and a *Negro* philanthropy, and asking myself, why this difference? Is it possible that it is because one is a *popular benevolence*, and the other is denounced by the great and worldly-wise, as a dream of visionary enthusiasm? Whenever the cause of the suffering *red man* has been brought before us, we have never heard it put by, because " no way opened " to administer to his relief! I had previously heard, in the Meeting

for Sufferings, the discussion of the Slavery question in the Yearly Meeting deprecated as a thing necessary to be guarded against; and the course now taken, was in strict keeping with such a recommendation.

At the same time, the Meeting for Sufferings presented an address on Slavery, rehearsing what our Society had done—how it had rid itself of the evil; and how it had constantly and consistently borne its testimony to the present time, and calling on other denominations to follow our example, while no allusion was made to the efforts making by others; which was directed to be printed and circulated. After being once read, a minister who had been somewhat active in the Anti-Slavery cause, requested that it might have a second reading, which is very common with important documents, and which I never before knew refused. He was immediately replied to by another minister, an influential member of the Meeting for Sufferings, who observed, that, if the Friend's object was, to produce any discussion, he should *object*, for it had generally been the case that, when documents prepared by the Meeting for Sufferings, had been altered by the Yearly Meeting, they had generally been made worse! This course was adopted, *and the second reading refused!* At the same meeting, the subject of opening our Meeting-houses for Anti-Slavery lectures &c., was brought before the meeting, which after a rapid expression in favor, resulted in issuing an advice *against* opening them in future for lectures, for those—" who differ from us in sentiment on some subjects that *we* consider of primary importance." This was introduced by a minister from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in relation to which, a friend and minister of our Yearly Meeting said, after meeting, " well, we can afford to pay * * * well for this half-day's work." Under this advice, the doors of our Meeting-houses are barred against the advocates of God's suffering poor; and even our own Members have been refused the use of our House at Lynn, for a meeting on this interesting subject. The ground taken is, that although such a meeting is not *literally* prohibited, yet that it was the *intention* to exclude all meettings for that purpose! At this Yearly Meeting, I was on the Committee on Correspondence, and the occurrences which there came under my notice, confirmed me in the opinion I had already formed, of a want of correct *feeling* among Friends on this subject. To me was committed an Epistle from Virginia Yearly Meeting, to

prepare an essay in reply. I produced such an one as I thought proper, at a subsequent sitting of the Committee, in which their attention was called to their Slave population, and they exhorted not to be prevented by the fear of man, from faithfully advocating their cause; introducing an appropriate quotation from the writings of John Woolman. The criticism which this essay underwent, was an index of the state of feeling which prevails too much among those who are most prominent in our Yearly Meeting. The terms, "*brethren*" and "*fellow-countrymen*," as applied to the Slaves, were objected to, because, it was said that, "we must be careful what language we use, for this may not be confined among Friends, but may get out at the South!" These objections were sustained, and other words substituted, and a large proportion of the essay stricken out.

Those who opposed our proceedings, evidently derived strength and encouragement from this Yearly Meeting. Prominent friends, talked of the consequences of our persisting in our course in the Anti-Slavery cause: it was said that, probably, the next Yearly Meeting would go further, and Friends would be prohibited from joining such associations; and, that if we did not change our course, we should be disowned from Society. Soon after this, I received a letter from a member of a neighbouring Yearly Meeting, protesting against Friends joining Anti-Slavery Societies, with sundry reasons. Similar objections having been so often reiterated, it was thought advisable by some of my friends, that my reply should be made public, to which I did not feel at liberty to object. Accordingly, in the Autumn of that year, it was issued from the press. As a literary performance, I am sensible it is of a very low order, and I have much regretted that the task had not fallen to the lot of some one, better qualified to present the arguments, in a clear, logical, and forcible manner: but I still insist on our *right* to avail ourselves of such means, to make our sentiments known; indeed, I think we should be criminally negligent, did we omit to improve such opportunities as present, to endeavour to stay the tide which is so strongly setting in, against what we believe to be Christian efforts, for the removal of such an enormity as American Slavery. I have since thought more accurately on the subject, and were I now to be called to a similar service, I might, perhaps, avoid some of the imperfections of that work.

That publication has brought upon me much censure. Soon

after its appearance, I received a letter from a beloved friend, in high standing in the Society, expressing his disapprobation, because, he says, it encourages—"*a violation of the fundamental principles of our Society.*" I answered his letter; and referred to the example of Friends, who had for years been connected with similar associations; and to the practice of Friends in England, to whose proceedings this objection would apply with equal force; and asked him whether *they* did not understand our fundamental principles; to which, he did not deign to reply. A new construction is put upon our Discipline, by some, to meet the exigencies of the present time, which would prohibit us from writing for publication, on any moral subject, on which the Society professes to have a Testimony, without laying it before the Meeting for Sufferings. In the Second month, 1838, at a Meeting for Sufferings which I attended, one of the members stated, that a publication had recently appeared, written by a member of that body, which, he thought, required attention. It was concluded, after some expression in favour of the course, to appoint a Committee; but *no minute was made* in relation to it. I understand that, they reported at a subsequent meeting, that some care was necessary; and that, consequently, they were continued; but no minute was made at this time. I heard nothing official from the Committee until the Third month last, when I received a letter from one of their number, requesting me to meet them, at a distance of fifty miles from my residence. I declined the interview, for several reasons:—1st. That the whole proceeding was informal, no regular appointment having been made, and no specific charge having been presented. 2nd. That it was extra-judicial, they having no authority to deal with me, provided I had transgressed any order of Society; my own Monthly Meeting being the only authority empowered to take disciplinary action in the case: and, 3rd. That I had not violated any rule of our discipline, and therefore ought to be exempt from the odium implied in their unofficial and informal proceedings. At our late Yearly Meeting, on reading the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, it appeared that the Committee aforesaid made a report, which was approved by the meeting, in which I am informed that the letter is condemned, in that it maintains that our Society is not, strictly speaking, an Abolition Society; and, in that it alleges that prejudice against colour exists among Friends in this country; both of which points, I think, can

be made sufficiently clear to satisfy any candid mind. In relation to prejudice, I have abundant evidence, some of which I propose to advert to hereafter. I know not how to reply, understandingly, to this report, as I was not at the Yearly Meeting, and I presume a copy of it cannot be obtained.* I may not fully understand the purport of it, but, if I am not misinformed, it is equivalent to a charge of *falsehood*, which I am not permitted to meet, as I understand no further action is contemplated. When I entered the Anti-Slavery cause, I counted upon the loss of my *reputation* in our Society, and I have not been disappointed. At the Yearly Meeting of 1838, my name was dropped from the Meeting for Sufferings, and there have since been many unequivocal indications of such a consequence. Indeed, how can it be otherwise, when the mere act of becoming a member of an Anti-Slavery Society, or of attending an Anti-Slavery Meeting, is considered disorderly, by many of our most influential members? I have not hesitated to remonstrate with Friends for their inconsistency, and to bear my testimony against such measures as I have conceived to be wrong; feeling that I could remain in the Society, only on condition that I discharge my duty towards it in such a manner; and, in so doing, I have, in some instances, made the Anti-Slavery papers the medium of communications. For thus—"exposing the *weaknesses* of the Society," as it is called, I have been repeatedly reprimanded; and it has been more than hinted, that a loss of my membership must be the consequence, if I persist. And yet, my dear friend, how can one keep silence, when corruption threatens to overwhelm even the fairest portion of the visible church? If we should hold our peace, would not the very stones cry out? To lose one's influence in the Society, it is not necessary to become a member of an Anti-Slavery Society, or to attend lectures, but it is sufficient, openly to defend the course of those who do. I speak now of our own vicinity, where, I think, the prejudice is quite as strong as in any part of the country. At our last Yearly Meeting, so many Abolitionists were left off of appointments which they had held for years, that there cannot be a doubt of the design.

* In a letter subsequently received, W. B. says,—"In my former letter to thee, I informed thee of the proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings in relation to my printed "Letter," &c. I have since applied to that body for a copy of the Report made by the committee on that subject, that I might be enabled to meet the charges there made; but, as I expected, they have declined granting what seems to me so reasonable a request."

The active and determined opposition to Abolitionists was, for a time, confined pretty much to a small number of Friends; but those, were of a class who had long been accustomed to have their opinions received with a deference, which is not awarded to ordinary members. Owing, as I conceive, to partial and prejudiced representations, backed up by "weight of character," this influence has gradually extended itself, so as to include many honest individuals, who have not taken pains to investigate the subject for themselves; until, the current has become so powerful, as to overcome another large class of Society, who agree with us in sentiment, and secretly approve of our measures, and have formerly expressed their opinions; but who, from various reasons, such as, a want of moral courage, a morbid desire to preserve the peace and unity of the Society, and perhaps, in some cases, a wish to maintain their good reputation, have yielded their deliberate convictions, and have actually suffered their influence to go against us.

Our Yearly Meeting, this year, has issued an Epistle of advice to its Members, in which they allude to the importance of our Testimony to the influence of the Holy Spirit—which they fear will be lowered, by joining with others, in Associations for the abolition of Slavery, for the promotion of Temperancc, and of Peace, which they say are *religious* testimonies, and *therefore*, they persuade their Members not to join such Associations. I have not a doubt that, this will be followed up by a rule, making it a diciplinary offence, and even some go so far now, as to give this advice a construction, by which Members may be disowned for refusing compliance. How humiliating, when viewed in contrast with the noble stand taken by Friends in your land! And does the spirit of truth lead in such opposite directions? Several other Yearly Meetings have taken similar ground. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting issued similar advice two years ago, which however, has not been enforced, and is disregarded by large numbers. Indiana Yearly Meeting, last year, put forth a document of like character, and gives, as a reason for such advice, the following, viz. "Our standard of morality and religion is a high and holy standard; in associating with others not of our Society for promoting benevolent objects, this standard has often been lowered. Something objectionable may have been adopted,—some peculiarity we deem it important to maintain, may have been abandoned."

The objections made to our engaging in this cause are various. One very prominent one is, that it is inconsistent with the views of Friends on the immediate influence of the Spirit. Lecturing on slavery, or other moral subjects, is placed on the same ground as preaching the gospel. I have heard some of our leading members say, that for a Friend to *premeditate* a lecture on slavery, or any other moral subject, was a violation of our testimony in relation to the ministry; that, consistently with our principles, none but those who are called to the work of the ministry, could deliver public discourses on such subjects; that, as it is considered improper for a minister to make a previous engagement to preach; therefore, an appointment for an address on slavery, or any similar subject, would be inconsistent; and, that the mere circumstance of a Friend's proposing to deliver such an address, was conclusive evidence that he was unsound in principle! I have heard this ground taken by some of the most prominent members of New England Yearly Meeting. It follows, then, that to pay an Anti-Slavery agent, is equally inconsistent, as to contribute to a hireling ministry; and that it is as much a violation of the order of our Society to attend Anti-Slavery and Temperance Meetings, as to attend the meetings for worship, of other denominations! These views seem to prevail among us to a considerable extent, and to have given rise to the advice which has just been issued from our Yearly Meeting. It seems to me to be a palpable perversion of a doctrine, which I hope to see maintained in all its original simplicity and purity. Again, it is said that, as the immediate influence of the Spirit is not so fully acknowledged by other people generally as by Friends, there is danger, in associating with such persons, of neglecting this important qualification, and of proceeding "in our own wills," and "in our own strength." An objection, conclusive with some, is, that while the Society does not see its way clear to act, it is unsafe for individual members to move in advance of the body. Another objection is, that, in some instances, Anti-Slavery meetings have been opened with prayer. On this subject, the facts are these:—In the local Societies in which Friends are associated, I do not know of an instance where such a practice prevails; and I have been surprised at the great influence which we have in these Societies in proportion to our numbers. In the larger Meetings, I have never known of an instance where there has been any action of the Society on the subject. When any

person has been invited, it has been by the presiding officer on his own responsibility, and Friends have not felt themselves accountable for a proceeding in which they have not, in any degree, participated. In many of the Meetings, and this was the case at the last Meeting of the National Society, the presiding officer has not given any personal invitation, but has intimated that, if any person felt called upon to pray, there was liberty to do so. Again, we have been told that such associating, would have a tendency to lead us to compromise the Testimonies of the Society, in relation to its *outward peculiarities* —moreover, that still greater departures from our faith would be the consequence, as it is said, has been the case in England. The late division in the Society there, has been attributed to the connexion of Friends, with others, in the benevolent Associations of the day. Then, besides these, are the common objections of, *excitement*, *hard language*, &c. &c.

One or two more particulars respecting the action of the Society on the subject of Slavery. At our Monthly Meeting in the 8th Month, 1837, I introduced a proposition that we recommend to the Quarterly Meeting, to memorialize Congress against the annexation of Texas to this government; a measure which was then evidently in contemplation, and which, the friends of freedom had reason to fear would be speedily consummated. The proposition received the approbation of the Monthly Meeting; and when it reached the Quarterly Meeting, it was united with, there, by the great body of Friends, and a Memorial was accordingly adopted; though objections were made by several Members of a Yearly Meeting committee present, (Members of the Meeting for Sufferings) on the ground that, perhaps the Meeting for Sufferings might be inclined to take the subject up, and this movement might have a tendency to obstruct the way for action by that body. At a subsequent Monthly Meeting, a proposition was made by an Abolition Friend that, the Meeting should suggest for the consideration of the Meeting for Sufferings, the expediency of aiding in circulating information in relation to the successful result of the great experiment of West India Emancipation; an object in which it was thought, all could unite. The Monthly Meeting adopted the proposition; but the measure was stifled at the threshold of the Meeting for Sufferings. Such results of our efforts have very much discouraged us from further attempts to produce any effective action by the Society.

The course which "THE FRIEND," published in Philadelphia, has taken in regard to this subject, I think is worthy of remark. True, there has recently been introduced into its pages, articles on the subject of Slavery, yet it has never been committed at all, in favor of the Anti-Slavery cause, as we should desire it might be. During eight years contest, there is scarcely a line to be found in that periodical, intimating that such a reform is in progress. While it frequently notices Temperance meetings, and meetings of Peace societies, and inserts their official documents, and gives various information in relation to the progress of these great reforms; such information respecting the Anti-Slavery enterprise seems to be carefully excluded.

* * * * * * *

Indeed, until recently, the tone of that journal has been decidedly favorable to Colonization; and articles in favor of that unrighteous scheme have not been of rare occurrence. I think the course pursued by "THE FRIEND," furnishes a tolerably correct index of the public sentiment of the Society in this country.

Prejudice against Color exists among Friends here, perhaps to as great an extent as in the community at large. In this immediate vicinity, it has not been so conspicuously developed as in some of our Southern cities, where Colored people are more numerous, and more in the practice of attending Friends' meetings. It is true, as stated in my printed letter, to which I have before alluded, that separate seats are assigned to those whose complexions are a shade darker than ours, in the houses appropriated to the worship of Him, who has made of *one blood* all nations of men. I have abundant evidence in my possession of the existence of this unchristian prejudice, which I deem it unnecessary to furnish thee with, presuming that * * * will put thee in possession of all needful testimony on this point. One circumstance, however, I cannot well forbear mentioning. It was related to me when on a visit at * * * * this spring. At a certain meeting of Friends, where quite a number of Colored persons attend, they have, for a great many years, occupied a separate, assigned seat. Within a few months, a young friend, of good character, who has been much interested in behalf of this oppressed portion of the community, deemed it his duty to take his seat on the bench with the Colored men. Immediately after first taking his seat there, he was severely reprimanded by a *Minister* of that Meeting, who told him

that, in so doing, he was "*sitting in judgment against the Monthly Meeting!*" He also called on an aged Colored man, who has from his youth attended that Meeting, and asked him, why, when that young man came into the seat with him, he had not KICKED HIM OUT!!! I had this account from the lips of this dear Colored brother. To the credit of the young man above alluded to, he continues to sit on the degraded seat, and has recently been joined by another devoted young Friend.

* * * * * * *

In giving thee this statement, if I know my own heart, I entertain none but the kindest feelings towards any of whom I have spoken; but, under existing circumstances, I feel called upon to use great plainness of speech. Oh! I wish that you might be made fully acquainted with the unhappy condition in which the Society is placed, by its position in reference to this subject; and that a voice might come across the great waters, faithfully rebuking the inconsistency of its proceedings.

* * * * * * *

That you may, under the direction of Best Wisdom, be encouraged to continue your labours, until your ears shall be greeted with the joyful Jubilee of Universal Emancipation, is the wish of

Thy sincere friend,

WILLIAM BASSETT.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER, BY WILLIAM BASSETT, DATED 12 Mo. 11, 1839.

WE find ourselves, my friend, in this country, engaged in a contest of vastly greater magnitude, than one merely for the physical Emancipation of our brethren and sisters, in bonds, much as we feel devoted to their cause.

We, who entered that warfare with a single view to the Slave's redemption, soon learned that *our* liberties were bound up in *his;* and we found ourselves engaged in a conflict for *our own mental Enfranchisement.* We found "*the Church*" interposing its influence to prevent the free exercise of the power, which is placed in our hands, for the good of our race. It has assumed the right to control the consciences of its members; that they should not put forth

their energies, but at its bidding. And, not the hindermost in this inglorious warfare, is the Society of Friends! that Society, which, in its early days, accomplished so much for human freedom.

* * * * * * *

Doctrines are now openly preached among us, which I must utterly repudiate. The ground is distinctly taken, that we must wait for a *special revelation*, to warrant us in performing the *common duties of humanity!* Ministers have, in repeated instances, told us, that the witnessing of wickedness or suffering, was no reason for our engaging in measures to remove them! "Working in our own strength," has become a *cant phrase;* and, as it is used, is a very convenient excuse for indolence. What was the condemnation of the Priest and Levite formerly? Was it, that they had no express command to relieve him who had fallen among thieves? Or, was it sufficient that they saw a fellow-creature in suffering, and neglected to administer to his necessities?

I have recently heard a minister enforce the doctrine, that the present is a time wherein the Christian is called "*to suffer rather than to labour;*" advising us to be quiet, while there is so much *excitement* in the world, &c. It seems to me, that this is a most dangerous idea, and one which the enemy of all good would rejoice to see prevail. *A time to suffer, rather than to labour!* How preposterous! I believe there never was, and never will be, a time, whilst evil exists in the world, for the Christian to be idle. His life must be a continual scene of labour and warfare. "*To suffer, rather than to labour!* What suffering is there in a state of *quiescence!* The suffering to which the Christian is called, is, "to endure hardness as a *good soldier;*" to be a co-worker with Christ in the renovation of a world lying in wickedness. A dogma now insisted on, by many, high in authority amongst us, is, that of *unconditional obedience to the decrees of the Society,*—denying individuals the right of private judgment. This is the "*dernier resort,*" which is relied upon to silence us when we call in question the advice of our Yearly Meeting, against associating with others for benevolent purposes. It is said, that we have no right to take exceptions to the doings of "*the body.*"

By the foregoing remarks, thou wilt see that the warfare which is now agitating the Society in this land, is one for great *principles*; and we cannot suffer any consideration of expediency, to turn us

aside from a fearless advocacy and defence of the right. Our motto must be the advice of one of Freedom's Sons,—"*Peace*, if possible; but *Truth at any rate*." I am convinced, that there is much more spiritual freedom in the Society in your land, than on this side of the water; that, with you, in Church, as well as in State, *human rights* are better understood, and more fully acknowledged, than in this land of boasted liberty; that with you, circumstances have been such, as to keep the energies of the Society more actively employed, by which a healthy circulation has been promoted, and the life of the body, in a greater degree, preserved.

Extract of a Letter from a Friend, dated Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 9 mo. 4., 1839.

Nearly sixty years ago, many of the most valuable Friends in our several Yearly Meetings, took a very active part, as pioneers, in forming Anti-Slavery Associations, composed of Friends, and various other religious professors. These several Associations, first annually, and afterwards biennially, elected Delegates, to meet in a "National Convention, for promoting the Abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery, and for improving the condition of the African Race."

Through their instrumentality, our National Government, in 1807, abolished the legalized Foreign Slave Trade; and seven out of thirteen original States of the Union, have decreed universal Emancipation within their respective limits. All of which, I believe, was accomplished by the Divine blessing, upon the combined efforts of Friends and others, united and acting harmoniously together, with a single eye to the glory of God, and the improvement and happiness of his creature, man. Christian Philanthropists, seeing the glorious result of these voluntary Associations, had their attention directed to this mode of doing good, and the establishment of many benevolent Associations for improving the condition of the human race, has been the result. Among these, the American Bible Society may be regarded as one of the most important. At the organization of that Society, some of our most worthy Friends co-operated, * * * * and then (as far as I am informed) for the

first time was an objection raised to Friends associating, with other professors, in objects of Christian benevolence.

* * * * * * *

The Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia and New England, have, in terms, advised their Members not to associate with other people for the promotion of this cause ; * * * * and now we are actually threatened with disownment, unless we discontinue our connection with the Anti-Slavery Associations, which we cannot do, because we are persuaded, that Slavery was sustained in the British Colonies by the power of a corrupt public sentiment in England ; and that, by the active and zealous co-operation of Friends with others, that public sentiment was corrected, and Slavery thereby abolished; and that if Friends had not thus co-operated in this great work, generations yet unborn, in the British Isles, would have lived and died Slaveholders and Slaves, and that their blood would have been charged upon the heads of those to whom the Word of the Lord, for their deliverance, had come, but who obeyed it not. And we believe, that Slavery in our country is sustained precisely in the same way ; and that the Word of the Almighty, for their deliverance, has come to *us*, and we dare not rebel against it. Friends are regarded by our countrymen generally, as the peculiar friends of the people of color, and their hostility to the Anti-Slavery enterprise, is, therefore, regarded by many as, evidence that this enterprise is not in accordance with the real interest of the Slaves ; and thus, by their peculiar position under the Anti-Slavery reputation, which the Society has acquired by the faithfnl labors of the last generation, the Society now stands as a mountain in the way of this most righteous cause. Will not the Yearly Meeting, or the Meeting for Sufferings in London, send us an Epistle upon this subject, that shall quicken our minds, and awaken our consciences to a sense of our great obligations to carry on the great and good work to which our Society, in the days of our fathers, was so signally called ?

In a letter, addressed by William Bassett, to a Member of the Society of Friends, published at Boston, in 1837, he observes :—
" The Anti-Slavery Society, has waged an exterminating warfare

against that malignant spirit, which is crushing the colored man to the earth, and preventing his moral elevation, viz. *Prejudice against Colour.* That this cruel prejudice exists to some extent among the Members of that Society, which has long professed to be, above all others, the colored man's friend, evidence is not wanting. It will be allowed, that the '*Negro Pew*,' or its equivalent, may be found in some of our Meeting-houses, where men and women, brothers and sisters by creation, and heirs of the same glorious immortality, are *seated by themselves, on a back bench*, for no other reason but because it has pleased their Creator to give them a complexion darker than our own!

"I believe that an awful accountability rests upon us, for the repulsive effect of our conduct on our colored brethren and sisters, by which, tender, seeking spirits among them, have been deeply wounded. I have in my possession, some affecting accounts, exhibiting the effect of this sinful prejudice on the susceptible minds of those who have been brought under its influences."

A YOUNG woman of Colour, in a letter to William Bassett, says, in allusion to the above paragraph:—"I can set my seal to its truth—and as you request to know particularly about * * * * * Meeting, I may say the experience of years has made me wise in this fact, that there is a bench set apart at that Meeting for our people, whether *officially* appointed or not, I cannot say; but this I am free to say, that my mother and myself were told to sit there, and that a friend sat at each end of the bench to prevent white persons from sitting there. And even when a child, my soul was made sad by hearing five or six times, during the course of one meeting, this language of remonstrance addressed to those who were willing to sit by us,—'This bench is for the black people:'—This bench is for the people of colour;' and often-times I wept—at other times I felt indignant, and queried in my own mind, are these people Christians? Now, it seems clear to me, that had not this bench been set apart for oppressed Americans, there would have been no necessity for this oft repeated and galling remonstrance.

* * * * * * *

"In reply to your question, 'Whether there appears to be a diminution of prejudice towards us, among Friends,' I unhesita-

tingly answer, *NO*. I have heard it frequently remarked, and have observed it myself, that in proportion as we become intellectual and respectable, so in proportion does their disgust and prejudice increase."

THE FOLLOWING ARE EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER, RECEIVED FROM A HIGHLY RESPECTABLE CORRESPONDENT IN AMERICA.

* * * * * a Female of Colour who has been for years convinced of the principles of Friends,—has adopted their dress and language, and goes to their Meetings constantly,—*has been advised not to apply to be received into Membership, as she would be* REJECTED. This advice has been given in tenderness, to spare her feelings; but I regret that she abided by it; because, I am willing we should *act out* our feelings towards this oppressed class. She has mentioned this to me, with deep feeling, and remarked, "The hardest lesson my Heavenly Father ever set me to learn, was to love Friends; and in anguish of spirit I have often queried, why the Lord should require me to go among a people who despise me on account of my complexion; but I have seen that it is designed to humble me, and to teach me the lesson, 'Love your enemies, and pray for them who despitefully use you.'"

AN aged man, of undoubted piety, who had lived many years in the family of an Elder of * * * * Meeting, requested to be received into Membership. *He was rejected.* An Overseer of that Meeting, told * * * *, that the *only* reason was, because *he was colored:* for his character, as a religious man, was unquestioned, and he was fully convinced of our principles. This thing was done privately, and elicited no condemnation that I know of.

The following letter, from the young woman before referred to, addressed to * * * * furnishes an affecting corroboration of the truth of William Bassett's remarks:—

MY DEAR * * * *

You ask me for some account of my beloved Brother, and his trials: it is a sadly pleasing theme, and I hasten to tell you what I can recollect. My brother Charles was naturally sensitive, and felt

more keenly than any of us, the prejudice against color; but most of all, the conduct of professing Christians was a stumbling-block to him, particularly their behaviour in their Meeting-Houses to our people. *It drove him to the very verge of Infidelity.* Many times, stung almost to madness by their contempt, he has been ready to curse them, and in the bitterness of his heart, exclaimed "there is no reality in religion, 'tis all a fable, or why do Christians act thus?" When quite a child, he, with the rest of the family, went to Friends' Meeting; but, as he grew to man's estate, the Cross, of being seated on the *back bench* on account of his complexion, was too heavy to bear, and, with Mother's permission, he went to Meeting with Father, among the Presbyterians. It was manifest, however, that he did no t grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and his constant reply, when spoken to on religious subjects, was, " 'tis all a fable; if it is not, why do the people act thus?" He continued in this state of mind until his 19th year, when it pleased the Lord to lay on him the rod of affliction. As his health declined, his lion-like temper was subdued, and he became a little child in meekness. He no longer scoffed and jested at the conduct of Christians, but mourned in secret over their unkindness. The Church of which my Father was a member, was without a Pastor, and on sabbath morning, a little company assembled in the Church to read the scriptures and to pray, and for the two last years of his life, my dear Charles was a constant attendant, kindly assisting the aged and illiterate of his own people, by reading the scriptures to them; and so carefully did he conceal from his left hand, what his right was doing, that many of his friends knew nothing of it until he had ceased to live and mourn. As his bodily strength decreased, his mind turned towards the Society of Friends, to the religion of his childhood; but he stumbled at the Cross, and went away sorrowful. A few months before his death, Mother accompanied him to * * * * for change of air, and once or twice he went with her to Friends' Meeting, and found comfort in going, and remarked,—" if they did not despise me so, I should like to go always." Oh! if Friends only knew the anguish this one common expression of theirs, "*this bench is for the black people*:"—"*This bench is for the People of Color*," inflicts on the sensitive and tender amongst us: if they knew how it shuts up the springs of life, and causes us to turn away from their Meetings, weary and unrefreshed, they would not,

they could not use it so often. Oh! surely the darkness that might be felt, has enveloped their minds on this point.

I had been at home just one week, when Charles was stretched on his sick bed, never to leave it in life. He said, he was quite willing to die, if he could see his way clear. He felt that he was a great sinner. Mother told him,—"Not the righteous,—*Sinners*, Jesus came to save;" and recommended him to cast his burden on Him, and, blessed be God, he was enabled so to do. I had been deeply concerned for my brother, and pleaded earnestly with the Lord for a satisfactory evidence of his acceptance, promising to give him up freely, if I could have this; and He was mercifully pleased to grant it. He bore his intense sufferings without a murmur. Our beloved friend and physician, * * * * * said, that he had never in the course of his long practice, seen but one person who endured pain with so much patience and fortitude. He received every thing we gave him, even the disagreeable medicines, with so much thankfulness, that we all felt it a privilege to be near him, and to administer to his wants. A few evenings before his decease, the doctor ordered fresh applications of mercurial ointment. When he was gone, Charles said pleasantly, "Mother, doctor will not let me go *home* to night." The next day, as he lay groaning with weakness, he turned his dear, languid eyes on Mother, and said, "Is Christ in the vessel?" She replied, "Yes, my dear son, and though the tempest rages, and hides His face, He does not slumber, He is watching over thee." When almost fainting with pain, he said, "Oh Lord Jesus, take me to thine everlasting arms of love." The day following, the adversary of souls was permitted to buffet him, and to fill his mind with doubts, and he prayed fervently, "Oh Lord, let not the enemy of souls pluck this little lamb from thy fold." That evening, when at prayers, I kneeled beside him with his hand clasped in mine. At the conclusion of the prayer, he raised his head from his pillow, and said, "I have had some doubts; but, glory to God, all is clear *now;*" and throwing his arms round my neck, he pressed his lips to my forehead, and prayed, "Oh Lord, grant my dear brothers and sister as full an assurance of *their* acceptance." The next day, this passage of scripture was given him, "Neither heights nor depths, principalities nor powers, things present nor things to come, shall ever be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus." No cloud arose after this, to hide his Lord, for one moment, from

his eyes; and, on the morning of the 1st of September, 1835, he fell asleep, sweetly murmuring, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly."

During the whole of his illness, his intellect shone out strong and clear, so that our neighbours and friends did greatly marvel: and when the cold grave had hidden him from our view, testimonials of his moral worth, his cultivated understanding, and affectionate disposition, poured in upon us daily; and we could not but rejoice, that one so young, so beloved, and so respected, had escaped from the suffering inflicted by scorn and prejudice, and the varied trials which belong to humanity. Still, his death has left an aching void, and nature demands her tears.

We miss him when the board is spread;
We miss him when the prayer is said;
Upon our dreams, his dying eyes,
In still and mournful fondness rise.

Please excuse inaccuracies, as I have been interrupted frequently. Your sympathy is invaluable. May the Lord bless you and our beloved * * * *

J. WILSON, PRINTER, DARLINGTON.

THE SPEECH

OF

THE RIGHT HON.

STEPHEN LUSHINGTON, M.P.

AGAINST THE PROPOSED ADMISSION OF

SLAVE-GROWN SUGAR

TO

HOME CONSUMPTION

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

THURSDAY, MAY 7th, 1841.

LONDON:

EXTRACTED FROM

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

1841.

THOMAS CURSON HANSARD, PATERNOSTER ROW.

SPEECH.

Dr. LUSHINGTON: Circumstanced as I am, I think the House will naturally expect that I should feel it my duty to address a few observations to them; and, undoubtedly, I should have felt that obligation, even if my hon. Friend the Member for Lambeth had not taken upon himself the rather unusual course of forestalling the opinions and statements of a Member of this House, putting them in his own language—language which I altogether disclaim—and striving to cast upon them some degree of ridicule. To that I have been subject for many years, and I feel that it has not done me any injury, in my own opinion or in the opinion of others. With respect to the principle first stated by my hon. Friend, I shall persevere in its assertion, if the hon. Member meant this—that I have ever been the determined enemy of slavery, whether it assumed its most hateful form of the slave-trade which had ravaged the whole western world, involving the murder and bloodshed of thousands of our fellow-creatures, or other forms scarcely less detestable, as it existed in the West-India islands, and as it now exists in the Brazils, where human existence is at the lowest ebb of degraded misery: if the hon. Member meant this, that I have ever expressed my abhorrence of these practices, have ever been their determined opponent, as contrary to the laws of God and of man: if that were what the hon. Member meant, I shall ever stand by

that principle, and the hon. Member states that which I claim as an honour, let who will, think it a subject of ridicule. "But," said my hon. Friend, "what right have we to force our virtuous principles upon other states, to pass an act of uniformity for Spain and the Brazils, and whatever other countries may choose to carry on these dreadful practices?" What right? Why, have we not declared these principles by an Act of Parliament in 1807? Have we not avowed them in Congress in 1815? Have not all the great States of Europe concurred in declaring that the slave-trade was contrary to the justice of man, and the law of God? Have we nothing more to say? Why we have treaties subsisting with every one of the great Powers upon this subject—treaties in which the Brazils are included. Indeed, I lament to say that almost all the treaties which have ever yet been made for the protection of suffering humanity in the case of the Africans—and it is one of the most extraordinary incidents in the history of the world—have been dealt with as though they were waste paper. We have gone to war for possessions which would not pay for their maintenance, and we have allowed treaties for the protection of the rights of humanity to be violated with scarcely a remonstrance. We have a right to the fulfilment of those treaties—we have a right to assert their principles—and the claim which we urge partakes neither of intolerance nor dictation. We have a right, and I say so, after attending to the observations of my hon. Friend, to take measures for the suppression of that which all Europe concurs in stigmatizing as a crying wickedness and iniquity. I am aware, that in approaching the present discussion, it will be truly said, that we must take into consideration many great and important topics. I am

aware of our financial difficulties—I am aware of our commercial difficulties. I am aware that the time may be coming when we shall have to encounter some embarrassments in dealing with foreign governments on commercial subjects. I forget none of these topics. I say them not out of my consideration, but speaking of one measure, and one only—the present proposal of her Majesty's Government—I am prepared to say, that that measure will not remove the difficulties, will not relieve them from the embarrassments under which they now laboured, will lower them in the face of Europe, will degrade them in their own opinions, and will not receive the approval of the suffering people of this country. The measures proposed have reference to sugar, corn, and timber. I have ever been the friend of free trade, I have ever voted for an alteration in the Corn-laws, I maintain that opinion still. I have altered my sentiments with regard to the timber duties; but I have always voted against every measure that tended to increase the Slave-trade or give it fresh rigour. I did so last year, and I am of the same opinion still. If any one had changed, I am not that one. I have not altered one iota of the opinions which I expressed on my hon. Friend, the Member for Wigan's motion, last year. I see no reason to change these opinions now. It was then decided by an immense majority of the House against twenty-seven, that it would not be proper to reduce the duty upon foreign sugar to 34*s*. when the price was between 50*s*. and 60*s*.; and I see no reason to decide that it would be more proper to do it now when the price is from 37*s*. to 40*s*. At that time, when we expected that the price would increase, as it undoubtedly did, we did not think it necessary to provide against the contingency of a

failure of the crop, and a very high price. Much less is there the slightest reason for making such provision now, when it is a matter of perfect demonstration that there will be an amply sufficient supply. I will state simply and plainly the grounds upon which I mean to vote, laying aside all party considerations, though I am as much attached to my party, I apprehend, as any living man, and mindful of their conduct with respect to these great questions in former time. I am anxious to repay them with all the fidelity that is consistent with honour and duty. First, I oppose the Government upon this question, because it gives a stimulus to the Slave-trade; secondly, because it will augment the horrors of the existing state of slavery; thirdly, because it is unjust to the West-Indies; fourthly, because it is deleterious to the happiness of the emancipated population; fifthly, because it is not just with reference to the capitalists, who have engaged in the cultivation of sugar in the East Indies; and lastly, because I believe, that there exists no necessity whatever for taking the present course, in order to supply the people of England with sugar. To refer to the last topic first, leaving out of consideration the stock of sugar on hand, which amounts to about 35,000 tons, we have almost a moral certainty, we have at least a right to expect, a supply of 205,000 tons in the course of the year 1841. I speak from the most authentic documents when I estimate the supply from the East Indies 60,000, from the Mediterranean at 30,000 tons, and the remainder, namely, 115 tons, from the West Indies. The actual existing state of importation affords the best data. I will state to the House the import of British sugar for the first four months of 1839, 1840, and 1841. The right hon. and

learned Gentleman quoted the following document:—

SUGAR.

STATEMENT for GREAT BRITAIN for the First Four Months of 1839, 1840, and 1841.

	IMPORTS.			HOME CONSUMPTION.			EXPORTS.			STOCK, 1st May.		
	1839.	1840.	1841.	1839.	1840.	1841.	1839.	1840.	1841.	1839.	1840.	1841.
Br. W. India, Tons.	19,500	18,300	17,500	35,700	41,100	24,000	..	..	..	21,500	9,200	14,000
Mauritius ,,	12,500	12,200	17,500	7,800	11,500	12,000	..	..	..	9,000	6,100	8,500
Bengal ,,	8,700	8,900	31,000	7,000	7,500	17,000	..	..	..	5,200	5,400	19,000
Total British	40,700	39,400	66,000	50,500	60,100	53,000	..	..	..	35,500	20,700	41,500
Total Foreign	3,800	6,700	14,000	..	..	..	3,300	7,600	11,500	10,500	14,000	28,500
Total Tons ..	44,500	46,100	80,000	50,500	60,100	53,000	3,300	7,600	..	46,000	34,700	70,000

Placing together the West Indies, Mauritius, and Bengal, it appears, that in 1839, the total quantity imported was 40,000 tons, in 1840, 37,400 tons, and in 1841, 66,000 tons. Thus it appears, that in the present year, the produce is nearly double what it was last year. This is a strong and incontrovertible fact; I trusted it would be contradicted, if possible, but it is not possible either to contradict or refute. I hold in my hand a statement from a house of high character in Calcutta, bearing date the 16th of January, 1841, with a postcript of the 13th of February, in which, after stating the actual export, it is remarked that,—

"For the following year it is scarcely possible to say, what may come, if we have a favourable season for manufacturing, our prices will be maintained unless the duties are altered at home, which we rather fear as far as other eastern sugars are concerned, and which are not the produce of slave-labour."

It is noticed there too, that the crop for the present year is expected to be unusually large. Such is the state of the East Indies; let us now look to the West. In the first place, the unusual droughts have terminated at Guinea, and especially at Barbadoes, and in the great island of Jamaica; and, according to the ordinary range of human occurrences we have no right to expect a repetition of the same calamity. Then peace pervades Jamaica, with an increase of industry; and we have a right to expect free, the fruits of that industry. I have a right to say so, looking to past experience, when, in the little island of Antigua—perhaps the most exhausted of all the islands which Britain possesses—since the abolition of slavery, the exports have increased from 7,000 to 11,000 hogsheads. I see no reason to fear;

if we allow a proper period of time to elapse, they will have in all quarters, the increased production which increased consumption would make necessary. In no one year has there ever been consumed more than 200,000 tons of sugar. I have shown you, that in the present year, you will have 205,000 tons, without regard to the stock on hand. The present price is about 37*s.*, or as follows :—

SUGAR.

	PRICES IN BOND.		DUTY ABOUT	PRICES TO CONSUMERS.
		s.	*s.*	*per cwt. s.*
BENGAL	Khaur	21 @ 25	25	46 @ 50
.. ..	White	34 .. 41	"	59 .. 66
WEST INDIA & MAURITIUS ..	Brown	31 .. 33	"	56 .. 58
.. ..	Good & Fine	35 .. 39	"	60 .. 66
MANILLA	..	17 .. 21	38	55 .. 59
BRAZIL	Brown	18 .. 20	"	56 .. 58
.. ..	White	21 .. 24	"	59 .. 62
CUBA	Brown	21 .. 23	"	59 .. 61
.. ..	White	24 .. 30	"	62 .. 68
SIAM	Brown	18 .. 19	"	56 .. 57
.. ..	White	21 .. 23	"	59 .. 61

CUBA	White	62 @ 68	Proportion of Sacharine Matter, 85*s.*
BRAZIL	White	59 .. 62	
WEST INDIA		60 .. 66	65*s.*
EAST INDIA		59 .. 66	

I ask you whether there is not every reasonable probability, that sugar will be supplied to the people of this country at a reasonable price. The English are great consumers of sugar, notwithstanding its high price. If any man will take the trouble of looking at the whole consumption of sugar through the western world, he will find, that Great Britain takes about one-fourth of all that is consumed. Let us consider for a moment what will be the effect of admitting foreign

sugar. I have been so fortunate as to obtain very recent advices from Cuba, as recent as up to the 1st of April, in this year. From two ports alone, the increase in exportation amount to no less than 9,500 tons; namely, from 24,200 tons, in 1840, to 33,700 tons, in 1841. The ports to which I allude are Havannah and Matanzas. The right hon. and learned Gentleman referred to the following Table:—

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE EXPORTS OF SUGAR,

From 1st of JANUARY, to 31st MARCH, 1840 & 1841.

COUNTRIES.	SUGAR IN BOXES.			
	From HAVANA.		From MATANZAS.	
	1841	1840	1841	1840
England	3621	1551	1651	1297
Cowes and a market	8628	14482	7909	10543
Russia	16987	1822	9195	1224
Sweeden and Denmark	....	220	....	....
Hamburg	6415	19205	9288	11607
Bremen	4565	5272	1310	1918
Holland	4697	2594	....	....
Belgium	4729	3526	....	3001
France { Havre and Bordeaux	596	754	....	....
France { Marseille	5908	5535	2571	907
Spain	21546	10001	5951	5787
Italy	1119	1651	2911	....
New York	12845	3165	8117	1178
Boston	285 5	3087	10244	4202
Charleston, S. C.	440	147	1958½	2290
New Orleans	2270	2659	669	123
Mobile	66	488	260	....
Other parts of the United States	2566	1349	5196	999
Various	676	619	1514	560
Total	100127	77905	68542½	43436

How is that increase obtained? By an augmentation of slavery—by employing gangs of males only—by working them out without mercy, refusing them even the ordinary quantity of sleep necessary to sustain human nature. Every man's arm was there lifted against the slave, and the bitterest enmities are excited through this enormous infliction of evil. My hon. Friend has spoken of the advantages of free labour in India; can we institute any comparison between British India and these slave possessions? Has any one of the examples of indigo or cotton put by my hon. Friend any adaptation of the subject now under discussion? He has shown, that the productions of free labour in the East Indies surpass all the efforts of slavery. But my hon. Friend forgot, that in the East Indies the population is enormous in point of number, and the price of labour 1½*d.* a-day, the lowest rate at which man can sustain life, while, in the West Indies, labourers are few, and the price of labour excessively high. I deny, however, that this is a question of free trade. In free trade, there is fair competition between parties who use the same means and appliances to attain the same end. But when have you heard of fair competition between the honest manufacturer and the man who robs on the high road?—between the man who pays just obedience to the laws of his country, and complies with all legal exactions, on the one hand, and the lawless smuggler on the other? Whoever heard of competition, where on one side murder is legalized, and on the other the sacred duties of humanity are reverentially recognized? It is no competition. The result is this; immediate prosperity to the lawless trafficker, and injury to the honest trader; while the ultimate consequences will be heavy indeed even for the wicked themselves.

Humanely speaking, they are working their own ruin. In twenty, thirty, or forty years, as the case may be, they will reduce the finest land, that ever God gave to man to a howling wilderness. We have examples of this in the southern states of America. Mr. Joseph Gurney told me, that he had seen the land in every state of exhaustion, from being worked without rest or manure, reduced to an equality with the sands of the ocean, recovering after a lapse of twenty years, and by degrees, becoming partially restored — when, in every sense, made extinct by the abuse of man, revivified by a benevolent process of nature, occupying a quarter of a century. But how will this scheme affect our own colonies? I am not at a loss for evidence. I will refer to the testimony of Mr. Joseph John Gurney, a gentleman who has no interest whatever in this question, of unsuspected character, and great practical knowledge. He travelled through the West Indies and the United States, for the express purpose of acquiring information; and of all the men whom I have ever known, he is the most attached to truth. I happen to have his sentiments in writing upon this subject, given to me before this question was mooted, and I will take the liberty of reading them to the House. The right hon. Gentleman read as follows:—

"I feel it to be of immense importance to the welfare of our West Indian colonies, and to the cause of humanity, of our maintaining inviolate the present prohibitory scale of duties upon foreign slave-grown sugar. Were these duties to be relaxed, and put upon the same footing as other sugars, the growth of our own colonies, the inevitable consequence would be the ruin of the planters, the loss of daily wages to the liberated negroes, as a compensation for their labour on the establishment, and above all the vastly increased surplus of the Cuba and Brazilian slave-trade."

This is the statement of one who has no West-Indian interest to influence his judgment; he had nothing but a sense of justice to guide him. A charge of inconsistency has been brought against those who oppose the present measure, because they consent to consume other articles, the produce of slave labour, and do not protest against the importation of slave grown cotton. I consider that that man gives the greatest proof of wisdom, and is the best friend of humanity, who looks to the practical execution of beneficial measures, and not that man who, not able to attain all the good of which he is desirous, gives up the good which is in his power. He is not a wise man who, because circumstances over which he has no control force him to submit to the evils of resorting to slave countries for certain products, should, because so great a calamity was inflicted on him, by the force of circumstances, take a course which would augment the evil he could not avoid. I have always endeavoured to attain all the practical good in my power throughout the discussion of this question. At first little progress was made, and I sat for years on the opposite benches scarcely expecting success, but I contented myself with working and hoping on, guided by public opinion, first of all bringing about the abolition of slavery—next procuring an amelioration in the condition of the negro—then by endeavouring to procure a gradual abolition of slavery—and at last, when public opinion was ripe, by the total abolition of slavery. The supporters of that measure were contented with the practical good they could effect, and had waited throughout for public opinion. There are some other matters well worthy of attention. I agree with the hon. Member for Beverley that Cuba sugar will enter into the greatest competition with British sugar,

but I believe the Brazilian sugar will also find its way here, and that an encouragement will be given to the importation of slaves, and a great increase in the sufferings of the slaves will be the consequence. But are we quite sure that it will snd there? Are we quite sure that the Brazilian government and the Brazilian planters will not be inclined to abandon the cultivation of cotton, which is now partially pursued, and take to the cultivation of sugar? See the course which was formerly pursued. In the West Indies the cultivation of cotton was abandoned, and the cultivation of sugar increased. How can we assure ourselves that it will be for the advantage of this country to depend exclusively for the supply of cotton upon the United States? Sir, I am of opinion that any measure which tend to render us solely and exclusively dependent upon the United States, and to deprive us of the supply of that necessary article from other countries must be most detrimental to the commercial and mercantile interest of this country, and one of the most dangerous courses that England can adopt. I have listened with deep attention to the speech of my noble Friend the Secretary for the Colonies, and cannot forget the pathetic description he gave of the sufferings of the poor of this country. I hope, Sir, that I am not deficient in the most earnest anxiety to relieve those sufferings, and to restore them to a better state. But when that eloquent description of their sufferings was given, and which will now go off to the country exciting their feelings and raising their passions—that description of their suffering from being forced to purchase a dear article may be contrasted with the sufferings of the negroes, which must be the consequence of the adoption of this measure for the relief of our people. When

I sat on the other side of the House, with but few friends to support me, actuated only by the spirit of truth, and when sometimes my courage failed me, I found the feelings of the people of this country rising to my support, encouraging every effort, and stimulating me to fresh exertions and fresh hopes; and I believe that, if the question were put to the people of this country, whether they would have their sugar cheaper by taking the produce of the labour of the slave, or whether they would suffer their present calamities, I believe they would reject the proposition with disdain. I have such faith in their principles and good feeling, that I believe they would prefer their dinner of herbs to the stalled ox that is offered to them by this measure. I have made these observations to justify myself, and to show my own consistency and adherence to my principle. I deeply regret being obliged to give a vote different from my noble Friend, but I am obliged, on this occasion, to separate from him. If the proposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer could be put in such a form that I could say no to it, I should be desirous to do so, and as far as the forms of this House would permit, that is the course I should pursue. With regard to the other questions, I will not enter into them. I only rose to vindicate my own opinions, and I am content.

THE END.

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[NOT PUBLISHED.]

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

IN THE

UNITED STATES:

THEIR VIEWS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY QUESTION, AND TREATMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF COLOUR.

COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

DARLINGTON:

PRINTED BY JOHN WILSON, MARKET-PLACE.

1840.

INTRODUCTION.

THE documents contained in the subsequent pages, owe their present degree of publicity, to a solemn and overpowering conviction upon the mind of the individual into whose possession they came, that the interests of truth, and the cause of humanity require, that facts so startling, and, if true, so deeply affecting the character of Friends in America, should be made known to the Members of the Society on this side of the Atlantic; more especially, as great stress is also laid upon the hurtful tendency of the course of late years pursued by ministers from England,* visiting the United States, and the salutary influence of remonstrances sent from this country.

The information now given, and much more of a corroborative character, has been forwarded to England, in consequence of a wish having been expressed by individuals, to ascertain, if possible, what amount of credit was due to a variety of painful reports, respecting the conduct of American Friends upon the Anti-Slavery question, and their treatment of the People of Colour.

The individual in this country, who is responsible for the appearance of the following pages, is conscious of no desire to bring unfounded charges against Friends in the United States: or, to make known, unnecessarily, existing defects and inconsistencies; or, to call in question the faithfulness and integrity of those who have paid religious visits to America; or, to witness a relaxation of the strict and wholesome discipline of the Society; or, a compromise of any of the distinguishing doctrines and peculiarities of Friends. On the contrary, the object sought, in putting Friends in possession of the annexed statement of facts and opinions, is

* In the original documents, there are many references to the course which particular individuals have felt it their duty to adopt, during their ministerial visits to America. These, for obvious reasons, have been omitted.

such a revival of their ancient and holy zeal in the cause of pure religion and practical piety, as shall wipe away the reproach, now cast upon a large portion of the Society, and shall render the Body, on both sides of the water, as conspicuous for self-denial, and the acting out of its great principles, as it was in the days when it renounced all participation in the oppressive systems of the nominally Christian world.

The grave and momentous character of the subjects now brought under notice, will, it is believed, be universally admitted; whatever difference of opinion may exist, as to the value of the evidence brought forward to sustain certain allegations. The object of this pamphlet will be gained, if it leads to an impartial and complete examination of the whole matter, and to such expostulation and reproof, subsequently, as may seem to be demanded, by the circumstances of any who have failed in their duty, or have lost the spirit of HIM who was no respecter of persons, and who came to "preach deliverance to the captive."

NOTE.—Friends, into whose hands the following documents may fall, are requested to lend them to those to whom, through inability, they may not have been sent. Copies may be obtained, gratis, on application to EDMUND FRY & SON, 4, Bishopsgate Street, London, to whom, also, reference may be made, by any who desire to inspect the Manuscripts, from which the Pamphlet has been compiled.

LETTER

FROM

WILLIAM BASSETT,

LYNN, MASS., U. S.

Lynn, Mass. U. S., 8 mo. 3, 1839.

DEAR FRIEND,

A FEW months since our mutual friend, * * * , showed me a letter from thee, in which thou asks for information in relation to the position which the Society of Friends in this country hold, with reference to the question of the Abolition of Slavery, and the course which it takes, respecting its own members, who are engaged in the Anti-slavery cause. * * * requested me to furnish thee with such information on these subjects as might be within my knowledge. I do not feel at liberty to decline doing so, for it has long seemed desirable to me, that our friends in England, should be informed of the existing state of things here, that they might exercise such influence as they may have with their brethren and sisters on this side the Atlantic, to produce a feeling among us more congenial to the spirit of true Christianity. I have heard the same desire expressed by others, and I trust it has not arisen from a disposition to lessen our society, or any of its members, in the esteem of our Trans-atlantic friends; but, from a sincere wish that, your strength might be put forth, to aid in removing the dishonour which we have suffered to settle upon the fair inheritance which has descended to us from our worthy predecessors in religious profession.

It is not without a struggle with a naturally ease-seeking disposition, that I have brought my mind to speak plainly of such things as I conceive to be wrong in the Society of which I am a member, and which, in days that are past, I have fondly hoped would shine forth with increased brightness, as a beacon to the world; but, I have felt

myself impelled by my love for its best interests, and still more by an apprehension of duty to the cause of truth, to interpose my feeble influence against the current which threatens to overwhelm our Society, and make it "a hissing and a bye-word" among the people.

It is difficult to convey to one, situated at so great a distance, such information as is necessary, in order to judge correctly of the true state of things. There are many little incidents continually occurring, each apparently unimportant in itself, which, in the aggregate, would go far, and properly too, to influence the judgment; but which, in the nature of things, cannot be communicated in this manner.

The Society of Friends in this country, as such, has done little or nothing towards agitating, enlightening, and purifying the public mind on the subject of Slavery. I never heard the subject alluded to, with this view, in any of our meetings, nor have I ever heard of any such discussion in any meeting of the Society, until it has been sometimes introduced, recently, by professed abolitionists, with how much effect the sequel may shew. We formerly in New England Yearly Meeting, had a query on the subject, something like this,—"Do Friends faithfully maintain their testimony against Slavery?" This was expunged some years since, and an advice substituted, to be read once a year in our preparative and monthly meetings, "that Friends maintain their testimony faithfully against Slavery." On these occasions, I have never known any expression to be elicited. The subject may have been incidentally alluded to in some of our public documents, but, if so, it has been passed over so slightly, as not to produce any impression, and, indeed, I am not aware that such has been the case. I believe, one or more of our Meetings for Sufferings did memorialize Congress several years since against the admission of Missouri into the Union, as a Slave State. And the Meeting for Sufferings of Virginia Yearly Meeting, in 1832, petitioned the Legislature of that State for some measures to be taken for the *gradual* abolition of Slavery, and for the *removal* of the emancipated from the State or Country! Besides these, I know of no public action in reference to the subject, with the exception of several addresses which have been issued by some of our Yearly Meetings, since the commencement of, and occasioned, as I believe, by the *external pressure* of the Anti-slavery Reform; and, in most or all of these, Friends have been especially careful to caution our members against moving in this matter, *except as the body should see fit.* In these remarks, I

would also except the action of a very small number of Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, in which abolitionists have had a sufficient influence to procure it. This has been the case, I believe, in one or more instances in the western part of New York Yearly Meeting, and in our own (Salem) Quarterly Meeting, to which I shall have occasion to refer. I think, I am not unjust or uncharitable in saying, that a general torpor and indifference, in relation to this vastly important subject, has prevailed among us; and we have been satisfied with the Society having prohibited its own members from holding slaves, (for which no credit is due to the present generation,) considering that, by that act, we had borne our "testimony faithfully against slavery." I may here mention, however, that the General Epistle of London Yearly Meeting, I think of 1829, which advised Friends "individually to co-operate with others," in the Anti-slavery cause, Temperance reform, and for other benevolent purposes, was printed and distributed by our Meeting for Sufferings, without comment, as has been usual. But it should be remembered, that this was previous to the commencement of the present Anti-slavery reform, and before the subject had begun to awaken public sentiment. Moreover, at that time, many Friends were connected with popular benevolent associations, even some of those who now most loudly and harshly denounce their fellow-members for acting in the same capacity. What has brought over them such a change? perhaps the information which will be laid before thee, may enable thee to judge. I may say, in passing, that until we were disturbed by the "*excitement*" of abolition, the propriety of Friends so associating, was scarcely questioned, and did not in any degree, interrupt the harmony of the Society. Those who doubted the expediency of such a course, governed themselves accordingly, leaving others in the free exercise of their consciences, and no jarring, no contention, was known among us.

For several years after the commencement of this great reform, it did not seem to claim much of the attention of Friends, as a body, the number of our members who were connected with it, being but small, and *not being among the most influential in the Society;* but, as the spirit of abolitionism more pervaded the Society, and the infection seemed to be extending *upwards* towards the higher class, the opposition to its influence increased. The opposition began to manifest itself in some of the leading members of this Yearly Meet-

ing, chiefly of a prominent Quarterly Meeting, at the time when our dear friend, J. Backhouse, was in this country, and I am satisfied that he was not a little exercised on account of it. The opposition was not merely against our *action*, but against our *principles*, as I think he will recollect, if he should be reminded of a discussion which he and Charles Stuart held with some of our friends at Newport, at the time of our Yearly Meeting. Here, I think, is still the groundwork of the difficulty to a very great extent. I believe Friends are not prepared to come up to the high ground of *Immediate, Unconditional Emancipation.* There is too much of that anti-christian prejudice among us, to admit our acknowledging "every man as our *brother*." I heard J. Backhouse say to a Friend, speaking of the Abolitionists, "See, that you do not lay a *finger* in the way of these men." * * * * But to return.

The position which I have held, has rendered me peculiarly obnoxious, and has made me, more, perhaps, than any other member of the Society in this country, the object of opposition; hence, I shall be under the necessity of speaking of myself, even at the risk of being considered *egotistical.* Although agreeing in the principles of Immediate Emancipation, and, from the first, sympathising with Garrison, the pioneer in the cause, yet, until within three years, I had withheld active participation, having been placed within the reach of adverse influences which I had suffered to control me. I was a Member of our Meeting for Sufferings, and of our Yearly Meeting Boarding School committee, besides holding various appointments in my own Quarterly and Monthly Meetings. Thus situated, I was brought much into contact with those who were most opposed to the Abolition movement, and under an influence not the most favourable for independent freedom of thought and action, and for imbibing a predominant feeling of *individual responsibility.* About three years since, I was led to reflect more on the importance of *action*, and felt as if I could not be much longer excused from it; still, however, looking to the Society as the medium through which our efforts must be made. In the winter of 1836-7, several of the able advocates of the cause, visited our town, and I was induced to attend some of the meetings, and the irresistible appeals which I then heard, had the effect to enlist my feelings and sympathies more strongly in the great enterprise, and after serious reflection and deep exercise of mind, I came to the conclusion that

I could no longer stand aloof, but that I had *individual duties* to perform, from which my connexion with the Society of Friends could not absolve me. I had previously, as an Overseer of our Monthly Meeting, united in a decision refusing the use of our meeting house for lectures on the subject, by W. L. Garrison and H. B. Stanton. I now became uneasy with the stand we had taken, and communicated my feelings to the other Overseers, whereupon, we again met and reversed our decision, and granted the use of the house for that purpose. Strong feelings of disapprobation were now manifest from a very few members of our meeting, among them a Minister, whose influence, has, perhaps, more than all others, contributed to array against us the opposition with which we are contending. On conversing with him about this time, he made an expression like this,—" There is so much corruption amongst the Abolitionists, that the few conscientious men among them, cannot save them from destruction ;" and spoke in a very contemptuous manner of calling on one, " not a member of our Society, to teach *Friends* their duty," &c. Said that it was like employing a Clergyman to preach for us, instead of our own ministers, &c. I introduce such examples with no invidious design, but that thou may better judge of the character of the opposition.

At our Yearly Meeting in 1837, a proposition was received from Salem Quarterly Meeting, that the Yearly Meeting memorialise Congress for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. Without any discussion, the subject was referred to the Meeting for Sufferings. It was entered, in course, on their minutes, and was called up at each meeting of that body for the ensuing year, and a minute made that, "*no way opened to act.*" At this same Yearly Meeting, the situation of the Indians of this country was introduced into the meeting, which at once excited apparently a lively interest, and elicited an animated debate, which resulted in the prompt appointment of a committee. I could not help remarking the striking contrast between an *Indian* philanthropy and a *Negro* philanthropy, and asking myself, why this difference? Is it possible that it is because one is a *popular benevolence*, and the other is denounced by the great and worldly-wise, as a dream of visionary enthusiasm? Whenever the cause of the suffering *red man* has been brought before us, we have never heard it put by, because " no way opened " to administer to his relief! I had previously heard, in the Meeting

for Sufferings, the discussion of the Slavery question in the Yearly Meeting deprecated as a thing necessary to be guarded against; and the course now taken, was in strict keeping with such a recommendation.

At the same time, the Meeting for Sufferings presented an address on Slavery, rehearsing what our Society had done—how it had rid itself of the evil; and how it had constantly and consistently borne its testimony to the present time, and calling on other denominations to follow our example, while no allusion was made to the efforts making by others; which was directed to be printed and circulated. After being once read, a minister who had been somewhat active in the Anti-Slavery cause, requested that it might have a second reading, which is very common with important documents, and which I never before knew refused. He was immediately replied to by another minister, an influential member of the Meeting for Sufferings, who observed, that, if the Friend's object was, to produce any discussion, he should *object*, for it had generally been the case that, when documents prepared by the Meeting for Sufferings, had been altered by the Yearly Meeting, they had generally been made worse! This course was adopted, *and the second reading refused!* At the same meeting, the subject of opening our Meeting-houses for Anti-Slavery lectures &c., was brought before the meeting, which after a rapid expression in favor, resulted in issuing an advice *against* opening them in future for lectures, for those—" who differ from us in sentiment on some subjects that *we* consider of primary importance." This was introduced by a minister from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in relation to which, a friend and minister of our Yearly Meeting said, after meeting, " well, we can afford to pay * * * well for this half-day's work." Under this advice, the doors of our Meeting-houses are barred against the advocates of God's suffering poor; and even our own Members have been refused the use of our House at Lynn, for a meeting on this interesting subject. The ground taken is, that although such a meeting is not *literally* prohibited, yet that it was the *intention* to exclude all meettings for that purpose! At this Yearly Meeting, I was on the Committee on Correspondence, and the occurrences which there came under my notice, confirmed me in the opinion I had already formed, of a want of correct *feeling* among Friends on this subject. To me was committed an Epistle from Virginia Yearly Meeting, to

prepare an essay in reply. I produced such an one as I thought proper, at a subsequent sitting of the Committee, in which their attention was called to their Slave population, and they exhorted not to be prevented by the fear of man, from faithfully advocating their cause; introducing an appropriate quotation from the writings of John Woolman. The criticism which this essay underwent, was an index of the state of feeling which prevails too much among those who are most prominent in our Yearly Meeting. The terms, "*brethren*" and "*fellow-countrymen*," as applied to the Slaves, were objected to, because, it was said that, "we must be careful what language we use, for this may not be confined among Friends, but may get out at the South!" These objections were sustained, and other words substituted, and a large proportion of the essay stricken out.

Those who opposed our proceedings, evidently derived strength and encouragement from this Yearly Meeting. Prominent friends, talked of the consequences of our persisting in our course in the Anti-Slavery cause: it was said that, probably, the next Yearly Meeting would go further, and Friends would be prohibited from joining such associations; and, that if we did not change our course, we should be disowned from Society. Soon after this, I received a letter from a member of a neighbouring Yearly Meeting, protesting against Friends joining Anti-Slavery Societies, with sundry reasons. Similar objections having been so often reiterated, it was thought advisable by some of my friends, that my reply should be made public, to which I did not feel at liberty to object. Accordingly, in the Autumn of that year, it was issued from the press. As a literary performance, I am sensible it is of a very low order, and I have much regretted that the task had not fallen to the lot of some one, better qualified to present the arguments, in a clear, logical, and forcible manner: but I still insist on our *right* to avail ourselves of such means, to make our sentiments known; indeed, I think we should be criminally negligent, did we omit to improve such opportunities as present, to endeavour to stay the tide which is so strongly setting in, against what we believe to be Christian efforts, for the removal of such an enormity as American Slavery. I have since thought more accurately on the subject, and were I now to be called to a similar service, I might, perhaps, avoid some of the imperfections of that work.

That publication has brought upon me much censure. Soon

after its appearance, I received a letter from a beloved friend, in high standing in the Society, expressing his disapprobation, because, he says, it encourages—"*a violation of the fundamental principles of our Society.*" I answered his letter; and referred to the example of Friends, who had for years been connected with similar associations; and to the practice of Friends in England, to whose proceedings this objection would apply with equal force; and asked him whether *they* did not understand our fundamental principles; to which, he did not deign to reply. A new construction is put upon our Discipline, by some, to meet the exigencies of the present time, which would prohibit us from writing for publication, on any moral subject, on which the Society professes to have a Testimony, without laying it before the Meeting for Sufferings. In the Second month, 1838, at a Meeting for Sufferings which I attended, one of the members stated, that a publication had recently appeared, written by a member of that body, which, he thought, required attention. It was concluded, after some expression in favour of the course, to appoint a Committee; but *no minute was made* in relation to it. I understand that, they reported at a subsequent meeting, that some care was necessary; and that, consequently, they were continued; but no minute was made at this time. I heard nothing official from the Committee until the Third month last, when I received a letter from one of their number, requesting me to meet them, at a distance of fifty miles from my residence. I declined the interview, for several reasons:—1st. That the whole proceeding was informal, no regular appointment having been made, and no specific charge having been presented. 2nd. That it was extra-judicial, they having no authority to deal with me, provided I had transgressed any order of Society; my own Monthly Meeting being the only authority empowered to take disciplinary action in the case: and, 3rd. That I had not violated any rule of our discipline, and therefore ought to be exempt from the odium implied in their unofficial and informal proceedings. At our late Yearly Meeting, on reading the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, it appeared that the Committee aforesaid made a report, which was approved by the meeting, in which I am informed that the letter is condemned, in that it maintains that our Society is not, strictly speaking, an Abolition Society; and, in that it alleges that prejudice against colour exists among Friends in this country; both of which points, I think, can

be made sufficiently clear to satisfy any candid mind. In relation to prejudice, I have abundant evidence, some of which I propose to advert to hereafter. I know not how to reply, understandingly, to this report, as I was not at the Yearly Meeting, and I presume a copy of it cannot be obtained.* I may not fully understand the purport of it, but, if I am not misinformed, it is equivalent to a charge of *falsehood*, which I am not permitted to meet, as I understand no further action is contemplated. When I entered the Anti-Slavery cause, I counted upon the loss of my *reputation* in our Society, and I have not been disappointed. At the Yearly Meeting of 1838, my name was dropped from the Meeting for Sufferings, and there have since been many unequivocal indications of such a consequence. Indeed, how can it be otherwise, when the mere act of becoming a member of an Anti-Slavery Society, or of attending an Anti-Slavery Meeting, is considered disorderly, by many of our most influential members? I have not hesitated to remonstrate with Friends for their inconsistency, and to bear my testimony against such measures as I have conceived to be wrong; feeling that I could remain in the Society, only on condition that I discharge my duty towards it in such a manner; and, in so doing, I have, in some instances, made the Anti-Slavery papers the medium of communications. For thus—"exposing the *weaknesses* of the Society," as it is called, I have been repeatedly reprimanded; and it has been more than hinted, that a loss of my membership must be the consequence, if I persist. And yet, my dear friend, how can one keep silence, when corruption threatens to overwhelm even the fairest portion of the visible church? If we should hold our peace, would not the very stones cry out? To lose one's influence in the Society, it is not necessary to become a member of an Anti-Slavery Society, or to attend lectures, but it is sufficient, openly to defend the course of those who do. I speak now of our own vicinity, where, I think, the prejudice is quite as strong as in any part of the country. At our last Yearly Meeting, so many Abolitionists were left off of appointments which they had held for years, that there cannot be a doubt of the design.

* In a letter subsequently received, W. B. says,—"In my former letter to thee, I informed thee of the proceedings of the Meeting for Sufferings in relation to my printed "Letter," &c. I have since applied to that body for a copy of the Report made by the committee on that subject, that I might be enabled to meet the charges there made; but, as I expected, they have declined granting what seems to me so reasonable a request."

The active and determined opposition to Abolitionists was, for a time, confined pretty much to a small number of Friends; but those, were of a class who had long been accustomed to have their opinions received with a deference, which is not awarded to ordinary members. Owing, as I conceive, to partial and prejudiced representations, backed up by "weight of character," this influence has gradually extended itself, so as to include many honest individuals, who have not taken pains to investigate the subject for themselves; until, the current has become so powerful, as to overcome another large class of Society, who agree with us in sentiment, and secretly approve of our measures, and have formerly expressed their opinions; but who, from various reasons, such as, a want of moral courage, a morbid desire to preserve the peace and unity of the Society, and perhaps, in some cases, a wish to maintain their good reputation, have yielded their deliberate convictions, and have actually suffered their influence to go against us.

Our Yearly Meeting, this year, has issued an Epistle of advice to its Members, in which they allude to the importance of our Testimony to the influence of the Holy Spirit—which they fear will be lowered, by joining with others, in Associations for the abolition of Slavery, for the promotion of Temperancc, and of Peace, which they say are *religious* testimonies, and *therefore*, they persuade their Members not to join such Associations. I have not a doubt that, this will be followed up by a rule, making it a diciplinary offence, and even some go so far now, as to give this advice a construction, by which Members may be disowned for refusing compliance. How humiliating, when viewed in contrast with the noble stand taken by Friends in your land! And does the spirit of truth lead in such opposite directions? Several other Yearly Meetings have taken similar ground. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting issued similar advice two years ago, which however, has not been enforced, and is disregarded by large numbers. Indiana Yearly Meeting, last year, put forth a document of like character, and gives, as a reason for such advice, the following, viz. "Our standard of morality and religion is a high and holy standard; in associating with others not of our Society for promoting benevolent objects, this standard has often been lowered. Something objectionable may have been adopted,—some peculiarity we deem it important to maintain, may have been abandoned."

The objections made to our engaging in this cause are various. One very prominent one is, that it is inconsistent with the views of Friends on the immediate influence of the Spirit. Lecturing on slavery, or other moral subjects, is placed on the same ground as preaching the gospel. I have heard some of our leading members say, that for a Friend to *premeditate* a lecture on slavery, or any other moral subject, was a violation of our testimony in relation to the ministry; that, consistently with our principles, none but those who are called to the work of the ministry, could deliver public discourses on such subjects; that, as it is considered improper for a minister to make a previous engagement to preach; therefore, an appointment for an address on slavery, or any similar subject, would be inconsistent; and, that the mere circumstance of a Friend's proposing to deliver such an address, was conclusive evidence that he was unsound in principle! I have heard this ground taken by some of the most prominent members of New England Yearly Meeting. It follows, then, that to pay an Anti-Slavery agent, is equally inconsistent, as to contribute to a hireling ministry; and that it is as much a violation of the order of our Society to attend Anti-Slavery and Temperance Meetings, as to attend the meetings for worship, of other denominations! These views seem to prevail among us to a considerable extent, and to have given rise to the advice which has just been issued from our Yearly Meeting. It seems to me to be a palpable perversion of a doctrine, which I hope to see maintained in all its original simplicity and purity. Again, it is said that, as the immediate influence of the Spirit is not so fully acknowledged by other people generally as by Friends, there is danger, in associating with such persons, of neglecting this important qualification, and of proceeding "in our own wills," and "in our own strength." An objection, conclusive with some, is, that while the Society does not see its way clear to act, it is unsafe for individual members to move in advance of the body. Another objection is, that, in some instances, Anti-Slavery meetings have been opened with prayer. On this subject, the facts are these:—In the local Societies in which Friends are associated, I do not know of an instance where such a practice prevails; and I have been surprised at the great influence which we have in these Societies in proportion to our numbers. In the larger Meetings, I have never known of an instance where there has been any action of the Society on the subject. When any

person has been invited, it has been by the presiding officer on his own responsibility, and Friends have not felt themselves accountable for a proceeding in which they have not, in any degree, participated. In many of the Meetings, and this was the case at the last Meeting of the National Society, the presiding officer has not given any personal invitation, but has intimated that, if any person felt called upon to pray, there was liberty to do so. Again, we have been told that such associating, would have a tendency to lead us to compromise the Testimonies of the Society, in relation to its *outward peculiarities* —moreover, that still greater departures from our faith would be the consequence, as it is said, has been the case in England. The late division in the Society there, has been attributed to the connexion of Friends, with others, in the benevolent Associations of the day. Then, besides these, are the common objections of, *excitement*, *hard language*, &c. &c.

One or two more particulars respecting the action of the Society on the subject of Slavery. At our Monthly Meeting in the 8th Month, 1837, I introduced a proposition that we recommend to the Quarterly Meeting, to memorialize Congress against the annexation of Texas to this government; a measure which was then evidently in contemplation, and which, the friends of freedom had reason to fear would be speedily consummated. The proposition received the approbation of the Monthly Meeting; and when it reached the Quarterly Meeting, it was united with, there, by the great body of Friends, and a Memorial was accordingly adopted; though objections were made by several Members of a Yearly Meeting committee present, (Members of the Meeting for Sufferings) on the ground that, perhaps the Meeting for Sufferings might be inclined to take the subject up, and this movement might have a tendency to obstruct the way for action by that body. At a subsequent Monthly Meeting, a proposition was made by an Abolition Friend that, the Meeting should suggest for the consideration of the Meeting for Sufferings, the expediency of aiding in circulating information in relation to the successful result of the great experiment of West India Emancipation; an object in which it was thought, all could unite. The Monthly Meeting adopted the proposition; but the measure was stifled at the threshold of the Meeting for Sufferings. Such results of our efforts have very much discouraged us from further attempts to produce any effective action by the Society.

The course which "THE FRIEND," published in Philadelphia, has taken in regard to this subject, I think is worthy of remark. True, there has recently been introduced into its pages, articles on the subject of Slavery, yet it has never been committed at all, in favor of the Anti-Slavery cause, as we should desire it might be. During eight years contest, there is scarcely a line to be found in that periodical, intimating that such a reform is in progress. While it frequently notices Temperance meetings, and meetings of Peace societies, and inserts their official documents, and gives various information in relation to the progress of these great reforms; such information respecting the Anti-Slavery enterprise seems to be carefully excluded.

* * * * * * *

Indeed, until recently, the tone of that journal has been decidedly favorable to Colonization; and articles in favor of that unrighteous scheme have not been of rare occurrence. I think the course pursued by "THE FRIEND," furnishes a tolerably correct index of the public sentiment of the Society in this country.

Prejudice against Color exists among Friends here, perhaps to as great an extent as in the community at large. In this immediate vicinity, it has not been so conspicuously developed as in some of our Southern cities, where Colored people are more numerous, and more in the practice of attending Friends' meetings. It is true, as stated in my printed letter, to which I have before alluded, that separate seats are assigned to those whose complexions are a shade darker than ours, in the houses appropriated to the worship of Him, who has made of *one blood* all nations of men. I have abundant evidence in my possession of the existence of this unchristian prejudice, which I deem it unnecessary to furnish thee with, presuming that * * * will put thee in possession of all needful testimony on this point. One circumstance, however, I cannot well forbear mentioning. It was related to me when on a visit at * * * * this spring. At a certain meeting of Friends, where quite a number of Colored persons attend, they have, for a great many years, occupied a separate, assigned seat. Within a few months, a young friend, of good character, who has been much interested in behalf of this oppressed portion of the community, deemed it his duty to take his seat on the bench with the Colored men. Immediately after first taking his seat there, he was severely reprimanded by a *Minister* of that Meeting, who told him

that, in so doing, he was "*sitting in judgment against the Monthly Meeting!*" He also called on an aged Colored man, who has from his youth attended that Meeting, and asked him, why, when that young man came into the seat with him, he had not KICKED HIM OUT!!! I had this account from the lips of this dear Colored brother. To the credit of the young man above alluded to, he continues to sit on the degraded seat, and has recently been joined by another devoted young Friend.

* * * * * * *

In giving thee this statement, if I know my own heart, I entertain none but the kindest feelings towards any of whom I have spoken; but, under existing circumstances, I feel called upon to use great plainness of speech. Oh! I wish that you might be made fully acquainted with the unhappy condition in which the Society is placed, by its position in reference to this subject; and that a voice might come across the great waters, faithfully rebuking the inconsistency of its proceedings.

* * * * * * *

That you may, under the direction of Best Wisdom, be encouraged to continue your labours, until your ears shall be greeted with the joyful Jubilee of Universal Emancipation, is the wish of

Thy sincere friend,

WILLIAM BASSETT.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER, BY WILLIAM BASSETT, DATED 12 Mo. 11, 1839.

WE find ourselves, my friend, in this country, engaged in a contest of vastly greater magnitude, than one merely for the physical Emancipation of our brethren and sisters, in bonds, much as we feel devoted to their cause.

We, who entered that warfare with a single view to the Slave's redemption, soon learned that *our* liberties were bound up in *his;* and we found ourselves engaged in a conflict for *our own mental Enfranchisement.* We found "*the Church*" interposing its influence to prevent the free exercise of the power, which is placed in our hands, for the good of our race. It has assumed the right to control the consciences of its members; that they should not put forth

their energies, but at its bidding. And, not the hindermost in this inglorious warfare, is the Society of Friends! that Society, which, in its early days, accomplished so much for human freedom.

* * * * * * *

Doctrines are now openly preached among us, which I must utterly repudiate. The ground is distinctly taken, that we must wait for a *special revelation*, to warrant us in performing the *common duties of humanity!* Ministers have, in repeated instances, told us, that the witnessing of wickedness or suffering, was no reason for our engaging in measures to remove them! "Working in our own strength," has become a *cant phrase;* and, as it is used, is a very convenient excuse for indolence. What was the condemnation of the Priest and Levite formerly? Was it, that they had no express command to relieve him who had fallen among thieves? Or, was it sufficient that they saw a fellow-creature in suffering, and neglected to administer to his necessities?

I have recently heard a minister enforce the doctrine, that the present is a time wherein the Christian is called "*to suffer rather than to labour;*" advising us to be quiet, while there is so much *excitement* in the world, &c. It seems to me, that this is a most dangerous idea, and one which the enemy of all good would rejoice to see prevail. *A time to suffer, rather than to labour!* How preposterous! I believe there never was, and never will be, a time, whilst evil exists in the world, for the Christian to be idle. His life must be a continual scene of labour and warfare. "*To suffer, rather than to labour!* What suffering is there in a state of *quiescence!* The suffering to which the Christian is called, is, "to endure hardness as a *good soldier;*" to be a co-worker with Christ in the renovation of a world lying in wickedness. A dogma now insisted on, by many, high in authority amongst us, is, that of *unconditional obedience to the decrees of the Society*,—denying individuals the right of private judgment. This is the "*dernier resort*," which is relied upon to silence us when we call in question the advice of our Yearly Meeting, against associating with others for benevolent purposes. It is said, that we have no right to take exceptions to the doings of "*the body*."

By the foregoing remarks, thou wilt see that the warfare which is now agitating the Society in this land, is one for great *principles*; and we cannot suffer any consideration of expediency, to turn us

aside from a fearless advocacy and defence of the right. Our motto must be the advice of one of Freedom's Sons,—"*Peace*, if possible; but *Truth at any rate*." I am convinced, that there is much more spiritual freedom in the Society in your land, than on this side of the water; that, with you, in Church, as well as in State, *human rights* are better understood, and more fully acknowledged, than in this land of boasted liberty; that with you, circumstances have been such, as to keep the energies of the Society more actively employed, by which a healthy circulation has been promoted, and the life of the body, in a greater degree, preserved.

Extract of a Letter from a Friend, dated Mount Pleasant, Ohio, 9 mo. 4., 1839.

Nearly sixty years ago, many of the most valuable Friends in our several Yearly Meetings, took a very active part, as pioneers, in forming Anti-Slavery Associations, composed of Friends, and various other religious professors. These several Associations, first annually, and afterwards biennially, elected Delegates, to meet in a "National Convention, for promoting the Abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery, and for improving the condition of the African Race."

Through their instrumentality, our National Government, in 1807, abolished the legalized Foreign Slave Trade; and seven out of thirteen original States of the Union, have decreed universal Emancipation within their respective limits. All of which, I believe, was accomplished by the Divine blessing, upon the combined efforts of Friends and others, united and acting harmoniously together, with a single eye to the glory of God, and the improvement and happiness of his creature, man. Christian Philanthropists, seeing the glorious result of these voluntary Associations, had their attention directed to this mode of doing good, and the establishment of many benevolent Associations for improving the condition of the human race, has been the result. Among these, the American Bible Society may be regarded as one of the most important. At the organization of that Society, some of our most worthy Friends co-operated, * * * * and then (as far as I am informed) for the

first time was an objection raised to Friends associating, with other professors, in objects of Christian benevolence.

* * * * * * *

The Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia and New England, have, in terms, advised their Members not to associate with other people for the promotion of this cause ; * * * * and now we are actually threatened with disownment, unless we discontinue our connection with the Anti-Slavery Associations, which we cannot do, because we are persuaded, that Slavery was sustained in the British Colonies by the power of a corrupt public sentiment in England ; and that, by the active and zealous co-operation of Friends with others, that public sentiment was corrected, and Slavery thereby abolished; and that if Friends had not thus co-operated in this great work, generations yet unborn, in the British Isles, would have lived and died Slaveholders and Slaves, and that their blood would have been charged upon the heads of those to whom the Word of the Lord, for their deliverance, had come, but who obeyed it not. And we believe, that Slavery in our country is sustained precisely in the same way ; and that the Word of the Almighty, for their deliverance, has come to *us*, and we dare not rebel against it. Friends are regarded by our countrymen generally, as the peculiar friends of the people of color, and their hostility to the Anti-Slavery enterprise, is, therefore, regarded by many as, evidence that this enterprise is not in accordance with the real interest of the Slaves ; and thus, by their peculiar position under the Anti-Slavery reputation, which the Society has acquired by the faithful labors of the last generation, the Society now stands as a mountain in the way of this most righteous cause. Will not the Yearly Meeting, or the Meeting for Sufferings in London, send us an Epistle upon this subject, that shall quicken our minds, and awaken our consciences to a sense of our great obligations to carry on the great and good work to which our Society, in the days of our fathers, was so signally called ?

In a letter, addressed by William Bassett, to a Member of the Society of Friends, published at Boston, in 1837, he observes :—

"The Anti-Slavery Society, has waged an exterminating warfare

against that malignant spirit, which is crushing the colored man to the earth, and preventing his moral elevation, viz. *Prejudice against Colour.* That this cruel prejudice exists to some extent among the Members of that Society, which has long professed to be, above all others, the colored man's friend, evidence is not wanting. It will be allowed, that the '*Negro Pew,*' or its equivalent, may be found in some of our Meeting-houses, where men and women, brothers and sisters by creation, and heirs of the same glorious immortality, are *seated by themselves, on a back bench,* for no other reason but because it has pleased their Creator to give them a complexion darker than our own !

"I believe that an awful accountability rests upon us, for the repulsive effect of our conduct on our colored brethren and sisters, by which, tender, seeking spirits among them, have been deeply wounded. I have in my possession, some affecting accounts, exhibiting the effect of this sinful prejudice on the susceptible minds of those who have been brought under its influences."

A YOUNG woman of Colour, in a letter to William Bassett, says, in allusion to the above paragraph :—"I can set my seal to its truth—and as you request to know particularly about * * * * * Meeting, I may say the experience of years has made me wise in this fact, that there is a bench set apart at that Meeting for our people, whether *officially* appointed or not, I cannot say; but this I am free to say, that my mother and myself were told to sit there, and that a friend sat at each end of the bench to prevent white persons from sitting there. And even when a child, my soul was made sad by hearing five or six times, during the course of one meeting, this language of remonstrance addressed to those who were willing to sit by us,—'This bench is for the black people :'—This bench is for the people of colour;' and often-times I wept—at other times I felt indignant, and queried in my own mind, are these people Christian s ? Now, it seems clear to me, that had not this bench been set a part for oppressed Americans, there would have been no necessity for this oft repeated and galling remonstrance.

* * * * * * *

"In reply to your question, 'Whether there appears to be a diminution of prejudice towards us, among Friends,' I unhesita-

tingly answer, *NO.* I have heard it frequently remarked, and have observed it myself, that in proportion as we become intellectual and respectable, so in proportion does their disgust and prejudice increase."

THE FOLLOWING ARE EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER, RECEIVED FROM A HIGHLY RESPECTABLE CORRESPONDENT IN AMERICA.

* * * * * a Female of Colour who has been for years convinced of the principles of Friends,—has adopted their dress and language, and goes to their Meetings constantly,—*has been advised not to apply to be received into Membership, as she would be* REJECTED. This advice has been given in tenderness, to spare her feelings; but I regret that she abided by it; because, I am willing we should *act out* our feelings towards this oppressed class. She has mentioned this to me, with deep feeling, and remarked, "The hardest lesson my Heavenly Father ever set me to learn, was to love Friends; and in anguish of spirit I have often queried, why the Lord should require me to go among a people who despise me on account of my complexion; but I have seen that it is designed to humble me, and to teach me the lesson, 'Love your enemies, and pray for them who despitefully use you.'"

AN aged man, of undoubted piety, who had lived many years in the family of an Elder of * * * * Meeting, requested to be received into Membership. *He was rejected.* An Overseer of that Meeting, told * * * *, that the *only* reason was, because *he was colored:* for his character, as a religious man, was unquestioned, and he was fully convinced of our principles. This thing was done privately, and elicited no condemnation that I know of.

The following letter, from the young woman before referred to, addressed to * * * * furnishes an affecting corroboration of the truth of William Bassett's remarks:—

MY DEAR * * * *

You ask me for some account of my beloved Brother, and his trials: it is a sadly pleasing theme, and I hasten to tell you what I can recollect. My brother Charles was naturally sensitive, and felt

more keenly than any of us, the prejudice against color; but most of all, the conduct of professing Christians was a stumbling-block to him, particularly their behaviour in their Meeting-Houses to our people. *It drove him to the very verge of Infidelity.* Many times, stung almost to madness by their contempt, he has been ready to curse them, and in the bitterness of his heart, exclaimed "there is no reality in religion, 'tis all a fable, or why do Christians act thus?" When quite a child, he, with the rest of the family, went to Friends' Meeting; but, as he grew to man's estate, the Cross, of being seated on the *back bench* on account of his complexion, was too heavy to bear, and, with Mother's permission, he went to Meeting with Father, among the Presbyterians. It was manifest, however, that he did not grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and his constant reply, when spoken to on religious subjects, was, " 'tis all a fable; if it is not, why do the people act thus?" He continued in this state of mind until his 19th year, when it pleased the Lord to lay on him the rod of affliction. As his health declined, his lion-like temper was subdued, and he became a little child in meekness. He no longer scoffed and jested at the conduct of Christians, but mourned in secret over their unkindness. The Church of which my Father was a member, was without a Pastor, and on sabbath morning, a little company assembled in the Church to read the scriptures and to pray, and for the two last years of his life, my dear Charles was a constant attendant, kindly assisting the aged and illiterate of his own people, by reading the scriptures to them; and so carefully did he conceal from his left hand, what his right was doing, that many of his friends knew nothing of it until he had ceased to live and mourn. As his bodily strength decreased, his mind turned towards the Society of Friends, to the religion of his childhood; but he stumbled at the Cross, and went away sorrowful. A few months before his death, Mother accompanied him to * * * * for change of air, and once or twice he went with her to Friends' Meeting, and found comfort in going, and remarked,— " if they did not despise me so, I should like to go always." Oh! if Friends only knew the anguish this one common expression of theirs, "*this bench is for the black people:*"—"*This bench is for the People of Color,*" inflicts on the sensitive and tender amongst us: if they knew how it shuts up the springs of life, and causes us to turn away from their Meetings, weary and unrefreshed, they would not,

they could not use it so often. Oh! surely the darkness that might be felt, has enveloped their minds on this point.

I had been at home just one week, when Charles was stretched on his sick bed, never to leave it in life. He said, he was quite willing to die, if he could see his way clear. He felt that he was a great sinner. Mother told him,—"Not the righteous,—*Sinners*, Jesus came to save;" and recommended him to cast his burden on Him, and, blessed be God, he was enabled so to do. I had been deeply concerned for my brother, and pleaded earnestly with the Lord for a satisfactory evidence of his acceptance, promising to give him up freely, if I could have this; and He was mercifully pleased to grant it. He bore his intense sufferings without a murmur. Our beloved friend and physician, * * * * * said, that he had never in the course of his long practice, seen but one person who endured pain with so much patience and fortitude. He received every thing we gave him, even the disagreeable medicines, with so much thankfulness, that we all felt it a privilege to be near him, and to administer to his wants. A few evenings before his decease, the doctor ordered fresh applications of mercurial ointment. When he was gone, Charles said pleasantly, "Mother, doctor will not let me go *home* to night." The next day, as he lay groaning with weakness, he turned his dear, languid eyes on Mother, and said, "Is Christ in the vessel?" She replied, "Yes, my dear son, and though the tempest rages, and hides His face, He does not slumber, He is watching over thee." When almost fainting with pain, he said, "Oh Lord Jesus, take me to thine everlasting arms of love." The day following, the adversary of souls was permitted to buffet him, and to fill his mind with doubts, and he prayed fervently, "Oh Lord, let not the enemy of souls pluck this little lamb from thy fold." That evening, when at prayers, I kneeled beside him with his hand clasped in mine. At the conclusion of the prayer, he raised his head from his pillow, and said, "I have had some doubts; but, glory to God, all is clear *now;*" and throwing his arms round my neck, he pressed his lips to my forehead, and prayed, "Oh Lord, grant my dear brothers and sister as full an assurance of *their* acceptance." The next day, this passage of scripture was given him, "Neither heights nor depths, principalities nor powers, things present nor things to come, shal ever be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus." No cloud arose after this, to hide his Lord, for one moment, from

his eyes; and, on the morning of the 1st of September, 1835, he fell asleep, sweetly murmuring, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly."

During the whole of his illness, his intellect shone out strong and clear, so that our neighbours and friends did greatly marvel: and when the cold grave had hidden him from our view, testimonials of his moral worth, his cultivated understanding, and affectionate disposition, poured in upon us daily; and we could not but rejoice, that one so young, so beloved, and so respected, had escaped from the suffering inflicted by scorn and prejudice, and the varied trials which belong to humanity. Still, his death has left an aching void, and nature demands her tears.

We miss him when the board is spread;
We miss him when the prayer is said;
Upon our dreams, his dying eyes,
In still and mournful fondness rise.

Please excuse inaccuracies, as I have been interrupted frequently. Your sympathy is invaluable. May the Lord bless you and our beloved * * * *

J. WILSON, PRINTER, DARLINGTON.

13

PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

FIRST PUBLIC MEETING

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR THE EXTINCTION OF THE SLAVE TRADE,

AND FOR THE

CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA,

HELD

AT EXETER HALL, ON MONDAY, 1ST JUNE, 1840.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT,
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY,

IN THE CHAIR.

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PROCEEDINGS, &c.

His Royal Highness Prince Albert entered the Hall precisely at 11 A.M., the hour appointed, and was received with the most enthusiastic cheers.

The following Noblemen and Gentlemen, amongst many others, were present, viz. :—

Mons. Guizot, Ambassador of France, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Breadalbane, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Euston, M.P., the Earl of Chichester, the Earl Howe, the Earl of Ripon, the Earl of Devon, the Earl of Morley, Viscount Sandon, M.P., Viscount Howick, M.P., Viscount Mahon, M.P., Lord Charles Fitzroy, M.P., Lord Robert Grosvenor, Lord George Lennox, the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of Salisbury, the Bishop of Ripon, the Bishop of Exeter, the Bishop of Hereford, the Bishop of Norwich, the Bishop of Lichfield, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Lord Ashley, M.P., Lord Worsley, M.P., Lord Teignmouth, M.P., Lord Seaford, Lord Eliot, M.P., Lord Berners, Lord Monteagle, Lord Calthorpe, Lord Nugent, Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq., the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P., the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, M.P., the Right Hon. General Sir George Murray, G.C.B., Sir Joseph de Courcey Laffan, Bart., the Right Hon. Sir Stratford Canning, M.P., the Right Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge, M.P., the Right Hon. Sir George Grey, Bart. M.P., the Right Hon. Sir Alexander Johnston, the Hon. William Lascelles, M.P., the Hon. Charles Langdale, M.P., the Hon. Captain Francis Maude, R.N., Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart., M.P., Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Bart., M.P., George Edward Anson, Esq., Francis Seymour, Esq., Sir Edward Bowater, Sir George Stephen, the Archdeacon Wilberforce, Captain Sir Edward Parry, R.N., W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P., R. M. Milnes, Esq., M.P., D. O'Connell, Esq., M.P., N. A. Vigors, Esq., M.P., Edward Baines, Esq., M.P., John Irving, Esq., M.P., William Roche, Esq., M.P., Charles Lushington, Esq., M.P., Thomas Dyke Acland, Esq., M.P., William Busfield, Esq., M.P., James M'Queen, Esq., C. E. Trevelyan, Esq., Joseph Gurney Barclay, Esq., James Cook, Esq., James Bandinel, Esq., Joseph Beldam, Esq.—Quantamassa and W. Anssa, the Ashantee princes, Baron Gersdorff, the Saxon minister, D. R. Morier, Esq., her Majesty's minister to the Swiss Cantons, the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan, the Moravian, the London, and the Baptist Missionary Societies, the Reverend Doctors Benson, Dealtry, Bunting, Burder, Vaughan, Cox, and Hannah, the Reverend Messrs. S. C. Wilks, J. W. Cunningham, M. M. Preston, George Clayton, John Beecham, James Dixon, E. Hoole, T. Jackson, R. Monro, John Clayton, John Bowers, Isaac Keeling, John Scott, John Burnet, John Leifchild, James Sherman, R. Pyne, John

Blackburn, William Jones, P. Latrobe, William Allen, Esq., Josiah Forster, Esq., Robert Forster, Esq., Thomas Sturge, Esq., George Stacey, Esq., W. E. Forster, Esq., Samuel Gurney, Esq., Dr. Hodgkin, Dr. Bowring, Thomas Farmer, Esq., Sir Moses Montefiore, Mr. Sheriff Wheelton, Capt. Trotter, R.N., Capt. William Allen, R.N., Capt. Bird Allen, R.N., Capt. Washington, R.N., Capt. Cook, Capt. Henry Hope, G.C.B., R.N., Lieut.-Col. Edward Nicolls, David Turnbull, Esq., J. Gurney Hoare, Esq., Henry Waymouth, Esq., William Hamilton, Esq., J. M. Strachan, Esq., Henry Pownall, Esq., H. R. Upcher, Esq., R. Matthews, Esq., &c.

On taking the chair His Royal Highness thus addressed the meeting:—

I have been induced to preside at the meeting of this Society from a conviction of its paramount importance to the great interests of humanity and justice. (*Cheers.*) I deeply regret that the benevolent and persevering exertions of England to abolish that atrocious traffic in human beings, at once the desolation of Africa, and the blackest stain upon civilized Europe, have not as yet led to any satisfactory conclusion. (*Cheers.*) But I sincerely trust that this great country will not relax in its efforts until it has finally and for ever put an end to a state of things so repugnant to the spirit of Christianity and to the best feelings of our nature. (*Loud cheers.*) Let us therefore trust that Providence will prosper our exertions in so holy a cause; and that under the auspices of our Queen (*Loud cheers*) and Her Government we may at no distant period be rewarded by the accomplishment of the great and humane object, for the promotion of which we have this day met. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

The following Report was then read by the Rev. J. M. Trew, the secretary of the Society.

"The Committee of the Society formed for the extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa, deem it expedient to commence their First Report by briefly stating the origin of the Society.

'At a meeting of Noblemen and Gentlemen feeling a deep interest in the Extinction of the Slave Trade, and the Civilization of Africa, held at the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington's, No. 29, Great George Street, Westminster, on Tuesday, the 23d day of July, 1839:

'On the motion of the Lord Bishop of London, seconded by the Earl of Euston, it was unanimously resolved—

'That an institution be formed, having for its primary object the Extinction of the Slave Trade by adopting measures for civilizing Africa, and encouraging and protecting the cultivation of the soil and legitimate commerce.

'On the motion of the Lord Viscount Sandon, seconded by Lord Seaford, it was unanimously resolved—

'That a Provisional Committee be appointed to draw up rules and regulations for this Society.

'On the motion of John Irving, Esq., M.P., seconded by Samuel Gurney, Esq., it was unanimously resolved—

'That it may be of the utmost importance to the suppression of the Slave Trade and the Civilization of Africa, that an institution for agricultural purposes, wholly distinct from the institution named in the first

resolution, shall be formed, and that a Provisional Committee be appointed for the consideration of this subject.

'On the motion of Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq., seconded by the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, M.P., it was unanimously resolved—

'That all the Noblemen and Gentlemen present be members of the African Civilization Society, with power to add to their number.

'The meeting then appointed the several Provisional Committees, and also a Deputation to confer with Her Majesty's Government upon the measures to be adopted for promoting the objects of the Society now instituted.'

"In pursuance of these resolutions, the Committee have held many meetings during the year, and have paid the most anxious attention to various subjects connected with the establishment and interests of the Society, into the details of which they do not now feel it necessary to enter. They content themselves with this general report of the formation of the Society, with submitting the names of the Noblemen and Gentlemen who, in their judgment, should be appointed as the Vice-Presidents and Committee of the Society for the ensuing year, and with their warmest congratulations to the Society on the condescending acceptance by His Royal Highness Prince Albert of the Presidency of the Institution."

Mr. Fowell Buxton.—I beg permission to read a letter that has been addressed to a member of the Committee by the command of Her Majesty the Queen Dowager. "My dear Sir Thomas Acland,—I have not allowed a moment to elapse without submitting the Prospectus of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade to Queen Adelaide. I am commanded to convey to you the entire approbation of Her Majesty to any plan which, by diffusing the blessings of Christianity, the comforts of civilized life, and the means of education, may gradually extinguish the dreadful export of slaves from Africa, and all the horrors consequent upon that detestable traffic. Queen Adelaide begs to present a donation of 100*l.* to the Society, with Her Majesty's ardent prayers and best wishes for the entire success of their most praiseworthy objects. I am very truly yours. (Signed) Howe." (*Great cheers.*)

Rev. J. M. Trew.—I am also instructed by the Committee to read a letter addressed to Sir Robert Harry Inglis, by His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. "Regarding the Slave Trade with abhorrence, I shall have pleasure in joining a Society whose attention is directed to its extinction by opening amicable communications with the native princes of Africa, with the view of preparing the way for the civilization of that unfortunate country. The doubts which I expressed to you at first have been removed by the assurance that this Society is established on the principle of not taking part in any plan of colonization or trade, and that its objects are exclusively pacific and benevolent. As I have not the power of attending the meeting, I trouble you with these lines to assure you of my hearty concurrence in the purposes for which it has been called. I remain, my dear Sir, your faithful servant. (Signed) W. Cantuar." (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Fowell Buxton.—I am desired to say, that his Grace the Arch-

bishop of York has expressed his entire concurrence in the sentiments contained in the letter which you have just heard. (*Cheers.*)

Rev. J. M. Trew.—I am likewise instructed to read a communication addressed to Sir T. D. Acland from the Archbishop of Armagh, Lord Primate of all Ireland. "My dear Sir Thomas,—I regret that it will not be in my power to attend the meeting of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade, and for the Civilization of Africa, which will be held at Exeter Hall on Monday. I enclose an order for 25*l.*, which I request you to be so good to hand to the Treasurer of the Society in aid of its objects, which have my best wishes for their success. I have the honour to be, with much respect, your faithful servant. (Signed) John G. Armagh."

I am further instructed to read a letter to the same purport addressed to the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington, by the Lord Bishop of London.

"My dear Sir,

"I am much concerned to find that the public meeting of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade has been fixed for a day on which it will not be possible for me to attend, as I have to hold confirmations in Hertfordshire on Monday and Tuesday next. I am the more concerned as I learn that His Royal Highness Prince Albert has consented to take the chair at that meeting. I should gladly have embraced the opportunity of publicly expressing my earnest desire to promote to the utmost of my power the important object of the Society. We owe a debt to Africa which we can hardly ever pay in full. But no efforts should be spared by us to diminish its amount, and nothing effectual can be done to that end till the Slave Trade, that greatest of all human iniquities, is suppressed, nor will any endeavours of ours effect that suppression unless we can open the eyes of the natives of Africa to its wasteful impolicy as well as its cruelty. When that is done, Christianity will have free course and do its proper work. I think, therefore, that the line of proceeding which the Society has marked out for itself is that which gives us, under the Divine blessing, the fairest prospects of the final civilization and conversion of Africa. Believe me, my dear sir, yours faithfully. (Signed) C. J. London. May I request you to set down my name for a donation of 25*l.*"

I am also instructed to make a communication from a name well known to every individual now present, Thomas Clarkson, Esq. (*Great cheers.*) "Gentlemen,—I was much gratified by your kind invitation to attend your great meeting on the 1st of June, though I needed none on a subject which is so near my heart. I am grieved, greatly grieved, in answer to it to say, that the present state of my health will not allow me to be removed, so as to undertake a journey, for some days to come, though there is nothing which I should more desire. All my life, from the 24th year of my age, has been devoted to the sacred cause which you now so laudably advocate, so that no one can doubt of my readiness to be with you and to serve it. When my dear and revered friend, Mr. Wilberforce, (*Cheers,*) and others, first embarked in it, we directed our labours, as a first step, to the abolition of the Slave Trade only, to rescue the injured African from the sufferings it brought upon him, and to wipe away from our country the stain of infamy which such a traffic attached to it. But you who succeed us take a wider

field of labour; while you keep the same object in view, you endeavour to improve his condition in society, to civilize him, to make him a moral being, to lead him to that most invaluable of all acquisitions the knowledge of Christianity, to improve his country also, and to make him an habitable and comfortable home in his own land. Your plan, therefore, being of this extensive nature, demands the serious attention of every one who has ever felt for Africa, and entitles it to his warmest support. I am, gentlemen, respectfully and truly yours, THOMAS CLARKSON."

I also am directed to read a letter from the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, addressed to the Right Hon. S. Lushington. "I regret extremely that I shall not be able to attend the meeting on Monday, but I sincerely wish all possible success to the Society. The civilization of Africa by peaceful means will not only strike at the root of the Slave Trade, but will in itself be no less a benefit to humanity than the extinction of that odious traffic. Yours, most sincerely, MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE."

MR. FOWELL BUXTON. (*Received with enthusiastic cheering.*)

May it please your Royal Highness. Ladies and Gentlemen,—When I see this vast Hall filled, as I never before saw it filled, to the extremest corner, and when I see this platform how it is crowded, and by whom, and when, above all, I see who it is that occupies the Chair on this occasion, (*Great cheers,*) if my first feeling be, as it is, a feeling of thankfulness and congratulation, my next impulse is, if not to shrink from the task which has been imposed upon me, at all events to offer the most humble apology to this meeting, (seeing the gentlemen by whom I am surrounded,) for moving the first Resolution. But as apologies and explanations would take time, which is this day valuable, I shall only say that it is not my fault, certainly, if I am placed in this prominent situation. I do confess I was somewhat surprised that the members of the Committee, and more especially my old Parliamentary friends, should have placed me in a situation in which it was necessary that I should speak, because I well recollect when I was in the House of Commons the consternation which used to spread from bench to bench when any gentleman rose to deliver his opinions who had already appeared in print upon that subject. Now I advert to this apprehension for the purpose of allaying it; it is not my intention to yield to the temptation.

I shall give you neither my book, nor any part of my book, but I take this opportunity of saying, that the subject is so large, that really I feel the best thing that I can do is to reduce what I have to say to within a very small compass indeed.

But there is one subject which I cannot omit. I hope it is not out of order—I hope I shall be permitted to express what satisfaction, what intense and unfeigned gratification I feel, and not I alone, but which is universally felt, at the high and distinguished honour which is this day bestowed upon our infant Society. (*Cheers.*) I understand that your Royal Highness has purposely avoided party and political meetings. (*Great cheers.*) That cheer assures me that I may answer for this assembly that there shall be nothing of the kind on this occasion. (*Cheers.*) Differ we undoubtedly do, but not to-day. You see here

assembled persons of every variety of political opinion, and of every shade of religious belief. There may be dissensions, and bitter ones elsewhere, but here I will venture to say you will find us united in one common heart, one common object, one common bond, namely, hatred to the traffic in men. (*Cheers.*)

The resolution which I have to propose is—"That notwithstanding all the measures hitherto adopted for the suppression of the foreign trade in slaves, the traffic has increased and continues to increase under circumstances of aggravated horror, and prevails to an extent which imperatively calls for the strenuous and combined exertions of the whole Christian community to effect its extinction."

You see that we acknowledge that we have been disappointed, defeated, and baffled, but the business of this day resolves itself very much into a single question; shall a new effort and a mighty one be made for the deliverance of Africa? What is the state of Africa? It is one universal slaughter house,—that stands upon evidence, I think which cannot be disputed. What is its trade? Trade in the bodies of its inhabitants. What is its religion? Its very essence is human sacrifice, and so if you look in every direction it is all the same. And then the trade itself,—what is that? Why it sweeps off and mows down multitudes every day in the year and every hour in the day. Thousands are destroyed in those mighty conflagrations, thousands more fall by day in traversing those burning sands. And then there is the slave ship—how is that to be described except in the words of Scripture, "Pestilence stalketh" upon the waters. Nay, it is a well ascertained fact that the very shark knows that barque of blood, and expects to derive from it his daily sustenance; look where you will it is all the same; but I shall not attempt to describe it; if there be one conviction which has been indelibly implanted upon my mind by going through that horrid mass of materials, it is, that it is not to be described—the horrors of Africa are not even to be conceived—the tongue cannot tell them nor the ear of man receive them, and they outrun the comprehension of the mind.

I can speak thus, perhaps, more confidently than most people because I have attempted to give a delineation of the slave trade, but there is no one that feels more strongly than I do how utterly and completely it failed as a just and adequate delineation of the horrors of that traffic. (*Hear, hear.*) I feel I cannot, I know I cannot delineate it. Once more, therefore, I must resort to a picture drawn by an inspired hand, "The whole head is sick and the whole heart is faint, from the sole of the foot even to the head there is no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises and putrefying sores."

I come, then, to the question—At what is it we aim? We do not pretend to say that what we aim at we shall rapidly attain, but we hope eventually to attain it. We aim at nothing less than this—to substitute the very reverse, the contrary, the opposite of what prevails in Africa at present. We aim at peace. I speak this with the more emphasis because a question has been put to me by a very intelligent and able friend of Africa upon this subject. I do say, that as far as our objects extend they are exclusively for peace, and we trust that the effect will be abundance of peace in that country—that peace which shall enable every man to pursue his honest calling at home, or to wander forth from his dwelling when it so pleases him without the

apprehension that the man-stealer is prowling in the neighbourhood ready to pounce upon his children. We aim at industry, that industry which shall till the land and out of the land extract a ransom for the country—that industry which shall cultivate the land and penetrate the forest and delve into the earth and, availing itself of nothing else but the bounty of nature, shall transform the face of the country and spread abroad flocks and herds and harvests and beauty and plenteousness. We aim at something more than industry, and here again I lay some emphasis because upon this also I have been questioned. We want nothing but free labour—we have no intention of endeavouring to civilize Africa by the whip and by the chain. We look, and, as far as our influence goes, our influence shall be employed in extending freedom. We aim at commerce—commerce which will bless both her and us, which will carry away the superflux of the products of Africa and will bring back to Africa what the skill and machinery of this country produce. And we want above all, religion. (*Cheers.*) I say that the more emphatically because upon that subject I have been much criticised, and I have been told that it is "a fundamental error of the gravest character" that I should repose the confidence I do in the exertions and assistance of missionaries. Well, if it be an error to depend upon missionaries, if it be an error to be most anxious for the spread of Christianity not only for its eternal but for its temporal effects, if it be an error to believe that Christianity is not merely the best of civilizers but in one sense the only true civilizer, (*Great cheers,*) if these be errors I stand here not merely convicted but confessing, for these are the opinions which I do hold. (*Cheers.*) Every one looks at a subject deeply interesting to him under his own peculiar and favourite aspect;—mine, I confess, is the idea of Africa visited by Christianity and at length brought entirely under the influence of Christianity.

What is the religion of Africa now? I have recently said that it is not my intention to quote any thing from my own book, but there is one very small almost inconsiderable circumstance which I hope I may have leave to advert to; I do so the more readily because it took place very recently—because it took place in the presence of a gentleman who I suppose is now in this room, and I do it the more especially because it gives me a clear and well-defined picture of what Africa is as to one point. A chieftain had just returned from one of his expeditions where he had been so successful as to capture many human beings and had slaughtered also many. A missionary, the gentleman from whom I heard this story, was present. The chief called to him a little boy—the child came trembling and weeping—he was young, but he was not so young but he had some conception of the terrible fate which overhung him; the missionary took compassion upon his alarm and begged that this child might be given to him—a very slight request in Africa—but it could not be complied with; happy would it have been if it could have been, because that child would then have been reared under the eye of this Christian minister, he would have been brought up with the divine truths placed before him, and he might ultimately have filled, as others in precisely the same situation have done, the honourable position of a minister of religion to his own country. But it could not be, the fate of this child was irrevocably fixed—he was devoted to the Evil Spirit—he was to be offered up. (*Here Mr. O'Connell entered the Hall.*) May I take the liberty of saying one

word; I now discover the cause of the interruption, and I do beseech those who are here assembled, that the cause of Africa may not this day be sacrificed to any political opinion. (*Great cheers.*) I know the honourable gentleman who has just entered the hall, and I will fairly say that a more strenuous advocate than he for the abolition of Slavery there was not. (*Great cheers.*) But give me leave to say this, if this be repeated, and if it is likely that the cause of Africa will suffer by his presence to day, I doubt not that he will instantly retire, because I know perfectly well that his object is to do good to the cause; and if a bone of contention be thrown among us in consequence of his presence, I know that he will absent himself. May I in the name of poor Africa beg that this subject may now be banished, that the voice of controversy may be hushed, that all dissensions for one day may sleep. (*Cries of "Go on."*)

I will take the liberty of proceeding, then,—I think I have stated what we aim at. Now give me leave to state on what it is we place our reliance. I do most thankfully acknowledge that a body of gentlemen have come forward to aid and support this cause, with whom it is a privilege and an honour to act; but at the same time, though I am sure I shall not be suspected of underrating the value of their assistance, yet I must say that our great dependence is not on them. I see this great assemby, I remember the anti-slavery public who fought the battle of the Negro for fifteen years, and brought it to a successful issue; yet it is not upon them, nor is it upon the great Council of the Nation, that our great confidence rests; though in both houses, amidst a thousand questions of discussion and dissension, upon this only is there uniformity of opinion. I look to all these as the implements by which the work shall be accomplished, but I look far higher than to any human agency for the great hope and bulwark of our confidence. If we depended but on human agency, we might be startled indeed when we remember the centuries that that trade has continued, and the interests embarked in it, and the space that it occupies, and the impulse—the love of gold—by which it is impelled, I do say that if we depended only on human influence we might by possibility be disappointed; but strong as all those are, there is a much stronger than those, and I do believe and hope—and I go further—I will with all humility, yet with all confidence, say that I know from His own words, that when we engage in a duty like this, when we look to Him, and to Him only, for our help, when we have but the single object of the benefit of His creatures, His blessing will not be wanting.

But as far as human agency is concerned I will tell you what it is that we do want; we want the hearts of this assembly—we want more than this assembly—we want the hearts and the influence of the people of England; nay, for this is not confined by the seas, we want all Christendom to stand up upon this subject. I am inclined to think that we have been too exclusive in the quarter from which we have looked for assistance: there are a good and a mighty body of friends in America, persons, who after the exposition which has recently been given of the employment of the American flag for the purposes of advancing this traffic (I trust altogether without the concurrence of any one officer of that government)—there are those, I say, who will not let the matter sleep. We have friends in America, then; we have friends in France, and I take the liberty of saying that I have lately seen a good aboli-

tionist, where I believe he has never been looked for before, I mean in the Vatican at Rome. I found the Roman Pontiff reading a pamphlet on the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade; and from his lips I heard, as I had already read in that Bull which is now spreading in Portugal and Spain, Brazil and Cuba—from his lips I heard, expressed in the most feeling language, his astonishment and horror that any man calling himself a Christian could be embarked in that cause.

We want, I have said, the hearts of this noble assembly: there is not in this assembly one individual, from your Royal Highness to the lowest person in it, who cannot render some service. We want every one to do his best; we want the powerful—and I see here many that are powerful—we want the powerful to lend us their influence, and the wealthy to bestow upon Africa their money, and we want the intellectual to give us the help of their learning, and of their influence, and those who have no learning, and no money, and no influence, there is still a province for them; they may pour out their prayer to Almighty God that he would let his blessing rest upon our object and upon our efforts, and upon that critical expedition which is about so soon to hold intercourse with Africa; His blessing on, I will not call them to-day our gallant, but, our Christian friends, who at the peril of their lives will undertake that task, and they may fervently pray that the issue and consummation of this expedition and of all the other measures that are to be taken (for this is but one of them)—that the effect and issue of the whole may be what I will describe in language familiar to many of us, "That peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established amongst them to all generations." (*Cheers.*)

I feel that it is not for a person so obscure as myself to dwell longer upon these subjects, or to occupy for a longer period the attention of this meeting, and therefore I will bring my observations to an immediate close; but shall I be excused if so humble an individual as myself should express a feeling which I can truly say has long inhabited my bosom, and which is revived most strongly by seeing your Royal Highness in that chair, it is my most earnest and ardent desire that Her Majesty, your Royal Consort, (*great cheers,*) may long reign with boundless prosperity and surpassing glory. I do not forget—who can?—the military triumphs of this country, but there is a road of glory more noble, more illustrious, purer and grander, than the battles of Waterloo or Trafalgar, (*Cheers*)—to arrest the destruction of mankind,—to pour a blessing upon a continent in ruins,—to send civilization and the mild truths of the gospel over a space in comparison with which Britain itself is but a speck upon the ocean. This is the road to true and enduring renown, and the prayer and desire of my heart is that Her Majesty may tread it, (*cheers*) and that, crowned with every other blessing, she may be remembered at a distant day amongst the people of this country as one who was destined, to use the language of a poet of the last century,

> "To shine the leader of applauding nations,
> To scatter happiness and peace around her,
> To bid the prostrate captive rise and live,
> To see new cities tow'r at her command,
> And blasted nations flourish in her smiles."

(*Loud and continued cheers.*)

THE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER. (*Received with cheers.*)

May it please your Royal Highness. My honourable friend who has just taken his seat described himself, I will not say how unjustly, as a humble and obscure individual. Humble in his own eyes, but not in the just estimation of others! not obscure, so long as the annals of this country shall last, and the name of that honourable gentleman shall be identified with those of the most strenuous and persevering opponents of the Slave Trade. (*Cheers.*) I rejoice, Sir, that after the exposition of principles, and the details in reference to the projected measure, into which the preceding speaker has entered, it will not be necessary for me to detain your Royal Highness and this meeting at any great length in seconding this resolution. It might, however, be regretted—I for one should regret—if, on an occasion like the present, the opportunity were not embraced of offering an early expression, however inadequate and feeble, of the sympathy of the clergy of the Church of England in this great cause. (*Cheers.*) I cannot but feel, Sir, that it would be a subject of just reproach to the Church, if some distinct manifestation of interest were not evinced. It is due to ourselves, as it is due to the cause, to declare our attachment and our adherence to a Society which has for its object the utter and effectual extinction of the Slave Trade through the medium of Christianity.

If indeed this were a question of politics, then we might justifiably hesitate ere we ventured to thrust ourselves into the fore-front of the battle. But that this is no question of politics in any ordinary acceptation of the word, we have the best guarantee in your Royal Highness' condescension in taking the chair this day. (*Cheers.*) Or, if it were a mere matter of commercial interest which had called for the support and sanction of this great meeting, we might have left it with propriety to the men who run to and fro, to the men of traffic, and to the men of enterprise, and might have watched the result, not indeed without deep interest, but without anxiety. But, in point of fact, the question at issue is a question neither of commerce nor of politics, properly so called. It is rather a question intimately and inseparably connected with the moral consistency and religious character of the country. And hence it is, Sir, that I must express my conviction that neither I nor my right reverend brethren, who have attended so numerously on this occasion, nor above all the Most Reverend Primate, whose concurrence in this object has been so promptly given in the letter which has been recently read, are out of our proper place in avowing, at the earliest opportunity, our desire to co-operate in the great and good work of the extinction of Slavery through the means contemplated by this Association.

It is, in truth, humiliating to remember that sixty years have now elapsed since the first agitation of this question, and that still it should be necessary to meet again on this day to concert new and remedial measures for the abatement of the evil. It is in truth humiliating to reflect, that in the words of the resolution which I hold in my hand, "notwithstanding all the measures hitherto adopted for the suppression of the foreign trade in Slaves, the traffic has increased, and continues to increase, under circumstances of aggravated horror." It is humiliating to reflect that these should be truths too notorious to need demonstra-

tion, notwithstanding the fact that so long ago as nearly at the beginning of the present century Great Britain prohibited all her subjects from engaging in the Slave Trade. Under these circumstances it is impossible to deny the high responsibility which attaches to this country. I trust that the proceedings of this day will go far to lay the foundation of a great and judicious measure which eventually shall accomplish something worthy of that debt of accountability, which, as a nation, we have incurred. I trust that with that knowledge of the facts which the experience of the last half century has taught us, we shall not hesitate to act according to our duty for the suppression of the grievance. And with this knowledge, possessing, as we possess, the power, (*Hear, hear,*)—for shall it be said that this country, the Mistress of the Seas and the Queen of the Waters, has not the power?—having at once the knowledge of the facts, and the power to remedy the evil, it would be a national reproach to the country if there should be practically a refusal to attempt to apply the remedy. And a remedy for what? We must not disguise the fact. The traffic has not been extinguished—has not even been diminished; but, by the latest accounts from which any estimate can be correctly formed, the numbers exported have increased, the destruction of human life, and all the guilt and misery consequent thereon, have been fearfully augmented; and at the same time it may be stated that the numbers exported from Africa are, as compared with the year 1807, as two to one, and that the annual loss of life has risen from seventeen to twenty-five per cent.

With these views I cordially desire to join in the proceedings of this Society. I hail the measures which it is proposed to adopt under the union of strength which will be formed this day. I rejoice in seeing that the blow is aimed—not for conquest—not for mere national aggrandizement,—not for the depression of national enemies,—but against barbarism in Africa, the real root of the evil, and in behalf of Christianity, in opposition to the false religion and superstitions of idolatry and sin. On these grounds, in the name of the Church of England, of her clergy, and of her people, I heartily wish all prosperity to the undertakings of this Society, and bid it good speed in the name of the Lord. With these feelings, Sir, I cordially second the resolution. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Fowell Buxton.

His Royal Highness has commanded me to read to you the Resolution, which having been done—

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The Right Honourable Stephen Lushington.

May it please your Royal Highness. Ladies and Gentlemen—I shall not detain you by any apology. I am here upon compulsion, it is true, but I am a willing slave in your cause. I should have been glad if some other individual had undertaken the task assigned to me. The resolution which I am now about to propose to you is connected with that which has already been stated by the two speakers who have preceded me, and it is almost a necessary consequence of the facts already premised, for we state in this resolution that every attempt by treaty, by remonstrance, by naval armament, having failed—it becomes the duty

of this country to exercise its ingenuity to discover some new plan, some novel mode of proceeding standing upon higher principles, whereby the great object never to be abandoned may in time be finally achieved. (*Hear, hear.*)

We come to the consideration then, first, of the reason which has given birth to this Institution, and then, to the principles and the common bond which knits us together. We are instituted because the trade in human beings is not merely continued, but is hourly and daily augmented; because in extent of human suffering, in duration of time, in depth of guilt, a more appalling defiance of the first ordinances of God was never exhibited since the world was created, and that defiance too and those acts perpetrated not by those who are buried in the depths of heathen barbarism and pagan idolatry, but by those whose pride it is to know, to acknowledge, and to profess their belief in an eternal God and a Saviour, who indeed do not deny him, but defy him. (*Hear, hear.*)

When this Institution first originated, and when it was proposed to unite and combine together persons professing such infinite diversity of opinion, it was necessary to lay down some common principle which should keep us together in good faith, and unite us for the purpose of accomplishing our end. We were all of us well aware that, had it been practicable, it would have been infinitely more desirable that certain great objects should be attempted to be attained in other and different ways, but we knew, and it would be folly and absurdity to conceal the fact for a single moment, that persons professing such difference of religious persuasions never could honestly unite for the introduction of Christianity upon any common basis and principle. We knew that, as there were Churchmen, Dissenters, members of the Society of Friends and Roman Catholics, it was not in the wit of man to frame a system in which they could all cordially combine for that purpose; but remember the words of our prospectus, that though with unfeigned regret we were under the necessity of abandoning the idea of directly and immediately attempting to introduce Christianity by this Society, we one and all, without a single exception, united in the expression of our firm conviction that the evil would never be overcome until Africa had abandoned her Pagan rites, and become a Christian people. (*Cheers.*) So again, with respect to education, the same difficulty occurred, but we all knew this, that, whether we spoke of the introduction of Christianity, or whether we spoke of spreading knowledge in other and different forms throughout the Continent, there were societies and bodies, when once the road was opened to them, which would embrace that object, and would carry it with certainty into effect.

Now it is right that I should say also, because we should be deprived of some of our most valuable friends and assistants if the slightest doubt remained upon one point—this Society proposes to do nothing by force or by fraud; let that be distinctly understood. I never will, acting as a member of this Society, violate that common bond which has tied us together. But that does not fetter us as individuals; because I act as a member of this Society, and in that capacity never will attempt to effect the object by means repudiated at the time we united at the foundation of the Society; yet I scruple not to say as an individual, I am bound by nothing but my own consciousness of what is right, and individually and separately I am at liberty to follow that course. (*Hear.*)

Now, is it said that we have laid our foundation on limits so narrow that little good can be expected to result from such a combination? Why, the forest must be cut ere the church can be built; the swamp must be drained ere the stately palace can be erected; the road must be opened, and exertions however energetic, however benevolent, however well-directed, must have that road opened to them before it be consistent with possibility that they should succeed. We then are the humble pioneers in this road; we seek the civilization of Africa; we seek to commence that great work; we seek to abolish the Slave Trade by extinguishing the great motive to its continuance—the insatiable lust of avarice, by supplying to the inhabitants those necessaries, those comforts, those conveniences in a mode which no human being can offer an objection to, instead of their being purchased by the blood and the misery of their fellow-creatures.

Can we suppose that no effect will be produced from such a combination? Can we suppose that the nations of the continent of Europe will not feel, and will not acknowledge, and may they not imitate the example set them this day? I have the honour to witness present here the representative of one of the greatest nations in Europe (Monsieur Guizot) (*Cheers.*) I hail his presence as an auspicious omen, (*Cheers,*) and I trust that he will convey to his Sovereign and to his Country an adequate representation of the feelings and the unanimity of the present meeting. (*Cheers.*) I trust, and why should I doubt? that it will produce its effect. Why should that nation, highly educated, informed as well as any that inhabit the globe, professing substantially the same common creed with us all,—why should not France emulate England in this great undertaking? (*Cheers.*) Here are no petty squabbles about islands or divisions of territory; here is no selfish or sordid motive to divert man from the impulse of his just feelings, or to lead him to seek for himself, or for his country, more than she is justly entitled to; here is a common ground in our endeavours to abate the greatest infamy that ever yet desolated the world. I hope for France, I pray for France, as our first and noblest coadjutor. (*Cheers.*)

But are there no other grounds upon which I may be permitted to indulge a sanguine hope? Is it nothing to announce to the world that a meeting has been held here, crowded to suffocation, containing within it not one separate party, great as that might be; not merely the Bishops and Archbishops of the Church of England, or those who may be nearly connected with them, but every species of Christian, every one who acknowledges the common cause of Christianity? (*Cheers.*) And when I speak of politics, I have not words to express the sincere gratification and inexpressible pleasure which I derive from seeing those to whom I am opposed in politics taking so active a part upon the present occasion, and more especially that we are graced by the presence of one who presides at the head of this great meeting. (*Loud cheers.*)

Sir, amongst the various methods which have been suggested for the diminution of this traffic—for I am happy to say that the minds of hundreds and of thousands have been occupied in endeavouring to discover modes whereby it might be, if not entirely subverted, at least kept within bounds—I think it right to bring to the consideration of this meeting a proposition founded upon actual experience in those

countries,—I mean the proposition which has lately been enunciated by Mr. Turnbull, in his work upon Cuba. In that work he has stated the extent of the trade, the mode in which it is carried on, and all its dreadful consequences. It appears to him, that were it to be possible that the Spanish Government would consent, which they have not hitherto consented to, to allow a Mixed Commission Court there, not simply to inquire into the condition of the slaves when they are captured at the entrance to the river, but after they have been once imported into that country, that such a commission might be established, and he having lived in Spain, is sanguine in his belief that it would tend much to subvert the existing system there. Now, we, as a society, cannot embark in that undertaking; but it is well deserving the consideration of those who think that no rational means ought to be neglected, but ought to receive the most careful examination before they are discarded, if they tend to the accomplishment of our common end.

Sir, I feel how wrong it is for me to trespass further upon the attention of this great meeting; but I cannot refrain from adding my last hope that your Royal Highness will never repent the day when you were so condescending as to take the chair at this meeting, (*great cheers,*) when you think and know the impression that must be made by this great assembly, and by him who is at the head of it; when you think that it may, and, under the blessing of Providence I trust will, be the commencement of the achievement of that great work which, I trust God in his Providence has reserved for speedy accomplishment in the reign of your Royal Consort.

Ladies and gentlemen, the resolution that I have to propose to you is, "That the utter failure of every attempt by treaty, by remonstrance, or by naval armaments, to arrest the progress of the trade, and the exposure recently made by the publication of Mr. Buxton, of the deep interests which the African chiefs have in its continuance, as the means of obtaining European goods and manufactures, prove the necessity of resorting to a preventive policy, founded on different and higher principles." (*Great cheers.*)

THE VENERABLE THE ARCHDEACON WILBERFORCE. (*Received with loud cheers.*)

May it please your Royal Highness,—I well know, whatever may have been the case with preceding speakers, to what it is that I owe the high and perilous honour of seconding this resolution. I well know that it is from the desire of your Committee to interweave with these your first revived efforts in this great cause that name which they have already so kindly greeted, and the honour of which I wish that I was more able to support this day. (*Cheers.*) But this much, at least, I may say without presumption, that however my tongue may fail fitly to express them, the sympathies of my heart are truly with you; (*Cheers.*) and it is, Sir, no small pleasure to me to find myself by this resolution joined in this great cause with the name of Mr. Buxton,—with the name of one to whom, as I well remember, with undoubted confidence, in preference to all the great political names to whom the leadership in this great contest might have been handed on, it was the settled conviction of my honoured father (*loud cheers*) that he could most safely and most certainly commit this trust. He knew well, Sir, with whom he

had to do—he knew the single, settled, clear purpose with which that honourable gentleman, disdaining for an instant to make this high cause an instrument of personal aggrandisement, would pursue, through good report and through evil report, the trust which he had undertaken. With him, therefore, I rejoice to act herein; and I would take up some remarks which fell from him, because it seems to me necessary over and over again to impress them upon this meeting. I confess, Sir, that the title which we have necessarily assumed seems to me to require this perpetual guard. I mean our putting forward, as we are compelled to put forward, that our hope for the suppression of the Slave Trade depends upon promoting the civilization of Africa. Because, Sir, I think, without continually reminding ourselves and others that by civilization we mean that superstructure of results, the foundations of which are laid in true Christianity, we may possibly be introducing amongst our earliest schemes the seeds of certain and of signal failure. I dare, Sir, to avow it, and I trust that this meeting will accord with me in the declaration, that I think any other civilization than that which is based upon and carries out Christianity is the merest futility which ever mocked the expectations of men. (*Loud cheers.*)

Many in this meeting will remember what civilization did of old in that city of the earth (Athens) which had reached the highest pitch of merely human culture when the hand of God was laid heavily upon it, and the pestilence was mowing down its ranks,—we know well that then in that city, in spite of all its professed superiority over other nations, there was exhibited the most fierce, the most savage, the most inhuman, and the most deadly hatred of man to man; that then every bond which binds the links of life together was at once dissolved, and that man only saw in his fellow man one upon whom he might securely prey; so, Sir, I believe it will be ever in those who trust to such human instrumentality to do that which nothing but the presence of God can effect indeed, (*Cheers,*) and therefore I do hail it as an omen for good when I look round upon this vast assembly that it declares, as far as I can judge from its expressions, with one accordant voice, that its trust for success herein is founded upon this, that the Lord of Hosts is on our side. (*Loud cheers.*)

But then your Royal Highness will allow me to say a few words upon another branch of the subject, which has not been, as it appears to me, sufficiently enforced. There may, at first sight, seem to be a sort of contradiction to what I have said in declaring that we look to this "preventive policy," and the introduction into Africa of European goods and manufactures, as instruments for the suppression of this trade; there is, however, no contradiction in this proposition. Though we trust altogether to Christianity to do the work, yet who can have looked at the history of the spread of Christianity hitherto without observing that God has used secondary instruments as the means of introducing Christianity. I believe that the very cause and origin of commerce was planned in the counsels of God for this single purpose. I believe, Sir, that the reason why England does not produce the spices of the East, and why the East does not yield the various natural productions of England, is simply this, not that the great Father of all grudged his gifts, not that there was any stint upon the prodigality of his giving,—but that he would thus provide a series of necessary

causes which would lead nation to trade with nation, and so to interchange their commodities with each other: and then, Sir, that Christianity which has a natural tendency to exalt a nation in the scale of nations should become the mark and distinction of highly civilized and highly commercial powers, and so that they should have the opportunity and power which other than commercial nations cannot have, of carrying the blessings of civilization to every part of the earth (*Cheers*); that every stream of commerce should bear upon its bosom the inestimable boon of everlasting life (*Cheers*); that from no part of the earth should we receive only without giving; that we should repay for the gold of the West, that we should repay for the spices of the East, the more precious wealth, the more blessed frankincense of the knowledge of Christ our Master. (*Cheers.*)

But, Sir, not only does this general proposition establish the duty of hallowing our commerce so as to make it the instrument of introducing civilization and Christianity, but we English people owe also the repayment of a specific debt in this subject of commerce to the continent of Africa. It is a principle with which every one of us is familiar, that in every article of commerce whatever, the demand necessarily creates the supply. How is it when we go to any uncivilized country of the earth, we find its inhabitants abounding in natural riches, the use of which they do not know! We find them abounding in gold, and using it as it were mere outside tawdry tinsel. So, too, of the gems and other riches of the earth; they know not the value until we teach it to them by offering to them in exchange for these other things of which they know the worth. Then immediately they begin to esteem their natural productions as the instruments of commercial barter, and thus by bringing a demand we create in that country a supply. And oh! Sir, how awfully have we in Africa abused this power which God has given us to traffic. For what did we do there? We took those rude people our manufactured goods, the use of which they could appreciate, and we taught them that we would not exchange them for the gums, or spices, or ivory with which their forests and their plains were stored; but that if they would put forth their hand against their brother and capture him—if they would look with the eye of cupidity upon every one who dwelt around them—that then, and then only, they should become rich in the wealth which England could bestow on them. We carried to them the demand for human victims, and we, a Christian people, created the supply. (*Hear, hear.*) Now then, Sir, if this has been our guilt, how distinctly is the duty laid upon us that, through the instrumentality of commerce, we should undo the evils that we have caused; that we should go to them and say, "Not by trafficking in human flesh, but in lawful traffic, shall you possess the manufactures of England—not as heretofore, by casting an evil eye every one upon his brother, and lying in treacherous ambush to seize upon his victim, to throw him into bonds, into misery, and into death; but by using the natural opportunities which a gracious Providence has given you to create a lawful trade—you shall become possessed of these articles which you desire." Such should be our language; and therefore, Sir, the ground is clear, I think, before us. We acknowledge distinctly that all our hope is in Christianity; but, we also acknowledge that our commerce owes this debt, and that it may be made an instru-

ment which, as has been well said already, will open a road into Africa. Not that we believe that the opening of the road will change the heart of any of its sons, but that the opening of the road there will permit the entrance of that gospel which does give light unto the eyes. (*Cheers.*) I for one, Sir, highly as I value these efforts, should not have dared to have been present to-day if I did not believe that the church to which I am conscientiously attached was ready when this road was opened to traffic along its coast with those blessed, those best possessions, the knowledge of Christ Jesus and the ordinances of his church on earth. (*Cheers.*)

I do then venture, Sir, to anticipate great things from the movement which, as I believe, under God's blessing, we have now begun. There are, I think, many favourable prognostics for the termination of our achievement. Sir, who is it that makes men to be of one mind in a house? Who is it that has given us unanimity to-day? Who is it that has stilled the rising voice of discord, and proclaimed in louder notes than those of him who spoke them, that upon this day at least there should be amongst us "the peace of God;" that we would unite where we could unite, without compromise, knowing that in such union there is strength.

When, Sir, I say this, I do not mean to flatter myself or this meeting with the expectation of a speedy issue to our labours. I have learnt—the history of the abolition of the Slave Trade might teach it to the slowest learner—that no great works are to be done for God or man except by faith and patience. Sir, is not greatness, indeed, another name for faith, as patience is its first-born child? We must, Sir, patiently labour upon the faith of great principles, looking certainly for future recompense. Oh! Sir, it was this conviction (if your Royal Highness will allow me to refer to it) that throughout many a toilsome day, and many an anxious night, animated the heart and upheld the steps of him whom in this matter I desire earnestly to follow. (*Cheers.*) Well, Sir, do I remember those words, those prophetic words, which he spoke in answer to some expression of early expectation from a more sanguine fellow labourer: "Not so speedy is to be the result of our efforts—I look for no present success—I know well that the voice of self-interest, drowned for a moment in the first outbreak, in the united acclamations of awakening humanity, seems wholly hushed, but that it is only to revive again when that burst of acclamation is over—I know that the voice of self-interest is steady, sure, prevailing, and that it must be long before we can put it down;" but then he ended, lest any heart should droop, "but I look to the end with hope." As a reverend friend reminded me yesterday, he said to him in private many years ago: "Yes, all is now adverse to us, and the voice of public opinion is so loud against us that we can scarcely get a hearing, but let me live a few years and that voice will be as general and as loud upon our side." (*Cheers.*) Your Royal Highness, who has been happily spared hearing that voice of discord to the true notes of humanity in this land, Your Royal Highness will judge whether you have not come in time to see the fulfilment of the prophecy, and to know that the united acclamation of Christian England declares that Africa shall be set free for ever. (*Loud and long continued cheers.*)

On these principles, then, and with this good hope, I would beg all

present solemnly to devote themselves to the work—not, Sir, as to any light thing which they may take up to-day and to-morrow throw aside, but as giving here to humanity, to Christianity, to manhood, this great pledge, that, God helping them, they will never slumber or be at ease until this foul blot has been wiped off from the earth. We bid you, indeed, to labour; but if you thus undertake the work, we dare to bid you to a triumph too,—to no mere earthly triumph; to no pageant of a day, bought by past and future years of suffering; to no shouts of an intoxicated populace, echoed by the groans of broken hearts which clog the chariot wheels of an hateful exultation; but to a true triumph, in which the acclamations of an enfranchised continent shall be the chorus which attends you, in which you shall be followed by the exultations of a fourth part of the human family, set free from mutual hatred and suspicion; from enslaving and being enslaved: a triumph, the chariot-wheels of which are peace, *because* their guide is righteousness. I beg to second the resolution. (*Loud cheers.*)

Dr. Lushington put the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT PEEL. *(Received with long continued cheers and waving of handkerchiefs.)*

May it please your Royal Highness,—It would have been much more agreeable to my own personal and private feelings, to have taken a silent and perfectly unostentatious part in the proceedings of this day. There is something painful in appearing at this time to claim a share in the triumphs of those who have devoted their lives and their best exertions to the furtherance of this cause, and to whom exclusively is due the honour and the virtuous fame of having struggled in the advancement of it when it was beset with real difficulty, and it is only because some of those who have been its early and consistent friends—because such men as Mr. Buxton, who began the proceedings of this day, and as he who has just concluded an address, proving to you that he inherits, not only the name, but the virtues and the eloquence of his father. (*Loud cheers.*) It is only because men like these have expressed a wish that I should take an active part in these proceedings, that I have overcome my own scruples, and have deferred to the opinions of those who must be the best judges of what is for the advancement and the interests of this cause. And, Sir, they have imposed upon me the gratifying but most difficult task of attempting to embody in becoming language, that which is the unanimous feeling of this great assembly, the sense of grateful acknowledgment to you, Sir, for having undertaken to preside on this occasion, and that higher and purer feeling of unaffected delight, that you have auspicated and sanctified your first appearance (*loud cheering*) in the arena of public discussion by manifesting a cordial anxiety for the advancement of a cause in which the lasting interests of humanity and religion are deeply involved. And, Sir, that feeling which I have to convey to you is not the exclusive feeling of an assembly which the narrow limits of these walls can contain; this meeting is the fit organ and fit representative of the whole people of this country. (*Cheers.*) This meeting, attended by persons of every religious persuasion, of every shade of political opinion, fitly represents to you the universal feeling of a great people. That people, in a time of great financial difficulty, submitted, without a murmur, to

extraordinary pecuniary sacrifices for the purpose of purifying themselves from the stain of any participation in the horrors of the Slave Trade and the complicated evils of slavery. Having done this, having rescued themselves from the suspicion of any low, venal, interested motive, they now feel that they can hold a language to the nations of the world, on the subject of the Slave Trade, which cannot be misunderstood and cannot safely be disregarded. At the same time, they do not conceal from themselves the mortifying truth that, while they have vindicated their own character, there is but too much reason to believe that they have not succeeded in diminishing the sum of human suffering inflicted by the detestable traffic in slaves; nay, that in some cases that suffering may have been aggravated by the attempts to suppress the traffic.

Since I came into this room, a document has been placed in my hands which I feel it my duty to notice. It comes by a happy accident, at a moment, when it may most effectually serve to convince this assembly, and through them the people of this country, that notwithstanding the grant of twenty millions for the extinction of slavery, there is need for continued and increased exertions in the cause in which that great sacrifice was made. I want to bring home to your minds the conviction that by that grant of twenty millions you have done little more than rescued your own character from imputation. (*Cheers.*) This is no document prepared by an Anti-Slavery Association; it is a merely commercial paper; it professes no sentimental feelings, but contains a dry business-like record of commercial transactions. It is dated the 17th of March, 1840, and is called the Shipping List of the Cape of Good Hope. One half of the two sides of this commercial paper is devoted to the capture or the shipwreck of slave-vessels. The heading of one of those articles of intelligence is the following, "Portuguese Slavers, further Captures;" and then follows a detail of the captures of vessels employed in the Slave Trade. Under the head of Shipwrecks of vessels so employed is the following afflicting report:—"January the 24th.—During a hurricane from the south-east, two slavers, a ship and a brig, were wrecked at Mozambique Harbour, but the crews of both, and two hundred slaves on board the brig, were saved. The ship had arrived the preceding day and not taken in any slaves. It was reported of the brig, which was commanded by a Spaniard, that she originally had on board nine hundred slaves, but during the hurricane in the prosecution of her voyage the hatches were battened down, and on opening them it was discovered that three hundred of the slaves had died from suffocation and want of food. (*Hear, hear.*) The gale continuing, the hatches were battened down a second time, the consequence of which was that an additional three hundred slaves perished from the same causes, and one hundred of the remaining three hundred slaves died on the passage to Mozambique Harbour." And with these shocking proofs of mortality before the eyes of the captain of this vessel and crew, what was the course which they pursued? "They returned to Mozambique Harbour for the purpose of getting a fresh supply of slaves."

Now, Sir, until we shall have rescued Christianity and the character of white people from the grievous infamy of such sins as these, we never shall succeed in that great object to which the Reverend Gentleman who preceded me has adverted; we never shall be able to convince the black population of Africa of the moral superiority of their Euro-

pean fellow men; we never shall convince them of the truths of Christianity, if the nations which profess it shall continue to tolerate and sanction such monstrous iniquities as these. (*Cheers.*) I say, therefore, that it is necessary that a great effort should now be made by this country for the purpose of giving full effect to our own past exertions and sacrifices, and, above all, for the purpose of preventing that fatal example which will be set—an example so discouraging to virtuous exertions and virtuous sacrifices in future—if it can be alleged with truth, that such exertions and such sacrifices, however meritorious in intention, have not only practically failed, but have aggravated the very evils they were meant to remedy.

There will be difficulties in the execution of this great scheme. I am not sanguine as to immediate success, but I do confess I have that confidence in the righteousness of this cause, (*cheers,*) in the conviction that it must meet with the Divine protection and blessing, (*cheers.*) that I look forward with sanguine hopes to its ultimate and complete triumph. I feel assured that the moral influence of this country, that its voice unanimously expressed in favour of the first rights and duties of humanity, will, in the first place, so nerve the arm of the executive government, that it will compel other countries, at least to fulfil the obligations of positive treaties, (*cheers,*) and that it will ultimately effect that much greater object of making Africa herself the glorious instrument of effecting her own deliverance.

Sir, it is from the prevalence of such feelings, and such hopes as these, that the present meeting has originated, and we do feel, Sir, and I may be at liberty to state (you will not be displeased at the language of truth when I state respectfully to you) that the position which you this day occupy in this cause, and in the front, as it were, of the whole United Kingdom, is not unworthy of the illustrious station in which you are placed on the right hand of the throne of England, (*Loud cheers*)—it is not unworthy of that high character which at an early period of life you have been enabled to establish, and which is well known in the remotest corners of this empire, (*Cheers,*) by the combination of virtuous conduct and high mental acquirements and accomplishments. It is not unworthy of those precious recollections which you are entitled to cherish on account of the services and sacrifices of your ancestors in a glorious cause. (*Loud cheers.*) We do feel that it is not unbecoming this high station, these present advantages, these proud recollections of the past, that you should be called upon with your own hand to lay the corner-stone of an enterprise which has for its object to rescue Africa from debasing superstitions, to extinguish slavery through the introduction of the arts of civilization and of peace, and to rescue Europe, and the white race, and the name of Christianity, from the pollution of a crime which, while it continues to exist, ought to forbid us to indulge any feelings of triumphant superiority over that unhappy race which we seek to exalt and to make worthy of freedom by teaching it to value the privileges and attributes of freedom. It is not by war—not by force—but by teaching the natives of Africa that the sweat of their brow and the labour of their sinews, directed to peaceful industry at home, will be more profitable than the vile traffic in blood; it is by teaching them that lesson, by an appeal to their own interests, by exhibiting the absence on our part of every low, sordid, interested feeling, that we hope ultimately to triumph, and we feel assured that

it will make an impression upon the mind of a barbarous people when they shall hear, as they will hear, and can understand, that the illustrious husband of the Queen of England made an exception in their behalf from the wise rule which prohibits his attendance at meetings of a political and party character, and made his first entrance into public life, at least into public discussion, in the character of a zealous advocate for the total extinction of the traffic in slaves. (*Long continued cheering.*)

Mr. Fowell Buxton.—There is no seconder to this Resolution; every one who approves of it will stand up in testimony of their approbation.

All stood up.

His Royal Highness, after bowing in acknowledgment of the expression of the meeting, withdrew, amidst the vehement and repeated acclamations of all present.

On the motion of Dr. Lushington, the Earl of Ripon was called to the chair.

The Lord Bishop of Chichester.

I should grieve exceedingly, my Lord, if a resolution of so much importance as that which has been submitted to my charge should be offered irregularly to the meeting through my absence, however unavoidable; I rise, therefore, though exceedingly pressed for time by an official engagement which I cannot forego, to offer a few words in support of it. I cannot, indeed, reconcile it to myself upon such an occasion, however pressed by this necessity, not to do my utmost to support and encourage this great assembly in the humane and mighty work which is begun this day, and which, I trust, will never cease till it has been completely successful in the attainment of its object.

And first, my Lord, I am desirous of directing the attention of the meeting to a passage read to you in the letter of the Most Reverend the Primate, in which he expresses an apprehension once entertained in his mind, and which, had it not been removed, would have prevented his accession to the Society, viz. that this Association, as it is now constituted, might lead to some scheme of colonization, or at all events to the establishment of a footing and interest in Africa, which should either immediately or finally lead to some commercial or national object of a lower nature than that which is set forth to us.

My Lord, I feel very strongly in common with the Most Reverend Prelate in this matter; and I trust that it may always be remembered by the Society, and by all that are connected with it, that they are pledged to one great object, the civilization of Africa, with a view to the extinction of the Slave Trade; that on this object they are bound ever to hold themselves deeply and strongly intent, and that with Christian singleness of purpose they should repudiate from every part of their proceedings anything that might taint them with the suspicion of cupidity or selfish gain, while they are holding forth to the world an end so noble and so exalted.

My Lord, we are very well acquainted with the fact, that it was chiefly the insatiable desire of gain which first led man to enslave his brother man, and which has been the means not only of promoting all those atrocities of which we have heard to-day, but a thousand others which are recorded in the history of this traffic, to the disgrace of the nations of Europe, and especially of our own; and if we, as an Association for

extinguishing slavery, should be induced, either at the commencement of our operations, or at any future stage of our proceedings, in consequence of our connexion with a commercial or agricultural company, to permit this principle to become a prevalent, or even an important feature of our design, we could never expect the blessing of Almighty God upon labours which hold out humanity and religion as the motives, but which would be likely to terminate in the advantage or aggrandisement either of individuals or of the country at large.

My Lord, the distinguished Senator who has last addressed you, detailed to you, from a paper which had just been put into his hand, a very dreadful description of a slave ship, and the miseries to which the negroes pent up in it were exposed; from which the painful inference was justly drawn, that notwithstanding the daily and nightly watchings and labours of so many eminent men in the country for a long period of years; notwithstanding the sacrifices we have made, and above all, that costly one of twenty millions, which never could have been assented to but in a free country; that, notwithstanding these sacrifices, the Slave Trade is daily and hourly proceeding in its course with as much cruelty and atrocity as were ever before witnessed at any period of its history.

Now, my Lord, the gentleman who moved the first resolution declared, that he would take nothing from his own book, but we are not bound to the same caution, and if there is anything in that work which is calculated to strengthen the arguments produced at this meeting, (and much I know there is,) I see no reason why it should not be brought forward by others. The question has, within my memory, been frequently the subject of warm discussions in both Houses of Parliament; and I have never been an inattentive observer of what has passed there, for though I cannot say (I wish indeed I could) that I have been a prominent supporter of this great cause, like Mr. Buxton and others, yet, for half a century, I have never omitted any occasion, according to my humble means, of contributing to the same object, and have put my hand almost to as many petitions against slavery since that time as years have passed over my head.

Looking then, my Lord, to the details of that work respecting the present state of the Slave Trade, and comparing them with the statements made in the House of Commons by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, when they were anxiously competing with each other in combating this atrocious traffic, we come at once to the conclusion which has already been laid before the meeting, that the Slave Trade is now carried on upon a greater scale, and with circumstances of greater horror, than it was at that time; for while it appears from those debates that seventy thousand persons were then annually torn from their families and friends, and carried across the Atlantic to a degrading state of captivity, we find at the present moment, from statements which cannot well be contradicted, and which are in a great degree confirmed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in his letter to the Treasury, that one hundred and fifty thousand slaves, or more than double the number, in fact, that had been exported before, are now obtained by the most flagitious means from the native princes in western Africa, and carried to the settlements of Spain, Portugal, and other countries, which still persist in the purchase and degradation of their fellow creatures; but what adds to the flagitiousness of this fact is, that in order to enable the slave merchants to carry one hundred and fifty thousand victims into this state

of enduring bondage, four hundred thousand, in addition, annually fall a sacrifice. The wars and expeditions which are undertaken expressly for their capture; their cruel treatment under the captivity to which they are at first subjected; their harassing marches to the sea-coast; the grief arising from the loss of friends, of parents, and all that is dear to them; and finally, the sufferings from the crowded state of the vessels, much more severe now than when the traffic was less watched, cause a mortality of nearly three times the number of those who reach the settlements. (*Cries from the extremity of the Hall "We cannot hear."*)

My Lord, I feel that I am not heard; I wish with all my heart that I could be heard in this cause, not only to the extremity of the Hall but to the extremity of the kingdom, aye, to the extremity of the world. (*Cheers.*)

There is one thing, however, upon which I am anxious to express my mind to the meeting before I sit down. You are about to embark in a great Christian undertaking, (and I trust that every one present is prepared to contribute towards it,) in which you must be prepared to meet with obstacles and difficulties and disappointments of every kind; you will have to contend with the arts and cunning and cupidity of men, with every bad passion of human nature armed with authority and influence; you will have to contend with principalities and powers, and you will stand in need of all that patience and self-sacrifice and exertion can bestow; but be of good cheer, as the venerable successor of the most laborious and persevering advocate of the slave has said, the blessing of God will be with you.

It must be remembered, however, that it is by human means that the great purposes of Providence are brought about, and under this impression it will be pleasing to the meeting to be assured that the expedition now contemplated by Government, to which we look forward as the commencement of our proceedings, is intrusted to an officer possessed of every quality which can entitle him to the confidence of the country, and afford a promise that every thing will be effected that can be expected from a person in the important position in which he is placed. In confirmation of this opinion, I venture to lay before the meeting a statement of facts which, while they throw light upon the atrocity of the slave-trade, will demonstrate the complete fitness of this officer for the command. A few years ago when in command of the Curlew, on the coast of Africa, and engaged in watching the slave-trade, he was made acquainted by the American Consul with an atrocious act of piracy committed on the high seas upon an American ship called the "Mexican" by the crew of a vessel which was carrying on the double business of a slaver and a pirate, a double business indeed, but of manifold wickedness and atrocity, who had plundered the vessel and set fire to her after putting her men under the hatches. Happily—happily I may say for the ends of justice as well as for the welfare of those poor people—the Providence of God interfered, and they were snatched from the destruction to which they had been devoted, by the opportune appearance of another vessel that came in the way. Well, my Lord, when Captain Trotter became acquainted with the facts, he took such measures as were best calculated to follow and seize the pirate, and with such skill and caution was his plan conceived and carried into execution that he came upon her in his boats almost by surprise while she was lying in a small river called the Nazareth in the

Bight of Biafra. The crew, consisting of seventeen men, escaped, however, in their boats upon the first intimation of their danger, first setting fire to a train which communicated with the magazine. Captain Trotter got on board the vessel and extinguished the fire before the explosion could take place: it might then have been fairly considered that the duty of this officer, looking to the nature of the country around, had been fulfilled, and his object been attained as far as it was practicable; but Captain Trotter thought otherwise; for many months he pursued the pirate crew up the rivers and along the coast; he followed them from place to place and from one people to another, with the most untiring energy; he negociated for their surrender with the native princes, with some of whom they had taken refuge, and with the European authorities in the neighbouring islands who were scarcely less disposed to conceal them, and never ceased his hazardous and laborious efforts till he had obtained possession of every one of them. It is right to add that they were finally sent to America and tried by Judge Storey who, in his charge to the jury, pronounced on Captain Trotter an honourable and well-merited eulogium for his humane and gallant exertions, while, as a testimonial of the sense entertained by the American government of the services thus rendered to the commerce of their country, he received the thanks of the President of the United States. (*Cheers.*) It must appear, therefore, to the meeting, that not only the professional character but also the local knowledge of this officer is admirably adapted for such a command; and when I add, too, that his moral and religious qualities stand high in the opinion of all who know him, there needs no other recommendation to give confidence to all who are desirous to assist in contributing to this great cause.

My Lord, I propose the following resolution: "That this policy is to be found in the civilization of Africa by the introduction of Christianity, by the promotion of legitimate commerce, and by encouraging the cultivation of the soil upon a system of free labour."

SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ. (*Received with cheers.*)

Fellow countrymen,—It is also due from me to make an apology for appearing amongst the great orators whom we have had before us this day. But in all things there are great and less, on which ground I have satisfied myself in thus appearing before you. The resolution which I now second, and which has been moved by the Bishop of Chichester, embraces three points. First, That a way by the proceedings of this Society may be made in Africa for the introduction of the greatest good—Christianity. There are also two important points, though comparatively of secondary consideration,—the one, the cultivation of the soil of Africa; the other, the encouragement of legitimate commerce.

Now I do differ in a certain degree from gentlemen who have already spoken to you, especially Sir Robert Peel, whom while I readily acknowledge that I am inadequate to follow, yet I cannot help, in opposition to him, anticipating speedy results to some important extent from the expedition about to be undertaken under the auspices of this Association.

I will first take up the subject of commerce, stating as a preliminary, that I believe it will be found in all human proceedings, that there is no policy so certain and sure as that which is based on Christianity

(*Cheers.*) The two points to which I have alluded, and which are included in my motion, are clearly good fruits resulting from our Association, thus based on the great principle of doing unto others as we would wish they should do unto us. Now it is by no means improbable, but it amounts almost to a certainty, that the commercial resources of Africa will be increasingly developed, greatly to the good of that continent and to the benefit even of ourselves. I have been engaged in the business of this country now for no very small period of years, and I have seen great changes in commercial matters, and especially as it relates to Africa. The commerce which has already commenced with that continent is by no means even now a very mean one. It has been very profitable to those engaged in it. It is gradually increasing, and it presents one attractive feature in this its infant state, that it mainly consists in our receiving from them, if I may so say, the spontaneous productions of the soil, articles produced without much labour, the rich products of the forests, their gums, their oils, their ivory, and many other articles which might be specified. Now the great object of our Society is to turn the commerce of Africa, the labour of Africa, into legitimate channels, that Africa may export articles not the spontaneous produce of nature only, but fruit of their own labour applied to their fertile soil, under their fine climate; thus causing their immense power and property in labour to yield an increase infinitely beyond what they now derive from supplying the demands of the awful traffic which it is the object of our Association to suppress. This is, in fact, the principle and object of the Society we are now about to establish.

I may here say that it is no Utopian notion that great changes take place in commerce, or that these important changes may take place in African commerce. I may point out several articles which are of great importance in the commerce of England. For example, indigo, only a few years ago, was the growth of one quarter of the globe, and is now produced altogether from another. I may take the article of fine wool, which at one time was furnished from Spain. Now, we cease to import from that part of Europe, and our supply is mainly derived from Germany, with this exception, that a large and increasing portion comes from Australia. Fifty years back it would have been thought equally visionary that our supply of fine wool should come from the wild regions of Australia, as it may now be thought that indigo, cotton, sugar, and other articles of similar growth should be supplied from Africa, where there is a fertile virgin soil, a fine climate and inexhaustible supplies of cheap labour. If then the history of commerce shows that articles so vary in the locality of their production, why may we not witness a supply of cotton and other articles from the soil of Africa? (*Cheers.*)

So far from deeming this chimerical, or that it will take much time before great changes may take place, it is my opinion that these may be brought about in a much shorter time than many apprehend. Should this be the case, and should Africa discover the value of her own labour applied to her own soil, we may reasonably hope that she will be less and less willing to sell her people for exportation as slaves and for a mere trifle. Far be it from me to say, that with a population in the state in which Africa is, it will be unattended with difficulty to turn their misguided exertions from the channel in which they

have hitherto been directed, to a legitimate and proper application. I know difficulties will arise, but I have a confident hope they will not be insurmountable; and based as our proceedings are on doing unto them as we desire that they should do unto us, I do think it is not only possible, but highly probable, that very great changes will take place, and that before any very long period.

Permit me to point out one or two points highly favourable towards the promotion of these views; here is a continent vastly populous, quite beyond calculation, active in their habits, far from averse to commerce. Why should not artificial wants be introduced amongst them? I think it is highly reasonable it will be so, and that they may be stimulated to that commerce which we so much desire to promote, as one means of introducing civilization amongst them, and of preventing that horrid traffic in which they are now so largely involved. The objects, then, of our Association, are abundantly worthy of the support of the illustrious Prince who has presided this day, and of the Queen's government, not only as going to the root of that grievous evil, the Slave Trade, but as directly tending to promote and strengthen our commercial and manufacturing interests.

There is the other point in the motion which has been made by the Bishop of Chichester, and which I am about to second, to which I must briefly allude, namely, the introduction of Christianity into that vast continent. I cannot doubt that it is the blessed instrument which more than any other will tend to the success of our endeavours. What is the ground that we take? The disuse of the musket and bayonet, and the use of the olive branch. Who can doubt which will turn out the more powerful of the two? (*Cheers.*) Based as the proceedings of our Association thus are on the principles of Christianity, and imbued as we all are with one mind upon this point without any distinction of sect or party, I do think it is more than probable that it will become a road upon which Christianity will advance in Africa, and that we may indeed rely with confidence for a blessing upon our labours. Surely we may anticipate, and with no faint trust and reliance, that it will be one means of advancing that day when the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. Fowell Buxton.—Will you allow me to read a letter which I received a day or two ago, but which I did not choose to introduce while his Royal Highness was present. "My dear sir, I have received the commands of His Royal Highness Prince Albert to request that you will place his name on the list of Subscribers to the Society for the Extinction of Slavery for a donation of one hundred guineas, and an annual subscription of ten guineas."—Signed, G. E. Anson. (*Loud cheers.*)

I take this opportunity of adding other names. His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, 50*l.*; the Lord Bishop of London, 25*l.*; the Marquis of Breadalbane, 20*l.*; John Smith Wright, Esq., one hundred guineas; William Clowes, Esq., ten guineas; the Lord Primate of all Ireland, 25*l.*; the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, 20*l.*; David Barclay, Esq., 100*l.*; and several others. Unfortunately, I forgot to state, what is the most material point, that subscriptions will be received in the Committee Room, and at the bottom of the stairs. I have to announce that the Noble Chairman has also sent a subscription for 50*l.**

The Resolution was put and carried.

* See also List of Donations and Subscriptions in Appendix.

The Earl of Chichester.

My Lord Ripon,—I have been requested to move the following resolution, "That, in the opinion of this meeting, Great Britain is required, both by every consideration of sound commercial policy and by the higher motives of Christian obligation, to exert all her influence and all her power for the effectual suppression of the Slave Trade, and that the means proposed by this Society, in accordance with the principles recognised in its Prospectus,* and in the preceding resolution, appear eminently calculated to conduce to the attainment of that great result, and are therefore entitled to cordial approbation and support."

My Lord, it was natural upon an occasion like this, that those devoted feelings of affection and loyalty, which I believe to be felt by every truly British heart towards the illustrious individual who has recently occupied that chair, coupled with that deeper and dutiful loyalty which is also felt towards our gracious Sovereign, should have shown themselves by general and perhaps I might say, by somewhat irregular acclamations. My Lord, it was also natural that those speakers who have taken a part in this meeting, animated by similar feelings, should one after another allude to the same topic, and congratulate themselves and this meeting, and indeed the whole Christian world, upon the happy event of His Royal Highness's presence amongst us. Therefore, perhaps, I also may be pardoned for alluding to the same subject, and expressing, feebly and inadequately as I do, the joy and thankfulness to Almighty God which I feel in common with the people of this country, that the efforts of this Society should be so providentially encouraged by the presence of His Royal Highness at our first public meeting. (*Cheers.*) I rejoice to think that His Royal Highness should have witnessed this great union of the Christian feeling of the country in so noble a cause. I, for one, do not think that this union of Christians, differing so much as we unhappily do upon many things—I do not think that this union, now so happily displayed, will (at least in regard to the great work in which we are engaged) prove to be a transient one. For, my Lord, I think we are justified in believing that it is the result of a common feeling of Christian responsibility, a conviction that, as Christian men, it is our duty to go forth upon the errand of our Master, and wherever we know of ignorance, of distress, or of bondage, there to go forth with the message entrusted to our care, for the remedy and redress of those evils, wherever they may exist. I believe, too, that we are sensible of our share in the guilt of that common wrong committed by our country. I trust that the union of the different parties, which we this day see, is the result of a *national* humiliation on account of wrongs in which we have participated, and of miseries which we have in part been the cause of prolonging.

If such then be the feelings which have brought us together, I do think we have an evidence that God has graciously led us to this union, and that he will enable us to hold together by the same principles, and zealously apply ourselves to that department in the work of civilizing and Christianizing Africa, which is undertaken by this Society. I feel,

* Vide Appendix A.

my Lord, that I am one who owes it to this meeting, more than any other who has yet addressed them, to apologize, for trespassing at all upon their time and patience. (*Cheers.*) But, my Lord, I think I have been called upon, not from having hitherto taken any prominent part, interested though I have been, and deeply interested, in the cause of the abolition of slavery, but because I am officially connected with the Church Missionary Society; and because this Society, as has been plainly shown this day by the language of its resolutions, and by the principles upon which they have been supported, would have it known, that it recognises the bounden duty of preaching the gospel to the heathen in Africa. (*Cheers.*) That department of Christian charity is not indeed taken up by this Society, but I can confidently assert of many of those who have taken a prominent part in its formation, that they would not have bestowed their time, their talents, and their prayers upon it, were they not convinced, not merely that it would be ultimately followed, but that it would be simultaneously accompanied by a corresponding effort on the part of our Missionary Societies. In an age like this, for a civilized and an educated Christian nation to think it possible to succeed in our object; to imagine that we could introduce the blessings of commerce and the arts of peace, that we could civilize and refine a barbarous people, without making use of Christianity, the great means which God has entrusted to us for this end, would indeed be the extreme of folly. It would be to disregard those lessons of ancient lore, to which the Reverend Archdeacon has alluded, and which teach us how little can be done for the happiness and peace of society by any effort of man unassisted by the light of Divine Revelation. It would be to disregard the surer lessons of God's own word. It would be to disregard another affecting lesson which all of us might have learned, and which many of us, I trust, have learned; I mean the lesson which God has taught us in the history of modern missionary efforts, and of modern colonization. For it is recorded, upon the most unimpeachable evidence, that every attempt which has been made, either to colonize or to civilize, without a concomitant effort to introduce Christianity, has most signally failed. While, on the other hand, we know equally that wherever we have honestly undertaken to carry the message of salvation to the heathen, there, almost simultaneously with the progress of religious light, has gone on the work of civilization. (*Hear, hear.*)

It is, then, because I am confident that this Society acknowledges this great truth, and that it looks mainly for the attainment of its object to the use of this great and only sure means, I mean the preaching of Christ to the benighted nations of Africa, that I can ask and expect the blessing of God upon their undertaking, and that I can give it my cordial co-operation and support. (*Cheers.*) I trust that the work in which the Society is more directly concerned will succeed. There seems every reason to believe that it must do so. I believe that the feeling which has been produced at this meeting will pervade the great mass of the people of this country, and amidst the prayers of millions, which I trust will be offered up, I have the confident expectation that ere long we shall see some fruit from our labours. I said *our* labours; I should rather have said, the self-denying and unwearied labours of those who have gone before us, and in the same great cause,

into whose labours it seems to be now our privilege, but our solemn responsibility, to enter.

My Lord, I have the honour of moving the resolution which I have just read.

The Honourable Charles Langdale, M. P.

If, my Lord, those who have already addressed the meeting thought it necesary to apologise for appearing before you, it cannot be wondered at that I deeply feel the necessity for such an apology; indeed, my Lord, nothing but one circumstance should have induced me to have appeared before this meeting, and that I know to have been the ground that has induced the Committee to call upon me to support this resolution; it is to convince this meeting that that which has been stated over and over again is true, that in the great object that we have now at heart there is no distinction of political opinion, that there is no distinction of creed. However, my Lord, I might have doubted for one moment, some time ago, as to this proposition, I do feel that the kindness with which you now permit me to come before you is a testimony that that proposition is fully carried out. (*Cheers.*) I am aware that after the lengthened addresses that have been made to you, I cannot presume to add anything new upon this interesting subject; not one word, sir, can I conceive to have been urged in support of that system which we have now met to put down; not one line can I, my Lord, conceive it possible that, even in the recesses of the closet, any man would be bold enough to trace, to defend, or to palliate that iniquitous traffic. (*Applause.*) Nay, my Lord, my imagination cannot conceive to me the shadow of an argument to be urged in support of the atrocities which we have met to finally exterminate.

My Lord, the resolution I am about to second does present a subject to me which I would, with the permission of the Meeting, shortly call to their peculiar attention; it is "That Great Britain is required by the higher motives of Christian obligation, to exert all her influence and all her power for the effectual suppression of the Slave Trade." Now, my Lord, what is the nature of that obligation which is laid upon this great country? I say, my Lord, and I utter it not in reproach, that that obligation arises from the unfortunate participation that we once had in this iniquitous traffic. It is but a few years back that the last remnant of this possession of man in the person of his fellow man, was blotted out from the code of the laws of this country. It is owing, my Lord, to those great individuals who have been already alluded to, that the first extirpation of the Slave Trade was effected. And, my Lord, deep and heavy is the penalty that this nation has paid, though I think most justly paid, for the share it had in that traffic; but though the Slave Trade has been legally abolished, and though the possession of man in his fellow man has been paid for, yet, as is always the case with crime, the consequences still remain, and we are responsible for the effect that has been produced by our past misconduct in this respect. We owe a deep debt of obligation to those who were once accomplices in our crimes, to exert our utmost efforts to turn them from that course which we have happily abandoned; we owe a deep debt of obligation and reparation to those unfortunate inhabitants of Africa, who only knew from us the gross oppressions that we practised upon them.

Now, my Lord, as in the case of an individual, in proportion to his high station—in proportion to his resources—a deep responsibility hangs upon him in the course of his virtue or his vices; so I hold in the case of nations, that in proportion to their power, to their extensive dominions, and to their resources, a deep responsibility hangs upon the mode in which they avail themselves of those gifts. And what has Africa known of the pride, and the boast, and the dominion of this great country? What has it known of the boast of our civilization, of our arts, of our sciences? What has it known of that Christianity which has so long reigned in this happy land? Why, my Lord, in one instance it has only known and heard of our power too long. but to suffer and be subject to the dominion that we forced upon them; it has only known of our civilization by the means that it afforded us of exporting those unhappy inhabitants across the waters of the Atlantic, and fastening still more securely the fetters that bound them to a foreign country; it has only known, my Lord, of that Christianity which we profess by the violation of every precept that it teaches; nay, by the grossest violation even of that law which is implanted in the breast of the savage,—the law of nature. (*Cheers.*)

I say then, my Lord, in the words of this resolution, we are called upon to teach the unfortunate people of this conntry, to impress upon them our power and our dominion, by protecting the unfortunate, by forbidding the injustice that would oppress them; we are bound to let them participate in our civilization by the introduction of commerce into that country; and finally, my Lord, we are bound to make them sensible of the true and the benign influences of Christianity by introducing amongst them that first and most blessed of all its injunctions, "peace and good will among men." (*Cheers.*) Without trespassing any further upon the attention of the Meeting, I beg leave cordially to second the resolution. (*Cheers.*)

The Resolution was put and carried.

The Lord Ashley, M.P..

My Lord,—it may appear almost presumptuous that among such a number of persons so long and so nobly distinguished by their labours in this great cause, I should have undertaken the duty of proposing a resolution to the notice of this assembly. I can offer in apology nothing more than that I was unwilling to decline that which I was requested to do, and that the anxiety which I feel for the successful issue of this great enterprise has proved far too strong for my better judgment. But having taken upon myself this charge, I cannot but exult in the favour that I anticipate for the resolution that I shall have the honour of proposing; in the noble spirit exhibited by this Meeting, and in the aspect it will present to the whole country and to the world. The most ardent patriot must be satisfied in contemplating such an assembly as this, formed, as it is, of all ranks, from the greatest to the least, and composed of every variety of opinion, concurring, nevertheless, to merge all their several differences, and join in one common and one mighty effort to wipe out the foulest blot which ever stained the fair face of Christendom, and the biggest wrong that ever afflicted any portion of mankind. (*Cheers.*)

My Lord, I shall be extremely short—it would be impertinent and

useless to recapitulate any of those details with which, both from publications and from the speeches to-day, this Meeting must be well acquainted. We are all agreed upon the facts, we all experience the same horror and shame; we are convened to-day, not to learn the full extent of the evil but to propose a remedy. The remedy, my Lord, though novel in practice is ancient in principle, we are not only to keep down an evil, but in its stead to implant a good; to suppress this horrible traffic in the slave, but advance the business of the husbandman and the missionary, and demonstrate to the rulers of that fertile but benighted country that, even if they rise to no higher views, it will be far more profitable to keep their subjects at home, than to ship them across the seas to distant suffering. (*Hear, hear.*)

My Lord, we may be told that we shall fail in our experiment—I do not believe it—but be it so, the experiment is well worth the trial. (*Cheers.*) The British nation has now for many years been baffled in its noble and its righteous endeavours; but if our perseverance be equal to the magnitude of the cause, and our faith be but equal to our perseverance, we cannot fail of a successful issue, knowing and believing the authority which has told us "not to be weary in well doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not." (*Cheers.*) For, my Lord, for what other ends has this country received the greatest and the most numerous blessings that ever yet descended upon any nation? To what nobler purposes can we turn all the various gifts of a most bountiful Providence, our power, our science, our wealth, our freedom, and above all our Christianity? (*Cheers.*) What we now seek is settlement without dominion, and commerce without profit. (*Cheers.*) The dominion which we seek is the dominion of humanity and truth, and our profit will be the honour of God, and the eternal and temporal welfare of countless millions of the human race.

Fail! my Lord, to be sure we may fail, but is it not better that we should fail in such an attempt than that we should sit down here idling and do nothing at all? (*Hear and cheers.*) Is it not better, I say, that we should fail in such an attempt, rejoicing in that Divine assurance, which once comforted a great monarch in Israel, who himself was disappointed of his dearest hopes, "Whereas it was in thine heart to build an house unto my name, thou didst well that it was in thine heart."

My Lord, it is, therefore, with the most heartfelt sympathy, that I now propose to this Meeting the following resolution: That this Meeting earnestly and solemnly appeals to the whole Christian community to further the operations of the Society by pecuniary contributions, by private and public influence, and by all other means that are legitimate, in the prosecution of a purpose dictated by humanity, approved by sound policy, anxiously desired by the country, and undertaken in the humble hope that the blessing of Almighty God will be vouchsafed to its labours. (*Cheers.*)

The Rev. George Clayton.

My Lord, ladies and gentlemen,—I rise certainly with great diffidence but with unfeigned satisfaction in the presence of this great meeting to second the resolution which has been ably and eloquently moved by the noble Lord who has addressed you. Were I to follow in the footsteps of preceding speakers, if they deemed it right to apologize for

their presence to-day among you I have more abundant cause to do so, but I confess, my Lord, I have no apology to offer, except it be this, that the cause is my apology. (*Cheers.*) I am a man, and nothing that involves the dearest interests, the hopes, the happiness of man, I trust, will ever be foreign to this heart. (*Loud cries of Hear, hear, hear.*) Under any circumstances I should have felt the greatest difficulty in selecting words to express the sentiments I entertain of the incomparable magnitude and importance of the object which has brought us together, and to recommend it to the decided countenance and strenuous support of the meeting,—an object which is nothing less than to declare a war of utter extermination against slavery in whatever place and in whatever form it is found to exist; (*Loud cheers;*) a war without truce or amnesty, a war which will not admit of even passing into winter quarters, a war which we shall urge with determination and unflagging perseverance till the deadly mischief against which we are confederated shall be seen lying breathless at our feet. (*Cheers.*)

My Lord, that was a glorious day for Britain when she determined and declared that so soon as a slave set his foot on her shores, drank of her fountains, and breathed her air, that from that moment he should be as free as any native-born subject in the King's dominions. (*Cheers.*) That, my Lord, was a more glorious day for Britain, when, after years of tempest and of toil, after a long and most arduous struggle in which there were moments when "hope deferred made the heart sick," when, after those previous struggles it was enacted by the British Parliament that, so far as her colonies were concerned, Slavery should be no more. And notwithstanding the much-controverted boon of twenty millions given under the form of compensation, (a topic which I shall not now venture to touch, as regards the policy of the thing,) but notwithstanding that enormously large sum, I have always considered that it exhibited a noble spectacle, when a great commercial nation—a money-accumulating nation, and, forgive me for saying a money-loving nation—rose superior to the parsimony of lucre, and was willing to subject itself to a voluntary tax of so large an amount in order to realize its cherished object, at the bidding of justice, of humanity, and of religion. (*Cheers.*)

But, my Lord, in the vista of the future I think I see a day of still greater glory beaming upon my native land. I anticipate great results from the proceedings of this hour, and I trust I shall not be accused of indulging visionary and romantic feelings when I venture to say that in these days of accelerated speed, and of facilitated communication by railroads and steam-vessels, when "Quick march" is the order of all our movements, I anticipate, at no great distance, a period when, not within the precincts of Britain alone, not merely within the limits of the colonies she calls her own, but in every portion of the world, acclamations of gratitude and shouts of triumph shall rend the skies—"Slavery is fallen, is fallen to rise no more. (*Cheers.*)

I ground this confidence upon the elementary principles which are worked up, and are to be worked upon, in the proceedings of this Society. They are principles of immutable truth and importance, and must ultimately, I persuade myself, insure universal triumph. They are the great principles of justice and benevolence, justice to much-injured Africa, to whom we owe, in common equity, the

payment of those long arrears which are stained by the blood of unnumbered millions—and benevolence, which forbids us to say "Am I my brother's keeper?" Humanity and Christian love compel us to undertake the great work in which we are embarked, and believing that "charity never faileth," I cannot but anticipate that proceedings founded upon those immutable and eternal principles must ultimately prevail. I am accustomed to look more at principles than at means, though I acknowledge that means are of great importance. Only give me sound principles, a right foundation upon which I may rear my superstructure, and I can trust for the stability and advancement of the edifice. (*Cheers.*)

I feel also assured, my Lord, that the interests of this Society have already taken deep root in the public mind. Who can doubt it? No man can value more highly than I do, or appreciate more entirely, the advantage of princely patronage and protection, but I have read "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man in whom there is no help; his breath goeth forth, he returneth to the earth, in that very day his thoughts perish." I have still greater confidence in the principles of the nation, in the people at large, in the great masses of mind, which form themselves in the various grades of the body politic, and I speak the honest conviction of my mind when I say that a determination to emancipate Africa, to civilize Africa, to Christianize Africa, and to make her fertile plains and her teeming mountains tributary to the great cause of freedom and of human happiness, is not less embedded in the minds of the British people, like a firm tessellated pavement which no mattock or pickaxe can displace, than it is enshrined in the affections of the people. The Society is already enthroned in the heart of the nation, and I doubt not that the liberality of public contribution and the fervour of Christian prayer will in due time abundantly demonstrate the truth of these prognostics.

I gain a further ground of confidence in this view of the case, my Lord, from the felicitous specimen we have in our own colonies of the great benefits resulting from emancipation. We can all remember how many there formerly were who, with raven note, boded ill as to the practical results of the enfranchisement of the slaves in the West Indies. I know not what spectres of gigantic terror were not foreseen by some, revolution, anarchy, massacre, and blood. We were told that we should presently have our colonies devastated and our commerce destroyed, and that when we should have conquered a solitude all around, we might call it peace. I ask, have those predictions been verified? I point to Antigua, I point to Jamaica, and I ask, how has the system worked? (*Great cheers.*) How is it working? how does it promise to work? Consult the negroes now walking erect in conscious freedom, and they will tell you. You will now see them taught to appreciate the liberty you have bestowed upon them, and to improve it to the best and noblest purposes of civilization and of religion. I take great encouragement from this experiment, and rejoice in the complete success of our humble efforts in the cause to which we are this day pledging ourselves anew.

My Lord,—if I wanted still stronger ground of confidence on this subject, I would point to the present meeting, a meeting in all its circumstances such as perhaps one never yet beheld. We have to-day

seen men, as it has been repeatedly said, of the highest grade, both of intellect, of rank, and of influence, assembling here as on common ground to bear their testimony against slavery, and to carry forward the benefits of civilization to the long-neglected inhabitants of the African continent. Is not this a spectacle calculated to revive one's spirit in these days of dissension and difference? Is there not a strong undercurrent of good pursuing its silent course in the midst of these conflicting waters, and shall it not eventually show itself on the surface, and bear down all prejudice and animosity, till it shall convey us, one and all, to the wide ocean of harmony and love?

May I be permitted to say, my Lord, that I hold it good when, on any occasion, persons who are opposed in party and in denomination are brought to co-operate with each other, because it is obvious that fraternalization in one great object is likely to soften asperity and to promote union with regard to other important objects. I believe it to be good for men to meet on common ground, and to cultivate those kind affections upon which our present exertions must be based in order that they may be successful. I remember, my Lord, to have read in ancient story, that when the border wars were carried on with great activity in this country, a dying borderer sent for his opponent, on his death-bed as it was supposed, in order to shake hands with him, and to request that they might forget all their former feuds and disputes in an act of mutual forgiveness; but, said the dying man, while he grasped the hand of his old antagonist, "Mind, if I get better this is not to hold good; we shall recommence the conflict as in the days of yore." I devoutly supplicate the God of peace that no such feeling may ever pervade our minds. I trust we shall agree to differ where differ we must, and that we shall always unite and concentrate where with advantage we can, and as we do happily at the present moment.

I need not say that my confidence is still increased upon this subject when I find how the chair is filled at this moment by a Noble Lord of high talent and influence in the country, who both here and in the right honourable House, of which he is a distinguished member, has so respectably and so usefully performed his part; and when, too, I consider how the chair has been filled in the previous hours of the meeting, it is indeed a most gratifying feature of the proceedings, that the illustrious Prince who, as it has been said, is placed by Divine Providence at the right hand of the Throne, has been induced to consider it his duty and happiness to preside over us this morning. I consider it as a testimony of great value borne to our cause, a testimony which will go forth to the east and to the west, to the north and to the south. It will be known that Prince Albert, the consort of Britain's Queen, has taken the chair at this meeting; it will tell in Germany, it will tell in France, it will tell among all the nations of the Continent of Europe, it will tell across the Atlantic, (*Cheers*,) and among our western brethren, whom from my heart I pity, because they are entangled in a net of sophistry, in which many of our own predecessors were themselves entangled; for I remember, when yet a boy in my father's house, on the occasion of an entertainment being given to a West Indian merchant, I heard it gravely contended from the Holy Scripture that slavery was a perfectly correct system, and I heard it said that those, among whom was the very honoured individual to whom so just a tri-

bute of applause has been paid this day, that those individuals who were conspiring for the extinction of slavery were, forsooth, removing "the old landmarks." Slavery an old landmark! Yes, my Lord, old enough to be abolished, and old enough to become for ever obsolete. (*Cheers.*) If this be to remove the old landmarks, may they all be uptorn from their roots, pulverized to the smallest atoms, and given to the four winds of heaven to be conducted into the immensity of space. (*Much cheering.*) But we have seen here the Prince borrowing lustre from the British Throne, reflecting back that lustre upon our high and holy cause. You have seated him in the car of freedom, and I cannot doubt that he will go forth from conquering to conquer. You behold him with all the dew of his youth upon him, giving pledge of his devotion to the best welfare of Africa. God grant that he may long live and witness the high consummation of the cause to which he has given the flower and the promise of his early days!

But my chief hope after all rests not in the people, not in the Prince, but in Him who is "the Prince of the Kings of the earth," and who has "on his vesture, and on his thigh, a name written King of Kings and Lord of Lords." On his omnipotence our hopes rely; to his favour we look in humble dependence, and in earnest supplication that it may please Him to prosper our endeavours, and to crown them with desired success; that at his bidding "every valley may be exalted and every mountain and hill be made low, the crooked things straight, and the rough places plain; and all flesh may see the salvation of God, as the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. (*Cheers.*)

The resolution was put by the Chairman, and carried unanimously.

The Marquis of Northampton.

My Lord, a resolution has been placed in my hands, which I will now take the liberty of reading to the meeting; it is to the following effect: "That in order to promote the interests of this Institution throughout the kingdom, it is expedient to establish Societies auxiliary to it, and in regular correspondence and connection with it, as extensively as possible; this meeting therefore pledges itself to strenuous efforts for that purpose, and earnestly invites the friends of Africa, of every religious persuasion and political opinion, to adopt such means in their respective neighbourhoods as may contribute, under the Divine blessing, to its prosperity and success."

My Lord, before proposing this resolution, I may perhaps be pardoned if I allude for a moment to the last occasion when I had the happiness and pleasure of seeing His Royal Highness Prince Albert before I saw him in the chair this day. Upon that occasion, my Lord, I had the honour, in conjunction with the Earl of Aberdeen, to receive at the door of Somerset House His Royal Highness, for the purpose of his being received into the Antiquarian and Royal Societies. My Lord, upon that occasion His Royal Highness identified himself with the sciences and with the literature of England, but now he identifies himself with far higher principles, he identifies himself with a nation's humanity, with a nation's religion, with a nation's love of freedom and hatred of oppression.

Though I feel how unworthy I am to address you after the very great eloquence which I have heard from others, yet I confess I have been rather anxious to address this meeting, on account of the situation

which I happen now to fill as President of the Royal Society, as I wish to state on the part of the science of England, that it not only identifies itself with the humanity of England, but that it feels how greatly inferior in value science itself is to the principles of humanity and justice. On the part of that science, and on the part of the science of the world, I must confess I feel deep shame that science, even for its own objects, has not interfered long ago to aid in the prevention of that which is a disgrace to it, namely, that one quarter of the world should be unknown to it, and unknown to it on account of the crimes there perpetrated. (*Cheers.*) It is upon this ground that I have been anxious to address you, and not upon any idea that I can say any more than has been said to you already.

But, my Lord, perhaps you will excuse me, and perhaps the Right Reverend Prelate, the Bishop of Chichester, will excuse me, if I say I differ with him upon one point. He said that upon one occasion a vessel doubled the crime of Slave Trade by the addition of piracy. For my own part, my Lord, I conceive that the Slave Trade far more than quadruples the crime of piracy; for, my Lord, where have we ever heard of any piracy that has devastated a fourth part of the globe, and that has carried off five hundred thousand human beings? When we talk of five hundred thousand human beings, we form to ourselves a most inadequate idea of the misery that is inflicted by this accursed, this devilish (I was going to say) traffic. Every one of those victims individually had friends and relations, and when we think of the physical horrors that accompany the passage from Africa to America, we are too apt to forget the moral horrors, the feelings of dreadful internal anguish and alarm suffered by the fathers and mothers, the brothers and sisters, and the husbands and wives, of those unfortunate persons who are thus torn away. It is to those feelings, I think, we ought still more to address our consideration than to the mere personal sufferings of the wretched captives themselves, great and aggravated and dreadful as they are.

Ladies and gentlemen, the resolution which has beeen placed in my hands, calls upon you, calls upon every one of you, calls through you, upon the whole British nation, to make efforts in conjunction with this Society, and I am quite sure, from the feeling which has been evinced to-day by you all when responding to the addresses of every one who has addressed you, that you will respond to this appeal, and that you will go forth carrying the cry of this meeting to the very extremity of the empire, for the purpose of rousing every man to make efforts on its behalf. Though it may be a proud thing to meet so many of my fellow-countrymen together upon such an occasion as this, yet it is most assuredly an occasion of deep humiliation when one considers that the great nations of Europe have all declared for a number of years their abhorrence of this traffic, and that that declaration has not been contradicted by any one, yet, that in spite of that declaration of the whole of those nations whose power would have been great to inflict evil, that power has not been great enough to prevent it. My Lord, I must confess it is a reflexion, as it appears to me, deeply humiliating that the united nations of Europe have been unable to prevent the Slave Trade from not only existing, but flourishing. I hope, however, that the efforts of this day will be an era in the history of the abolition of the Slave Trade, and that other nations will, from what passes here to-day, feel themselves called upon in some degree to emulate the example that has been

set by England. My Lord, I have great pleasure in moving this resolution. (*Cheers.*)

The Lord Viscount Howick. (*Received with much applause.*)

My Lord, ladies and gentlemen. When I came to the meeting this morning I certainly did not anticipate that I should be called upon to take any other part in it than that of showing by my presence on this platform the deep interest which I feel in the success of this Society, and my abhorrence of the system of slavery and the Slave Trade, against which your efforts are directed; that abhorrence which I cannot refrain from observing in passing, has been so greatly strengthened by what I learned during my official connection, which I had the pleasure formerly of having with my noble friend in the chair when acting under his orders in the Colonial Office. It was my fate to see and hear more of the distressing effects and cruelties, and the miseries resulting from slavery, than I could at all have imagined, and I shall ever be proud that, in the subordinate situation which I then occupied, I co-operated with my noble friend whom I now see in the chair; and I had the satisfaction of carrying into effect his instructions in promoting those measures which were designed, and which had the effect of preparing the way, for the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies. (*Applause.*) I say I did not expect when I came into this room that I should have been called upon to take any public part in your proceedings to-day, but as I have been asked to do so by my honourable friend who sits near me, whom having formerly followed as my leader in the cause of the abolition of slavery, I am happy to follow again in the cause of the abolition of the Slave Trade. Having been asked by him to take this part, I will not permit any diffidence of my own to prevent me, and I consider myself bound to obey his orders even when I may wish that they had been otherwise.

My Lord, I feel that so many hours have elapsed since this numerous Meeting has been assembled, and that those speakers who have preceded me have so entirely exhausted the topics to which they have adverted, that I will not attempt now to say one word to excite still further the anxiety of all who hear me, to put an end to the system of the Slave Trade, nor shall I say anything as to the means by which we propose to accomplish that great object. It is sufficient for me to say that I entirely concur in the opinions which have been expressed, that those means which this Society propose to adopt are the only means which, as far as human foresight can extend, are likely to lead to the attainment of the desired object. (*Applause.*) But all I wish now to do is, to call the attention of the Meeting to that particular Resolution which it is my duty to second. The object of that Resolution is to encourage the formation of Auxiliary Societies corresponding with your Central Society, and that this may be considered as a Meeting co-operating with it for one common object. Now, undoubtedly, it appears to me that this is the most useful means that could be adopted for ensuring our success. If we look back to the history of the abolition of the Slave Trade, can any man fail to perceive the immense and powerful effect which was produced, not only by the Anti-Slavery Society of London, but by the system which was then adopted, and in which my honourable friend near me took so great a part, viz.,

organizing and establishing subsidiary and corresponding societies all over the country. At the time that Society was struggling for an object upon which great difference of opinion existed, the country was then divided, great interests were against us, and not only were great interests against us, but many persons sincerely and honestly believed that the measures recommended by those who desired the abolition of slavery would be injurious even to the slaves themselves. Many persons supposed that it would have been a rash and probably a fatal act to strike off the fetters from the limbs of the slaves who had so long borne them. This difference of opinion necessarily caused the proceedings of that Society to be mixed up with a great deal of acrimony, a great deal of bitterness and controversy, and gave rise to discussions and dissensions, which necessarily indisposed many persons to take any part in it. But now the case is different; no British interest is opposed to the measures which we have in view, no opinion of any man or of any political party, or any individual belonging to any political party, is opposed to the measures we propose. There may be persons who in their hearts desire to continue the disgraceful profit which results from the infamous system of the Slave Trade, but throughout the civilized world, I think there will not be found one person bold enough to assert that our object,—the civilization and the improvement of Africa—is not both great and laudable. (*Applause.*)

I feel confident, therefore, that by the co-operation of many men and of many different minds, all directed to one common purpose, and which the formation of societies throughout the country will be one principal means of causing, that a great effect must be produced by those means, and it is on that account that I have the greatest pleasure in seconding the Resolution which has just been proposed, in the full conviction that if we succeed in civilizing Africa, not only shall we put an end to the Slave Trade, but we shall very soon put an end to the system of slavery itself. (*Applause.*) If the Slave Trade is abolished, slavery then cannot long continue to survive. (*Applause.*) It must fall, not perhaps by any violent measures, or by the immediate action of any society of this kind, but it must fall as the necessary and inevitable effect of the establishment of enlightened and civilized industry in Africa; it must fall, for it is utterly impossible that the extorted labour of slaves in any part of the world can long compete with that of free-men.

I feel, my Lord, that I have very imperfectly discharged the task which I undertook, but at the same time I feel that it would not be proper for me to detain so numerous a Meeting, I will therefore conclude by expressing my hearty concurrence in the Resolution which has just been moved. (*Cheers.*)

The Resolution was put by the Chairman and carried unanimously.

The Lord Viscount Sandon.

My Lord, ladies and gentlemen. I should not have undertaken the task which has been imposed upon me, if I had not felt that there were one or two reasons which would have made it ungracious in me to refuse. I was unwilling to refuse to give in my person the public adhesion to the great object which you have in view, as well as to the means chalked out for its attainment of that great commercial community with which I have the honour to be connected. That community,

the foremost in every enterprise in which the industry of this country has embarked, I am sorry to say, before the Slave Trade was held in that just abhorrence in which it is now held by every Englishman, was foremost in the pursuit of that traffic which it is the object of our Society to extinguish in other nations, as it has been in our own; but when the voice of the law had given its sanction to the appeals of humanity, and had erased the trade in man from the list of lawful trades, when that trade was at length forbidden by human law, as it had long been forbidden by the laws of God, that community abandoned, as I may say, without exception and at once, the unlawful traffic, and has since been as honourably distinguished in the energetic pursuit of enterprises of legitimate and useful commerce along the coast of Africa, as it had been forward in other days in the iniquitous traffic which formerly disgraced its character.

Indeed, ladies and gentlemen, in the very first step which your Association has suggested, the merchants of Liverpool have been the pioneers. A few gentlemen in that town were the first to take advantage of the discoveries of Lander by sending steam-boats up the Niger, and thus endeavouring to open commercial intercourse through that great channel into the heart of Africa, and to extend along its waters that civilization which is its usual concomitant. That expedition, I say, of honourable trade, though unsuccessful itself, has been the pioneer to that more extended effort in the same direction which the nation is now about to undertake, and in which, I believe, we shall ultimately see the realization of the ardent hopes which we have formed, that the great commercial means of this country may be made subservient to the civilization, and the only true basis of civilization, Christianity, in that benighted continent. It is for this purpose only, as I said before, that I have obtruded myself upon your notice.

The appeals which have been made to you by other speakers have fully developed the object which you have in view, and have secured your concurrence in the means by which it is to be attained. I have now the humble task of pointing out a part of the machinery through which this Society proposes to act. In this country, when an object is in view for which it is desirable to secure an extended concurrence, it is usual, and it is naturally advantageous, to secure the sanction of those whose names are recognised at once throughout the whole community; and for this purpose I think I may with confidence offer to you a list of names for your Vice-Presidents equally distinguished by their station in life, and by the support of every useful and benevolent object.

The Resolution which I hold in my hand is this—That the following be the list of Vice-Presidents:—

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.
His Grace the Archbishop of York.
His Grace the Archbishop of Armagh.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Lansdowne, K.G.—Lord President of the Council.
The Earl of Clarendon, Lord Privy Seal.
His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, K.G.
His Grace the Duke of Somerset, K.G.
His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G.

His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, K.G.
His Grace the Duke of Sutherland.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Northampton.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Bristol.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Breadalbane.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Westminster.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Normanby.
The Earl of Euston, M.P.
The Earl of Shrewsbury.
The Earl of Devon.
The Earl of Dartmouth.
The Earl of Elgin.
The Earl of Aberdeen, K.T.
The Earl of Chichester.
The Earl Powis.
The Earl Grey, K.G.

But in mentioning the next name I hope I may be allowed to deviate from the mere recital, and to say, in mentioning one so dear to me as the Earl of Harrowby, that I should be sorry to pass over without a moment's notice the name of one who was a fellow-labourer in the early and up-hill struggles in the cause of abolition, with Clarkson and with Wilberforce, with Pitt and with Fox. I may be allowed perhaps to say, in his behalf, that nothing but the infirmities of advancing years, which forbid him from mingling in numerous assemblies of his fellow countrymen, would have prevented him from coming here this day to declare to this meeting in person that the feelings which animated his youth have not slumbered in advancing life. (*Cheers.*)

The Earl of Harrowby.
The Earl Howe.
The Earl of Ripon.
The Earl of Lovelace.
The Earl Jermyn, M. P.
The Lord Charles Fitzroy, M. P.
The Right Hon. the Lord John Russell, M. P.
The Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Palmerston, M. P.
The Lord Viscount Morpeth, M. P.
The Lord Ashley, M. P.
The Lord Viscount Mahon, M. P.
The Lord Viscount Howick, M. P.
The Lord Viscount Sandon, M. P.
The Lord Eliot, M. P.
The Lord Bishop of London.
The Lord Bishop of Durham.
The Lord Bishop of Winchester.
The Lord Bishop of Lincoln.
The Lord Bishop of Bangor.
The Lord Bishop of Llandaff.
The Lord Bishop of Chester.
The Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.
The Lord Bishop of Exeter.
The Lord Bishop of Ely.

The Lord Bishop of Lichfield.
The Lord Bishop of Chichester.
The Lord Bishop of Ripon.
The Lord Bishop of Salisbury.
The Lord Bishop of Norwich.
The Lord Bishop of Hereford.
The Right Hon. the Lord Lyttelton.
The Right Hon. the Lord Calthorpe.
The Right Hon. the Lord Hill.
The Right Hon. the Lord Bexley.
The Right Hon. the Lord Seaford.
The Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice Denman.
The Right Hon. the Lord Glenelg.
The Right Hon. the Lord Hatherton.
The Right Hon. the Lord Monteagle.
The Right Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons.
The Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M. P.
The Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice Tindal.
The Right Hon. Sir George Murray, G.C.B.
The Right Hon. Gen. Sir Henry Hardinge, Bart.
The Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, M. P.
Thomas Clarkson, Esq.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think in this list of names the whole country will see an union not only of rank, but also of learning and wisdom, of piety and humanity; they will see enlisted in the cause the experience of age and the ardour of youth: and under the illustrious sanction which we have seen this day afforded to our efforts, I cannot doubt that the great object which we have in view, and the means which we propose to employ for the purpose of obtaining it, will lay a rapid and a lasting hold upon the interest of this great country. With these observations I beg to move this Resolution. (*Cheers.*)

THE REV. JOHN DYER.

My Lord, deeply interested as I have been, both in the object which has assembled us together this day, and in the whole proceedings of the meeting, I feel that it would be altogether out of place at this advanced hour to add much, if any thing more, than that I rise to second the motion proposed by the Noble Lord on my right. I may be permitted to express my earnest hope that that which has been so auspiciously commenced this day may be prosecuted with resolution and vigour, and under the blessing of Almighty God be conducted to a successful issue; that as the reign of our beloved and gracious Sovereign has been happily commenced by the liberation of those of the coloured race within her dominions who were held previously in bondage, so it may please Providence, when at some far distant era it shall be brought to a close, that a still greater glory may encircle her royal brow by the whole human race being rescued from this fearful scourge, and brought into the possession of temporal liberty and to the knowledge of Him who is the author of everlasting freedom. I feel especially rejoiced that the great object of the diffusion of our common Christianity has been so amply recognised in the proceedings

of this day as the ultimate issue of all our philanthropic efforts, that Christianity which is founded upon the sacred volume which we all acknowledge to be paramount to every other, and which we regard as the only foundation of all our hopes for eternity. I have great pleasure, my Lord, in seconding the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen. In the list of Vice-Presidents which my noble friend on my right has read to you, he has omitted one name, and I feel it to be my duty to correct that omission. It is the name of my noble friend himself, and sure I am that there is no name in that long and honourable list which will do more credit to the selection of the society than that of my noble friend. I beg, therefore, to propose that the list as read, with the addition of Lord Sandon's name, be the list of the Vice-Presidents of the society.

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously.

THE REV. J. W. CUNNINGHAM.

My lords ladies, and gentlemen. The few observations which I have to offer to this meeting have at least this claim to novelty, that they will be prefaced by complaints against a dear and honoured relative, whom every speaker of every class in this assembly has agreed to commend, I mean Thomas Fowell Buxton. And my complaint is this, that having in the first instance, and in the intensity of his zeal on this subject, required of his friends to publish upon the subject of Africa, he himself sets to work, ransacks every authority ancient and modern, exhausts every fact, figure, and argument which is to be found on the subject, and thus stultifies his own request, and strangles in the birth all the excellent works on the subject of the Slave Trade which I and others had contemplated. The same way with our speeches. Every man who is called upon to speak upon this topic has good reason to expect that before he rises everything he can think, say, or do on the subject will have been said and done a thousand times more effectively by my honourable friend. I believe that I should best meet the general feeling upon this subject by proposing that, in future, Mr. Buxton shall, instead of writing the first book, and making the first speech on slave matters, be required in all instances to speak and write the last.

In the dearth of other topics, you will excuse me if I advert to two conversations to which I have recently listened.

It is only a few days since it was said to me, "There is much weight in your arguments as to the civilizing influence of Christianity, but then no one knows better than yourself that the Africans are an inferior race, and so inferior that you might as well hope to Christianize and civilize their lions and leopards as themselves." Now it is impossible not to admit that, if this statement has the smallest foundation in truth, it is decisive of the question. But, my Lord, it is impossible not to be jealous of all those statements of "the inferiority of one class of human beings to another." The physically strong are very apt to affirm it of the physically weak, and thus to confound bodily with mental and moral inferiority; men, for example, affirm it of women; but who will admit the truth of the allegation that looks at this assembly, and watches the many beaming and sympathizing countenances around us—or who remembers a petition signed by females alone upon the subject of

emancipation, which would have reached from this house to Westminster Hall? Nor, my Lord, do I believe that the charge of inferiority against the negro population is in the smallest degree better founded than other similar charges. In proof of this, I might allege the facility with which they receive education, and the degree in which they often force their way through that most formidable of all obstacles to improvement, the being constantly treated as an inferior race. But I would beg this assembly to listen to what I must consider as an ample refutation of such a libel,—a letter from some of these very negroes when brought under the influence of Christian principles, and which is addressed to a society to which they have the highest obligation, the Church Missionary Society. These negroes had been threatened with the loss of their teacher, on account of the inadequacy of the only place of worship they possessed, and they thus address the Society:—

"The humble petition of the undersigned, inhabitants of the Long Bay District of Manchineal, forming part of the congregation under the care of the Rev. W. J. Woodcock, at the Church Missionary Station, Rural hill, sheweth—That your humble petitioners beg gratefully to acknowledge de great Christian kindness of de Church Missionary Society in sending de great light of de Gospel among dem who were before in great darkness, and in giving de great assistment towards de building where parson might speak to dem de sweet word of Jesus Christ's redeeming love, and where deir pickaninny—" I believe a "pickaninny" is an African babe—"might have de great instructment of school massa dat no com to dem when dey were pickaninny. That your humble petitioners have heard wid much sorrow de bad news of de Committee no being willing to help dem any more to carry on de building, and dat make parson write and tell de honourable gentlemen dat him beg to be removed to another station. That your petitioners feel so hard upon dis dat dey no able to get rest none at all since dis news come, but tink upon it all time day and night dat dey no able to suffer building now nearly come to finishment to be made to stand, it would be a shame and disgrace to dem for ever, and dey no able to bear dem good parson to go away." "That de house where parson keep for we prayers now no big enough to hold de people, rain come in in every part, it no be too hot for we black people and dat make parson sick too much dat your petitioners want de new building very much, and can no hear about it stop." They add—and let not the proposal be forgotten—that they are willing to give their own labour for a month, or if they cannot work, the value of a month's labour towards the enlargement of the chapel.

I do not know that I have read the best part of the communication, but I have surely read enough to disprove the assertion of the inferiority of the negroes to the whites, their incapacity for moral and literary instruction, and to give you strong assurances that instruction will tell upon them, and that in addressing yourselves to their conscience and heart, you are not "sowing to the wind," and are not in danger of "reaping the whirlwind." Show me such a letter from a body of white slave-drivers in Africa or the West Indies, and I will at once give up the argument, but till then I can allow nothing of the inferiority of black to white.

My Lord, it is upon the just view which this Society takes of human nature that I think its pretensions mainly rest. One view of the nature of man upon which they reason and act is—that such men as the negroes whose letter you have just heard will, if brought under the civilizing and sanctifying influences of Christianity, become good and valuable members of society; and who will not sympathize in such a hope? Another view which they take of society is this, that neither books, nor acts of parliament, nor any maritime force which we can send out, are able to contend with a clear profit of 150 per cent., the sum which Mr. Buxton has established in his book as about the average profit of a slave trader.

My Lord, perhaps I may be permitted to express my regret that no one has entered more at large upon this topic. I am not about to try the patience of the meeting by doing so, but I must here beg to refer you to Mr. Buxton's own unanswerable book, that you may learn what the present intentions of the Society are, what is the expedition about to be sent out by the Government to the River Niger, who is its commander, and what use we hope to make of Captain Trotter's talents and devotion to this great cause.

My Lord, in the present state of the meeting I will trespass upon their attention only for a few sentences more.

I have been charged by Mr. Buxton to tell you, that this institution will stand in the greatest need of pecuniary assistance, and to ask (as he wishes, he says, to be moderate) for no less a sum than 10,000*l.*—and *why not?* Is all the emotion of this meeting to evaporate in empty applauses? *Why not?*—when you have many individuals in this assembly who could give the whole sum, and not feel it was gone? *Why not?*—when you have one quarter of the globe in a state of absolute destitution as to all that is best for the soul or the body?

If Mr. Buxton and others give their sinews, their time, their prayers, their hearts, should you keep back a few paltry guineas from this mighty enterprise? But I must add, that Mr. Buxton has told me not only to beg, but not to *stop*, till I got the 10,000*l.*—What is to be done?—Perhaps, on the condition of my stopping, you will be so good as to give it to me, and therefore I will now sit down. (*Great cheers.*)

The Rev. Jabez Bunting, D.D.

My Lord, the Reverend Gentleman who preceded me omitted to read at length the Resolution which he moved. I beg leave to supply that omission. The Resolution is, "That Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq. be appointed the Chairman of the Committee of this Society; that the Right Honourable Stephen Lushington, D.C.L., M.P., Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart, M.P., and Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Bart. M.P., be the Deputy Chairmen; and that the gentlemen whose names will be stated in the list hereafter to be read to the Meeting be the Committee for the ensuing year; with power to fill up vacancies that may occur in their number." My Lord, I shall almost entirely content myself by simply seconding the resolution. As, however, other speakers—and some of the most distinguished in rank and influence—have thought it their duty to take this opportunity of pledging to the meeting the support, not merely of themselves individually, but of the circle of their friends, and of those sections of the religious community

with which they were severally connected, I beg to be allowed briefly to do the same. (*Loud applause.*) The very little power of any kind which I may possess shall be most humbly, but heartily and thankfully, at the service of the Committee of this Society; and I venture to say the same for that section of the Christian church with which it is pretty well known I am connected. (*Loud applause.*) I have no fear of giving such a pledge for them, throughout the length and breadth of their community; (*renewed cheers;*) because it would be strange indeed, if a religious body which was among the first to think of Africa and the Negro, and has, during the last fifty years, made a larger expenditure, (and I am glad they have had it in their hearts and in their power to do so,) both of money and of valuable missionary life, for Africa and the negro race, than many others had the opportunity of doing, (but not more than I hope many will now be ready to do,) it would be strange if such a people could hesitate to come forward with zeal and energy. (*Applause.*) I would press upon the meeting the practical conclusion to which my reverend predecessor wished to lead us; and perhaps I may be permitted in doing so to relate a very brief anecdote. It is said that a person, who had unfortunately contracted the habit of going late to church, went on one occasion very late indeed, and meeting another person who was quitting the church at the conclusion of the service, he asked, "Is it all done?" "No," replied the man, "it is all *said;* but it is all yet to *do.*" That, I apprehend, is very much the position of this Society at the present moment. (*Applause.*) This Meeting has been a most noble and delightful one. All is certainly said;—he would be a rash man who tried to say more, or, at all events who tried to say it better, but it is all to be done, or nearly all; and we must now proceed to the *doing*, encouraged and stimulated by remembering the *sayings* which we have heard on this interesting occasion. (*Applause.*) With this observation, my Lord, I beg to second the Resolution. (*Loud cheering.*)

The names of the Committee were read as follows:

Chairman.

Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq.

Deputy Chairmen.

The Right Honourable Stephen Lushington, D.C.L., M.P.
Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart., M. P.
Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Bart., M. P.

Thomas Dyke Acland, Esq., M.P.
William Allen, Esq.
Arthur Kett Barclay, Esq.
Robert Barclay, Jun., Esq.
Samuel Gurney Barclay, Esq.
Rev. Jabez Bunting, D.D.
Rev. John Beecham.
Joseph Beldam, Esq.
Captain Bosanquet, R. N.
Edward N. Buxton, Esq.
Rev. A. M. Campbell.
Rev. John Clayton.
Dandeson Coates, Esq.
Josiah Conder, Esq.
James Cook, Esq.
Rev. John Cumming.
Rev. J. W. Cunningham.
Rev. Wm. Dealtry, D.D.
Rev. John Dyer.
William Evans, Esq., M.P.
W. E. Forster, Esq.
W. Storrs Fry, Esq.

J. Gurney Fry, Esq.
Samuel Gurney, Esq.
Samuel Gurney, jun. Esq.
W. A. Garratt, Esq,
W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.
Henry Goulburn, jun., Esq.
William Hamilton, Esq.
Samuel Hoare, Esq.
Rev. R. E. Hankinson.
Dr. Hodgkin.
Capt. Henry Hope, C.B., R.N.
Benjamin Hawes, jun. Esq., M.P.
Charles Lushington, Esq., M.P.
Hon. Capt. Francis Maude, R.N.
Richard Matthews, Esq.
Rev. W. H. Mill, D.D.
Rev. R. Munro.
Lieutenant-colonel Edw. Nicolls.
Robert Pryor, Esq.
William Rothery, Esq.
Sir George Stephen.
W. C. Stretfeild, Esq.
Thomas Sturge, Esq.
William Taylor, Esq.
Henry Sykes Thornton, Esq.
Rev. Arthur Tidman.
Rev. Robert Vaughan, D.D.
Captain Washington, R.N.
Henry Waymouth, Esq.
Rev. J. R. Wood.

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously.

Honorary Members.

The Lord George Lennox, M.P.
The Lord Robert Grosvenor, M.P.
The Lord Teignmouth, M.P.
The Lord Nugent.
The Hon. W. Cowper, M.P.
The Hon. W. J. Lascelles, M.P.
The Right Hon. Sir George Henry Rose, G.C.B., M.P.
The Right Hon. Sir Stratford Canning, G.C.B., M.P.
The Right Hon. Mr. Justice Erskine.
The Right Hon. Sir George Grey, Bart., M.P.
The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone.
The Hon. Mr. Baron Alderson.
The Hon. Mr. Justice Coleridge.
Sir Harry Verney Bart., M.P.
Sir Joseph de Courcey Laffan, M.D. Bart.
Sir William Edward Parry, Bart., R.N.
Sir Moses Montefiore.
The Venerable the Archdeacon Wilberforce.
George Edward Anson, Esq.
Captain Bird Allen, R.N.
Captain William Allen, R.N.
James Bandinel, Esq.
Captain Beaufort, R.N.
Captain Cook.
William Ewart, Esq., M.P.
Captain Fitzroy, R.N.
John Irving Esq., M.P.
James M'Queen, Esq.
John Pemberton Plumptre, Esq., M.P.
Henry Pownall, Esq.
John Rundle, Esq., M.P.
Benjamin Smith, Esq., M.P.
Colonel Torrens.
Captain Trotter, R.N.

The Right Honourable Sir George Murray.

My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen. Until this paper was just now put into my hands I had not the smallest anticipation that I should have the honour of addressing you upon the present occasion. Perhaps I have been called upon on this account, that as you have already heard men of different political sentiments, men connected with different religious persuasions, the nobles of the land, and the clergy of the land, and have seen among us foreign ambassadors (*great cheering*) giving their individual countenance, and along with it, I trust, that of their governments, to our proceedings, it may have been, perhaps, desired that you should hear the sentiments of a military man also upon the present occasion. (*Cheers.*) I can assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that I enter most fully into the feelings and into the views of this great and distinguished assembly. (*Loud cheers.*) It has been at all times my anxious desire, and my humble endeavour, that wherever British authority extended, there every trace of slavery should be extinguished; and that wherever British influence had any power, it should be exerted to effect the same laudable object. (*Cheers.*) We have different grounds upon which *we* make our appeal to you upon the present occasion; for I have the honour and the gratification now to address you as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Association; we have different objects to which to direct your attention. First, we have to enlist your feelings in the cause of humanity; next we have to interest you on religious grounds in favour of the extension of those blessings which Christianity carries with it; and, lastly, we have to appeal to your understandings to sanction the course we are pursuing. I believe it to be an undoubted and an undeniable fact, that whereas the exertions hitherto made by this country for the Abolition of Slavery have failed of complete success, they have so failed because they have not been directed to the root of the evil. But we appeal to your understandings whether we are not now proceeding in the right course when we are aiming at the civilization of the great continent of Africa itself, as the only effectual means of putting an end to the detestable traffic of the Slave Trade, and eradicating for ever all the traces of an inhuman system. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*)

I am happy that the Resolution which has been put into my hands is not like some of those which have been already read to you—one calling for any long address, or requiring argument or persuasion to obtain your assent to it. I have been called upon to propose to you a Resolution which I am confident will obtain from all a hearty concurrence, and one in which I myself concur, not only from the strong feelings of private friendship which I entertain towards the noble individual to whom it relates, but also from sentiments of esteem resting upon public grounds, I mean the resolution to vote "the cordial thanks of this Meeting to the Right Honourable the Earl of Ripon for his able and impartial conduct in the chair this day." (*Cheers.*) We have been peculiarly fortunate in the auspicious manner in which this meeting has been called together, and has been conducted. (*Cheers.*) We had in the illustrious Prince who occupied the chair at the opening of our proceedings a sure pledge, a pledge the most satisfactory that could be afforded us, of the entire and sincere

participation of the Sovereign of the country in the views which we entertain. (*Loud cheers.*) We have also, I may say with equal truth, in the intelligence, in the respectability, and in the numbers of this assembly, an unequivocal proof that the feelings of the whole people of England go along with us in seeking the attainment of the objects at which we aim. And permit me to add, that it is not one of the least gratifying and important circumstances attending this meeting, that we see amongst us so large a proportion of the female sex. (*Hear, hear.*) For we cannot have, gentlemen, a surer evidence that we are in the right course—in the course which humanity dictates, and religion recommends, than that which is furnished by the disinterested and zealous support which we receive from so large a portion of the fair sex. We have a further pledge, through them also, that this great cause will be advocated, not only in public meetings such as this is, and in many which will, I trust, be assembled in every part of the British dominions, but it is certified to us likewise, that those feelings will be made, by their instrumentality, to penetrate into every domestic circle in the country, and not only so, but that they will be inculcated and handed down to those who will succeed us in carrying forward hereafter this great endeavour.

I will not enter upon the argument which has been suggested by one of the speakers, whether the results of our efforts will be speedily realized or not till a remote period; but of this I am sure, that they cannot arrive more speedily than your zeal would desire; and I am equally confident that they cannot be so tardy in their arrival as to wear out your patience and perseverance in so just and so good a cause. I beg leave to move "That the cordial thanks of this meeting be presented to the Right Hon. the Earl of Ripon for his able conduct in the chair this day."

(*A call for Mr. O'Connell.*)

The Chairman.—I most deeply regret that any circumstance connected with my name and my station in this meeting should have led to any difference of opinion that should even have the appearance of interrupting the harmony of our meeting. But in the discharge of the duty which I have been called upon to undertake, I certainly am bound to state that Sir Thomas Acland was the first, as far as I know, who has the claim to your attention, (*Cheers,*) and in conformity therefore with the rules that I believe to be universally observed upon occasions of this sort, I humbly suggest to you that he should be permitted to proceed. (*Cheers.*)

Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Bart., M. P.

My Lord Ripon, Ladies and Gentlemen. This at least I may promise you, that in return for your indulgence, I will not long abuse your patience. Amongst the many apologies that have been made here to-day, mine, the most necessary, has this advantage, that, though the least, I am also the last to address you, according to the arrangements which have been made by the Committee; and the task ought indeed to be easy, for I am only desired to ask what has already sprung forth from the lips and hearts of every one present, viz., your cordial concurrence in the acknowledgments justly to be tendered to any English gentleman who should come forward to help

such a cause as this by taking the Chair on such an occasion. The Vicar of Harrow bade you not to retire to your arm-chairs, but to go to work in your own particular spheres, and do the utmost that you could on behalf of this Society. This is true; but after all, what has not the Chair your Lordship now fills accomplished for us this day? And depend upon it there is not one here who, whether he return to his arm-chair or not, will not be able by communicating the warm feelings he has received in this Meeting to others, to extend in a widening circle the interest for this great cause, till the result is seen in the amelioration of that benighted continent to which you wish to open the light of civilization. Assuredly then, ladies and gentlemen, to him whose warm and honest heart is proverbial among those who know him, as being one of the most genuine representatives of English honesty and English feeling, our thanks are especially due for the part he has taken this day, and the deep concern he has thus manifested in our exertions for the extinction of the Slave Trade. It was, indeed, observed, and well observed too, that when we go out of this room all remains to be done—perseveringly—year after year—with various success, as the blessing of Heaven shall descend more or less graciously upon this undertaking; (*hear and applause ;*) but be also assured at the same time, that the dawn of that day has now arisen which will not fade till the sun has attained his full meridian height.

Depend upon it, it is no chimerical feeling (though I think one might be forgiven for cherishing even such feelings in such a cause) to hold fast the persuasion of which I for one, feel it impossible, to divest myself, that such a day will and must come—but whether fifty or five hundred years hence, will probably depend on the results of the exertions which have now commenced. Even in the natural course and order of things, Africa will, of necessity, take her place in the great community of civilized nations. From the day Mr. Lander, an humble but energetic and unwearied labourer in the cause of scientific discovery, from the day that he descended the Niger, "that great and mighty river," to the sea, any one who had looked into the history of the other parts of the world must have felt assured that Africa was destined to assume a high rank amongst the Christian nations of the world, to be received into their society, and after the manner which has been too well set forth to-day by the tongue of hereditary Christian eloquence for me to repeat the description, to pour forth her exuberant produce, and exchange those commodities it has pleased Providence to give her for other articles brought from other shores. At some time or other this must take place; the only question is whether, when England has so deep a debt to repay, she will not be the first to enter the path; if not done by England, it will be done by others, if not done by the great authority of such assemblages as these, with princes, and nobles, and teachers spiritual and philosophical at our head, it will be done by some one; self-interest will take some steps in this direction to effect its own objects, but not such, nor so safe, so beneficent, nor so early, as this Society will strive to pursue towards the blessed amelioration we contemplate. This is the only point that I wish to touch upon in the few words which I address to this Meeting. The anxiety that I have is, that every person who puts his hand to the "Ark of this magnificent and awful cause" may feel that, however light the support he yields,

however small the weight he may sustain, it is still in truth in this way, and I believe in this way only, that the high road can be made into the heart of Africa, by which all that is good, and wise, and blessed shall hereafter find fair and free way along which to travel. We are not, indeed, to teach in the ordinary acceptation of the word,—we are not to preach in the spiritual sense of the word,—we are not to be merchants or missionaries, or colonists or settlers,—but we are striving to do that, which, when followed up by such a stimulus of benevolence as has brought so many together here; that which, taking men as they are, and societies as they are, could not have been ever hoped from a separate institution, nor from any special societies which should either have been simply and entirely commercial or missionary, or colonizing in their view.

If you wish to obtain more information upon this subject, let me recommend every one to procure Mr. Buxton's book; there the foundation is laid, there is the brick and mortar brought for our building; read that book, and read it till your feelings become penetrated, as I acknowledge mine have been, with the full assurance that our common attempt is the more likely to prosper because it is placed within practical limits, because it is so arranged that every man alive may have his share in the work. Here you may be assured that we are taking the first step right, and that the result will be, that every other great interest of humanity will be borne on the arms of English benevolence to do its full and perfect work, and that under the Divine blessing even Africa shall at length become a civilized and Christian land. My Lord, I congratulate you with all my heart on the result of this meeting. I congratulate every person who in any way has taken part in this assembly, who has done any thing, whether by his approbation and hearty concurrence, whether by his eloquence, or by his kind and considerate silence,—or in any way, with *bonâ fide* sincerity, contributed to the promotion of unanimity in this great cause.

I congratulate you further, my Lord, that you have been called by such a body of your countrymen to follow His Royal Highness Prince Albert, in the performance of his truly princely act of courtesy and benevolence in thus taking the Chair of this Meeting. We are, indeed, deeply indebted, first to His Royal Highness, and then to your Lordship; and of this gratitude I venture now, on the part of the assembly, to tender you the cordial offer, and shall most properly conclude the duty which has been assigned me by asking you, ladies and gentlemen, whether you will not, one and all, with heart and voice, now concur with me in passing the resolution of our thanks to the Earl of Ripon, for his kind and able conduct in the chair this day.

The Resolution was put and carried unanimously amidst great applause.

Chairman.

After the deep interest that has been excited in the breasts of all who hear me by the proceedings of this day; after the brilliant eloquence, the earnest feeling, and the sincere display of religious sentiment with which you have been delighted and animated in the course of these proceedings, it must be gratifying to you to feel that the time has now come when you may give your assent (if you should be

pleased to do so) to a resolution which excites, and can excite, no such feeling, and call forth no such sympathy; I mean that which has been proposed with reference to myself. I appear before this vast assembly, comprising hundreds—nay, I believe, thousands—of my fellow-countrymen; I appear before you without, I believe, being personally known to by far the majority of those whom I have now the honour of addressing; and I do not know to what I can ascribe the desire which some friends of mine expressed that I should take the chair this afternoon when his Royal Highness Prince Albert should quit it, except to the circumstance that it fell to my lot to bear an active part, as one of the Ministers of the Crown, in recommending to Parliament the positive, effectual, and final abolition of slavery in all parts of Her Majesty's dominions. I was always of opinion, from the first moment that my thoughts were directed to that subject, (and it strikes me now that the first vote I ever gave in Parliament was for the abolition of the Slave Trade,) I always was of opinion that the necessary and inevitable consequence of that measure would be, first, the abolition of slavery itself in every part of the British dominions, and finally, I ventured to hope, the extinction of slavery throughout the civilized world. And if, by any acts of mine, I have, however humbly, contributed to bring about that great and glorious event, abundantly am I rewarded for any labour of thought that I may have bestowed upon the subject, or any personal exertion which it may have been in my power to make. (*Applause.*) It would be an idle waste of your time if I were to enter into any sort of detail upon this great subject, which has been presented to you this day in all its bearings; but, ladies and gentlemen, I will venture to say one word to you upon the feelings with which we ought to part upon the conclusion of this long and interesting discussion. You will, I am sure, carry with you from this Hall, not the mere transient impressions of the moment, excited by the powerful appeals which have been made to your feelings, but a deliberate conviction that you have been assembled by a solemn call to assist, perhaps I should say to direct, a great exertion in a great cause—an exertion and a cause so great as to require the utmost devotedness of purpose and steadiness of perseverance in order to effect their successful accomplishment. And when I recently heard Mr. Cunningham advise you to carry with you into the bosom of your several families the recollection of what you have heard and the feelings which have been excited, I could not look round upon this vast meeting, and notice how it is in great part composed, without feeling confident that all the kindliest feelings of our nature are enlisted on the side of African freedom, and that those domestic and holy influences by which men are oftentimes stimulated to generous and elevated actions, will not be wanting on this occasion to keep alive the warmth of our zeal and the details of our operations.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you with all my heart for the manner in which you have been pleased to receive my humble services; and nothing now remains for me to add but to announce that this great, this glorious, this national meeting (for so it may well be termed) is now, I humbly hope, with the blessing of God upon it, prosperously terminated. (*Loud Applause.*)

APPENDIX A.

Prospectus of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade, and for the Civilization of Africa.

Instituted June, 1839.

In the year 1807 Great Britain prohibited all her subjects from engaging in the Slave Trade, and the Legislature of this country, in accordance with the voice of the people, repudiated a commerce which had produced more crime and misery than, perhaps, any other single cause of guilt and iniquity; but neither the Government nor the Legislature, nor the subjects of this realm, were satisfied with a mere cessation from crime.

Remembering how deeply, in times of comparative ignorance, we had sustained and augmented this trade, so repugnant to every Christian principle and feeling, the nation determined to use its utmost influence, and expend its resources, in the noble attempt to extinguish it for ever.

The compass of this address will not allow even of the most compendious statement of the measures resorted to, of the treaties concluded with foreign powers, of the monies expended, and the various other efforts made to effect this object; suffice it to say that, since the year 1807, all the great Powers of Europe have been induced by Great Britain to unite in expressing their abhorrence of this traffic; and, with all, treaties more or less stringent have been made for its extinction.

The United States of America, though from political reasons they have declined any actual co-operation, have not the less denounced and prohibited all traffic in slaves from Africa. Great Britain has expended, in bounties alone, upwards of 940,000*l.*; and, in the maintenance of the courts established for the adjudication of captured slaves, above 330,000*l.*, besides a very large sum annually in supporting a considerable force of cruizers in various parts of the globe, to intercept and destroy the traffic.* An infinitely more important sacrifice has been made in the loss of British life, which has been necessarily incurred in pursuing this object. The result, the melancholy result, remains to be stated. The traffic has not been extinguished, has not been diminished, but, by the latest accounts from which any estimate can be correctly formed, the numbers exported have increased—the destruction of human life, and all the guilt and misery consequent thereon, have been fearfully augmented; and at the same time it may

* This expenditure, together with that caused by the payments to Foreign Powers on account of the Slave Trade, for the support of liberated Africans and for other incidental expenses, may be shown from official documents to have amounted to upwards of fifteen millions sterling.

be stated, that the numbers exported from Africa are, as compared with the year 1807, as two to one, and that the annual loss of life has risen from seventeen to twenty-five.

Let no man, however, say that these efforts have been thrown away. Who can tell how fearful might not have been the amount of enormity, if those exertions had not been made? Who would presume to say that the very assertion of the great principles of justice and truth has not accelerated the final extirpation of those detested practices? Who could venture to assert that a criminal inaction on the part of Great Britain might not have caused an indefinite continuance of the guilt on the part of other nations?

But the people of England have not succeeded to the extent of their wishes:—Assuming it to be so, what remains to be done?—but led on by the same Christian principles, the same devotion to truth, justice, and humanity, to continue our efforts, and to apply, if possible, other and more efficient remedies in accordance with these great principles.

Animated by these feelings, a number of Noblemen and Gentlemen of all political opinions, and of Christian persuasions of divers kinds, have formed themselves into a Society for the purpose of effecting the extinction of the Slave Trade; and they now call on the public to unite their exertions for the accomplishment of this great end.

That the British public, apprized of the extent of the enormity, and deeply feeling the guilt and misery now prevailing, will receive with favour the announcement of the formation of this Society, no doubt is entertained; but various opinions do and will exist as to the most fitting means to be adopted for the establishment of peace and tranquillity in Africa.

It is expedient, therefore, to state the leading principles on which this Society is formed, and the measures intended to be pursued.

It is the unanimous opinion of this Society, that the only complete cure of all these evils is the introduction of Christianity into Africa. They do not believe that any less powerful remedy will entirely extinguish the present inducements to trade in human beings, or will afford to the inhabitants of those extensive regions a sure foundation for repose and happiness.

But they are aware that a great variety of views may exist as to the manner in which religious instruction should be introduced. Distinctly avowing, therefore, that the substitution of our pure and holy faith for the false religion, idolatry, and superstitions of Africa, is, in their firm conviction, the true ultimate remedy for the calamities that afflict her, they are most anxious to adopt every measure which may eventually lead to the establishment of Christianity throughout that continent; and hoping to secure the cordial co-operation of all, they proceed to declare that the grand object of their association is *the extinction of the Slave Trade.*

The primary object of this Society will be constantly kept in view under all circumstances of difficulty or discouragement, as the grand end to which their efforts, of whatever character, should be resolutely and unchangeably directed.

As one of the principal means, they have cordially co-operated with Mr. Buxton in inducing Her Majesty's Government to undertake an expedition to the River Niger, with the view of obtaining the most

accurate information as to the state of the countries bordering on its mighty waters.

The immense importance of this object alone, as opening a highway into the interior of Africa, and bringing the efforts of British philanthropy into immediate contact with the numerous and populous nations it contains, will be at once perceived and acknowledged.

It will be one of the first duties, then, of this Society to watch over the proceedings of this expedition, to record its progress, and to digest and circulate the valuable information which it may be confidently expected to communicate.

When this leading step has been taken, it is anticipated that a large field for exertions of a different description will then be opened; but desirable as such exertions may be, it must be clearly understood that this Society, associated solely for benevolent purposes, can bear no part whatever in them: still, in order that a comprehensive view may be taken of the whole, though each part must be accomplished by agencies entirely distinct, it may be expedient to state some of the expectations which are entertained.

One most important department must entirely rest with Her Majesty's Government,—the formation of treaties with the native rulers of Africa for the suppression of the Slave Trade. Such treaties, however, will not be carried into execution, unless those wants, which have hitherto been supplied from the profits arising from the sale of the natives, should be satisfied through the means of legitimate commerce. It may appear expedient to the Government to obtain from the chiefs the possession of some convenient districts which may be best adapted to carrying on trade with safety and success; and when this is effected, another and wholly distinct Society may perhaps be formed, for the purpose of aiding in the cultivation of those districts, and of promoting the growth of those valuable products for which the soil of those countries is peculiarly fitted.

The present Society can take part in no plan of colonization or of trade. Its objects are, and must be, exclusively pacific and benevolent; but it may, by encouragement and by the diffusion of information, most materially aid in the civilization of Africa, and so pave the way for the successful exertions of others, whether they be directed to colonization and the cultivation of the soil, or to commercial intercourse, or to that which is immeasurably superior to them all, the establishment of the Christian faith on the continent of Africa.

At home, this Society will direct its vigilant attention to all which may arise with respect to the traffic in slaves, and give publicity to whatever may be deemed most essential to produce its suppression.

In Africa, there are various means whereby it may effectually work to the same end. One of the great impediments at present existing to the advancement of knowledge, is the state of the native languages of Western and Central Africa.

Amongst the many nations which inhabit those regions, there are certainly many different dialects, and not improbably several leading languages. A few only of those languages have yet been reduced into writing, and consequently the difficulty of holding intercourse with the natives, and imparting knowledge to them, is greatly increased. By

the adoption of effectual measures for reducing the principal languages of Western and Central Africa into writing, a great obstacle to the diffusion of information will be removed, and facility afforded for the introduction of the truths of Christianity.

There is another subject, of no light importance, which would legitimately fall within the views of this Institution. In Africa, medical science can scarcely be said to exist, yet in no part of the world is it more profoundly respected. As at present understood by the natives, it is intimately connected with the most inveterate and barbarous superstitions; and its artful practitioners, owing their superiority to this popular ignorance, may be expected to interpose the most powerful obstacles to the diffusion of Christianity and of science.

To encourage, therefore, the *introduction* of more enlightened views on this subject, to prevent or mitigate the prevalence of disease and suffering among the people of Africa, and to secure the aid of medical science generally to the beneficent objects of African civilization, must be considered of immense importance; nor would its benefits be confined to the native population. It is equally applicable to the investigation of the climate and localities of that country. To render Africa a salubrious residence for European constitutions may be a hopeless task; but to diminish the danger, to point out the means whereby persons proceeding thither may most effectually guard against its perils, may perhaps be effected; nor must it be forgotten that, in however humble a degree this advantage can be attained, its value cannot be too highly appreciated.

Various other measures may come within the legitimate scope of this Institution. It may be sufficient to recapitulate a few:—the encouragement of practical science in all its various branches,—the system of drainage best calculated to succeed in a climate so humid and so hot, would be an invaluable boon to all who frequent that great continent, whatever might be their purpose. Though this Society would not embark in agriculture, it might afford essential assistance to the natives, by furnishing them with useful information as to the best mode of cultivation; as to the productions which command a steady market, and by introducing the most approved agricultural implements and seeds. The time may come when the knowledge and practice of the mighty powers of steam might contribute rapidly to promote the improvement and prosperity of that country.

Even matters of comparatively less moment may engage the attention of the Society. It may assist in promoting the formation of roads and canals. The manufacture of paper, and the use of the printing press, if once established in Africa, will be amongst the most powerful auxiliaries in the dispersion of ignorance and the destruction of barbarism.

It is hoped that enough has now been stated to justify the Society in calling for the aid and co-operation of all who hold in just abhorrence the iniquitous traffic in human beings—of all who deeply deplore the awful crimes which have so long afflicted, and still continue to devastate, Africa—of all who remember with deep sorrow and contrition that share which Great Britain so long continued to have in producing those scenes of bloodshed and of guilt. A variety of collateral means

has thus been suggested sufficiently important and interesting to demonstrate the necessity of a distinct Society, and to entitle it to the best wishes and firmest support of every sincere friend of Africa.

To its success, cordial and united co-operation is indispensable. It proposes to act by means in which the whole community, without regard to religious or political opinions, may concur; and though it does not embrace the establishment, by its own agency, of schools for the spread of religious instruction, it abstains from such an undertaking, not because it does not value the introduction of Christian knowledge, as the greatest blessing which can be bestowed on that idolatrous land, but because a diversity of opinion as to the mode of proceeding must of necessity interfere with the unity of action so essential for the common prosecution of such an important object, and thus impede instead of facilitate the objects of this Institution.

It is impossible, however, to close this address without again expressing, in the most emphatic terms, the conviction and earnest hope of all who have already attached themselves as members of this Institution, that the measures to be adopted by them for the suppression of the traffic in slaves—for securing the peace and tranquillity of Africa—for the encouragement of agriculture and commerce—will facilitate the propagation and triumph of that faith which one and all feel to be indispensable for the happiness of the inhabitants of that continent. Howsoever the extension of the Christian religion may be attempted, it is far more likely to take root and flourish where peace prevails, and crime is diminished, than where murder and bloodshed, and the violation of every righteous principle, continue to pollute the land.

Office of the Society, 15, *Parliament-street*,
14*th February*, 1840.

APPENDIX B.

RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

1. That the affairs of the Society be administered by a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer and Committee.

2. That the Committee shall consist of fifty-two members of the Society, to be elected annually, at the General Yearly Meeting.

3. That annual Subscribers of One Guinea and upwards be members of the Society during the continuance of their Subscriptions, and that Benefactors of Ten Guineas and upwards be Life Members.

4. That the President, Vice-Presidents and Treasurer be *ex officio* Members of all Committees and Sub-Committees.

5. That the Yearly Meeting of the Society be held in the month of April, May or June, when the Balance Sheet of Receipt and Expenditure of the preceding year shall be presented, and the Proceedings of the Society reported.

6. That the Committee shall appoint such Officers and Assistants as they shall deem necessary for the well-conducting of the Society's affairs, and shall also have the power of removing any Officers or Assistants.

7. That a Special General Meeting of the Society shall be called at any time, at the requisition of the Committee, or by any thirty-six Members of the Society, on addressing a letter, signed by such members, to the Secretary, specifying the object of the Meeting.

8. That ten days' notice be given in three daily London Newspapers, or by general Circular sent to the Subscribers by Post, addressed to their usual place of residence, of such intended Special General Meeting, and of the purpose for which it shall be called.

9. That at Meetings of the Society, of which Meeting fifty members shall form a quorum, and at Meetings of the Committee, of which five members shall form a quorum, the President, or, in his absence, a Vice-President, or in case of no Vice-President being present, such Member of the Committee as shall be voted for that purpose, shall preside at the Meeting; and in case of an equality of votes either at a General Meeting, or at a General Meeting of the Committee, the Chairman shall have a casting vote in addition to his original vote.

10. That the Committee meet monthly on a day to be fixed by themselves, or oftener if they shall deem it necessary, by adjournment or otherwise.

11. All payments on account of the Society, except such as may be necessary for current expenses, shall be paid by cheques on the Treasurer, signed by three Members of the Committee, and countersigned by the Secretary.

12. That three Auditors be appointed; the first year by the Committee, and afterwards by the Yearly Meeting, for the purpose of auditing the Accounts of the Society.

APPENDIX C.

President.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ALBERT, K.G.

Vice-Presidents.

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.
His Grace the Archbishop of York.
His Grace the Archbishop of Armagh.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Lansdowne, K.G., Lord President of the Council.
The Earl of Clarendon, Lord Privy Seal.
His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, K. G.
His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K. G.
His Grace the Duke of Buccleuch, K. G.
His Grace the Duke of Sutherland.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Northampton.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Bristol.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Breadalbane.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Westminster.
The Most Noble the Marquis of Normanby.
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The Earl of Shrewsbury.
The Earl of Devon.
The Earl of Dartmouth.
The Earl of Elgin.
The Earl of Aberdeen, K. T.
The Earl of Chichester.
The Earl Powis.
The Earl Grey, K. G.
The Earl of Harrowby.
The Earl Howe.
The Earl of Ripon.
The Earl of Lovelace.
The Earl Jermyn, M. P.
The Lord Charles Fitzroy, M. P.
The Right Hon. the Lord John Russell, M. P.
The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Palmerston, M.P.
The Lord Viscount Morpeth, M.P.
The Lord Ashley, M. P.
The Lord Viscount Mahon, M. P.
The Lord Viscount Howick, M. P.
The Lord Viscount Sandon, M. P.
The Lord Eliot, M. P.
The Lord Bishop of London.
The Lord Bishop of Durham.
The Lord Bishop of Winchester.
The Lord Bishop of Lincoln.

The Lord Bishop of Bangor.
The Lord Bishop of Llandaff.
The Lord Bishop of Chester.
The Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.
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The Lord Bishop of Salisbury.
The Lord Bishop of Norwich.
The Lord Bishop of Hereford.
The Right Hon. the Lord Lyttelton.
The Right Hon. the Lord Calthorpe.
The Right Hon. the Lord Hill.
The Right Hon. the Lord Bexley.
The Right Hon. the Lord Seaford.
The Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice Denman.
The Right Hon. the Lord Glenelg.
The Right Hon. the Lord Hatherton.
The Right Hon. the Lord Monteagle.
The Right Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons.
The Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M. P.
The Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice Tindal.
The Right Hon. Sir George Murray, G. C. B.
The Right Hon. Gen. Sir Henry Hardinge, Bart., K.C.B., M.P.
The Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, M. P.
Thomas Clarkson, Esq.

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Chairman.

Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq.

Deputy Chairmen.

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Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, Bart., M. P.

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Rev. Arthur Tidman.
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Sir Harry Verney, Bart., M. P
Captain Washington, R. N.
Henry Waymouth, Esq.
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Secretary.—The Rev. J. M. Trew.

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The Lord Robert Grosvenor, M. P.
The Lord Teignmouth, M. P.
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The Hon. W. J. Lascelles, M. P.
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The Right Hon. Mr. Justice Erskine.
The Right Hon. Sir George Grey, Bart., M. P.
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The Hon. Mr. Justice Coleridge.
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William Ewart, Esq., M. P.
Captain Fitzroy, R. N.
John Irving, Esq., M. P.
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John Pemberton Plumptre, Esq., M. P.
Henry Pownall, Esq.
John Rundle, Esq., M. P.
Benjamin Smith, Esq., M. P.
Colonel Torrens.
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ALREADY RECEIVED.

	Donations. £.	s.	d.	Annual Subscriptions. £.	s.	d.
His Royal Highness Prince Albert	105	0	0	10	10	0
Her Majesty the Queen Dowager .	100	0	0			
Armagh, His Grace the Archbishop of .	25	0	0			
Ashley, Lord, M.P.	.	.	.	5	5	0
Acland, Sir Thomas Dyke, Bart., M.P.	100	0	0			
Acland, Thomas Dyke, Esq., M.P. .	25	0	0			
Acland, Miss	10	0	0			
Adderley, C. B., Esq. . . .	25	0	0			
Aldam, William, Esq. . . .	10	10	0			
Allen, William, Esq, ...	.	.	.	2	2	0
Allen, Captain William, R.N. . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Allen, Captain Bird, R.N. . . .	.	.	.	1	1	0
Anderson, W. W., Esq. . . .	1	0	0			
Anonymous	10	0	0			
Ditto	2	0	0			
Ditto	5	0	0			
Arbuthnot, J. A. A., Esq. . . .	.	.	.	2	0	0
Arbuthnot, G., Esq.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Breadalbane, the Most Noble the Marquis of	20	0	0			
Bandon, the Earl of	10	0	0			
Bangor, the Lord Bishop of . .	10	0	0			
Berners, the Right Hon. the Lord .	10	0	0			
Bexley, the Right Hon. the Lord. .	50	0	0			
Byron, Lady	20	0	0			
Backhouse, Edward, Esq. . . .	.	.	.	5	0	0
Ball, John, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Bandinel, James, Esq. . . .	.	.	.	3	3	0
Battersby, A. G. W., Esq. . . .	20	0	0			
Barclay, David, Esq. . . .	100	0	0			
Barclay, Robert, Esq. . . .	100	0	0	5	5	0
Barclay, Charles, Esq. . . .	50	0	0	5	5	0
Barclay, Arthur Kett, Esq. . .	26	5	0	5	0	0
Barclay, Robert, jun., Esq. . .	.	.	.	5	5	0
Barclay, J. Gurney, Esq. . . .	.	.	.	5	5	0
Barclay, Robert, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0

	Donations. £.	s.	d.	Annual Subscriptions. £.	s.	d
Barclay, James, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Baring, Brothers and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Baring, Henry, Esq.	20	0	0			
Barnett, Hoares and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Barker, Mrs. Elizabeth	.	.	.	2	2	0
Barrett, the Rev. Joseph	.	.	.	1	1	0
Beague, Mrs.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Beard, Richard, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Beldam, Joseph, Esq.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Beecham, the Rev. John	.	.	.	2	0	0
Bevan, C. J. Esq.	31	10	0			
Bickersteth, the Rev. E.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Blunt, the Rev. Henry	5	5	0			
Bosanquet, Captain, R.N.	.	.	.	2	0	0
Bowdler, the Rev. T.	10	10	0			
Brackenbury, Mrs.	10	0	0			
Brightwen, John, Esq.	10	0	0			
Briscoe, John Ivatt, Esq., M.P.	.	.	.	5	5	0
Broad, C. M., Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Brodrick, Charles, Esq.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Bunting, the Rev. Dr.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Burder, the Rev. Dr.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Burge, William, Esq.	.	.	.	3	3	0
Burlingham, Richard, Esq.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Buttress, J. J., Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Buxton, Thomas Fowell, Esq.	50	0	0	5	5	0
Buxton, Edward N., Esq.	100	0	0	10	10	0
Buxton, Edmund, Esq.	50	0	0	5	0	0
Chester, the Lord Bishop of	10	0	0			
Chichester, the Lord Bishop of	10	10	0			
Calthorpe, the Right Hon. the Lord	50	0	0	5	5	0
Calthorpe, the Hon. F. G.	.	.	.	3	3	0
Cowper, the Hon. W., M.P.	.	.	.	2	0	0
Canning, the Right Hon. Sir Stratford, G.C.B., M.P.	.	.	.	5	5	0
Calvert, Frederick, Esq.	5	0	0			
Campbell, the Rev. A. M.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Chubb, Charles, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Chubb, John, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Chubb, T., Esq.	.	.	.	0	10	6
Chute, Mrs.	5	0	0			
Clarke, Thomas T., Esq.	50	0	0			
Clarkson, Thomas, Esq.	10	0	0			
Clayton, the Rev. John, jun.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Clayton, the Rev. George	.	.	.	1	1	0
Clowes and Sons, Messrs. W.	10	10	0			
Coates, Dandeson, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Colquhoun, J. C., Esq., M.P.	.	.	.	2	0	0
Cook, James, Esq.	100	0	0			

	Donations. £.	s.	d.	Annual Subscriptions. £.	s.	d.
Cook, Captain	.	.	.	1	1	0
Corbett, Panton, Esq.	.	.	.	3	3	0
Coutts and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Cunningham, the Rev. Francis	.	.	.	2	2	0
C., J. S.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of	50	0	0			
Dartmouth, the Earl of	25	0	0			
Durham, the Lord Bishop of	15	15	0			
Denman, the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice	10	0	0			
Davies, the Rev. John	.	.	.	1	0	0
Dawkes, S. W., Esq.	5	0	0			
Dealtry, the Rev. Wm., D.D.	.	.		3	3	0
Denison, Heywood and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Dewdney, the Rev. E.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Duncan, P. R., Esq.	5	0	0			
Dyer, the Rev. John	1	1	0			
Euston, the Earl of, M.P.	20	0	0	5	5	0
Ely, the Lord Bishop of	10	10	0			
Eliot, the Lord, M.P.	10	0	0			
Elphinstone, the Hon. Mountstuart	10	0	0			
Erskine, the Right Hon. Mr. Justice	25	0	0			
Evans, Wm., Esq.	100	0	0	5	5	0
Everett, Mrs. Ann	2	0	0	1	1	0
Ewart, William, Esq., M.P.	.	.	.	3	3	0
Eyre, George Edward, Esq.	10	10	0			
E. E. A.	5	0	0			
Fitz Roy, the Lord Charles, M.P.	.	.	.	5	0	0
Fortescue, the Hon. Matthew	.	.	.	2	0	0
Farmer, Thomas, Esq.	50	0	0	5	5	0
Farre, Dr.	5	5	0			
Fitzroy, Captain, R.N.	5	0	0			
Flanders, William, Esq.	.	.	.	1	1	0
Fletcher, Alexander and Co., Messrs.	100	0	0			
Forster, Matthew, Esq.	21	0	0	10	10	0
Forster, W. E., Esq.	.	.	.	2	2	0
Forster, Edward, Esq.	10	10	0			
Foster, Thomas, Esq.	.	.	.	1	0	0
Found in Exeter Hall	1	0	0			
Fowler, Thomas, Esq.	5	5	0			
Fox, Robert Wire, Esq.	.	.	.	2	0	0
Fry, William Storrs, Esq.	60	0	0	5	5	0
Fry, John Gurney, Esq.	10	10	0	5	5	0
Fry, Joseph, jun., Esq.	10	10	0	5	5	0
Gloucester and Bristol, the Lord Bishop of	10	0	0			
Grey, the Rt. Hon. Sir Geo. Bart. M.P.	10	10	0			

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FORM OF A BEQUEST.

I GIVE and bequeath to the Treasurer for the time being of the Society, now usually held in Parliament Street, within the Liberty of Westminster, and commonly called the SOCIETY FOR THE EXTINCTION OF THE SLAVE TRADE, AND FOR THE CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA, *the Sum of Pounds Sterling, for the better support of the said Institution, and carrying on the designs thereof; and I direct the same to be paid out of my Personal Estate within Calendar Months next after my decease.*

London: Printed by W. CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.

14

TEXAS:

ITS

CLAIMS TO BE RECOGNISED

AS AN

INDEPENDENT POWER,

BY

GREAT BRITAIN;

EXAMINED IN

A SERIES OF LETTERS,

BY JOHN SCOBLE.

LONDON:

HARVEY AND DARTON, 55, GRACECHURCH STREET;

BALL, ARNOLD AND CO., 34, PATERNOSTER ROW; HATCHARD AND SON, 187, PICCADILLY; AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 27, NEW BROAD STREET.

MDCCCXXXIX.

LONDON:
JOHNSTON AND BARRETT, PRINTERS,
MARK LANE.

TO THE

ABOLITIONISTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The extension of slavery and the slave-trade in lands which had been consecrated by a free people to liberty, cannot but be regarded with horror, by every man who venerates the free institutions of this country, who loves his species, and who admits the sacred principles of the Gospel to be binding upon his conscience. Texas, a splendid portion of the Mexican empire, was so consecrated, by the free Government which overthrew the despotism of Spain in the New World : and it is in Texas, that citizens of the United States have re-established slavery, and opened a new market for the purchase and sale of human beings! Texas has been wrested from its parent State, without a single plea that could justify the nefarious proceeding. Thither the most abandoned of mankind had resorted, principally from the slave States of the Great Republic; and after having defied the laws they were sworn to obey, broke out into rebellion, and triumphed in their iniquity.

The independence of this robber State has been acknowledged by the United States, and, we grieve to say, by France also. An appeal has been made to the Government of this great country, by the envoys she has sent hither, to follow their example ; and there are not wanting among us, men who publicly advocate the measure as of national importance. It has been my object to answer such, and to show that the national honour would be compromised by such an act.

It is said, that the commercial interests of the country would suffer by its non-recognition. That cannot be, for Texian vessels with their produce are allowed to enter British ports, on the same terms, as if they still belonged to the Mexican Empire, although I could wish they were

interdicted, as are Haitian ships at Jamaica, (most unwisely and unjustly in their case) until the rights of humanity are acknowledged, and the atrocious laws which at once establish slavery and the slave-trade, and provide for the expulsion of free people of colour, and the native tribes from the soil, be repealed.

Our present relations with Mexico are of a very promising nature; and with due precaution, energy and zeal on the part of the Government, supported as it ought to be by the mercantile community, they can be permanently secured to us as a *favoured* nation, notwithstanding the intrigues in play against us through American influence. Santa Anna is well known to be friendly to Great Britain; it, therefore, becomes a serious inquiry whether by recognising Texas, we may make Mexico less our friend and ally than she is at present, and injure those very interests we wish to extend and maintain.

It is further said, that the non-recognition of Texas would prevent this country from entering into treaty with her for the suppression of the African slave-trade. I question much whether Texas would enter into any treaty with Great Britain for this purpose. I am inclined to believe she would follow her great model, the United States, in this matter, and refuse, on constitutional grounds, to make a treaty with us for the mutual right of search, and the capture of slavers bearing her flag. And what if she did? Should we be any nearer the attainment of our object by that means? The experience we have had of the inefficiency of treaties to suppress the slave-trade, and of the untold miseries which have been inflicted on the enslaved Africans by the very treaties we have made, ought to teach us the folly of expecting to succeed in our efforts by that means. Besides, Texas has too deep a stake in the slave-trade to warrant the expectation that she would be more faithful to her engagements than Spain and Portugal, notwithstanding she has pronounced the *African* slave-trade to be piracy.

It is still further said, may not the recognition of Texas by this country prevent its annexation to the United States. Not, if that point be

already decided on, which I firmly believe it is. The only thing that will prevent annexation, is, the fear of war with this country, by the United States. As to her anxiety to clutch Texas, there can be no doubt ; and with the understanding that exists between the two powers, she will wait some favourable opportunity, when this country is absorbed, in what may be deemed more weighty matters, to make it her own. I should place no faith in any stipulations Texas might make to the contrary. It is not the recognition of Texas, but the power of England, that will prevent its annexation to the United States.

But supposing that the recognition of Texas were followed by an increa seof commerce, by a treaty for the abolition of the slave-trade, and by stipulations that it should not be annexed to the United States, are there no considerations which would outweigh these advantages? Great Britain occupies a distinguished position in the family of nations ; and her moral power is not less felt, than her political power is dreaded. Has she not set a noble example to the nations of the earth in the abolition of the slave-trade, and in the emancipation of her enslaved population in the Colonies, and in the protection she has determined to afford to the Aborigines within her vast dominions? Her people are distinguished for their generous philanthropy and religious principles, and are not content that the interests of humanity, and the cause of universal freedom, shall be sacrificed to a Treaty of Commerce with the enemies of both ; and any Government, in this country, that would outrage the moral feelings of the people, by recognizing a State, which had in these days established the system of slavery, and provided for its perpetuation, which had unblushingly opened its markets for the slave-trade—which had doomed to destruction or expatriation, the Indians within its borders —and which had shown itself alike destitute of every human sympathy and principle of honour—must expect to hear the indignant rebuke of an insulted people. And further, should it so far forget the lofty position to which it has been raised, as to form an alliance with the liberty-destroying and slave-holding Texians, and thus compromise the moral

dignity and Christian sentiments of the nation; it will then become you, the Abolitionists of the land, to enter your solemn protest against the Act, and to withdraw your confidence from such a Government. But we would look for better things from those who now sway the destinies of this mighty empire.

It is worthy of remark, that the Missouri compromise, as it is termed, defined the exact limits beyond which slavery should not extend in the United States. Mason and Dixon's line fixed its northern boundary, and the Mexican empire its western limits. It thus became hemmed in by the free States of the great federal republic, by Mexico, and by the sea, and although it occupied a vast region, it became clear, that, if it could not ultimately find an outlet it must be abolished, or the most terrific results would follow. Texas is that outlet, and hence the vast importance attached to it by the southern States. Having now passed, the Sabine, slavery will not pause in its career, until it has reached the Pacific, unless the great principles maintained by the abolitionists of this country, of France, and of the United States prevail; or some signal visitation of Divine Providenc coverwhelm both it, and its supporters in one common ruin.

In view of these things the State of Texas should be as much discouraged by the Government of this country, as it is execrated by all good men. Let its cotton perish upon its fields, let its sugar never come to maturity, let its produce be covered with blight and mildew rather than slavery inflict its tortures on him who tills the grounds, and its degradation on him who calls himself his Lord.

NOTE.

The First and Second Letters in this Pamphlet, were inserted in the columns of the *Morning Chronicle.* The Third was forwarded to its Editor, but has not yet appeared in that Journal. In the present form in which these Letters are given to the public, I have supplied some additional matter, which appeared to be necessary and important to a clear understanding of the subject in question.

30th November, 1839. J. S.

TEXAS.

Slavery is the infringement of all Laws—a Law having a tendency to preserve Slavery, would be the greatest sacrilege. I beg as fervently of my country as I would for the lives of my children, that you will never consent that CLIME, or COLOUR, or CREED, should make any distinction in your Republic.—BOLIVAR.

(To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.)

SIR,—There can be but little doubt that the letter which recently appeared in the *Hull Observer*, signed "WM. KENNEDY," and which was afterwards transferred to your columns, as well as the article which you have copied from that paper, into your journal of the 3rd inst., owe their origin to the same pen; they both breathe the same spirit, and are directed to the same end, viz., the recognition of Texas as a sovereign and independent State by the Government of this country. In fact, the latter article is a defence of the former, and intended to be a reply to the letter of Mr. JOSEPH STURGE, which appeared in the *Chronicle* of the 21st ult.

The arrogant assumption of the writer of these articles of superior knowledge on the subject on which he writes, is unsustained either by facts or by reasoning. Compared with Mr. JOSEPH STURGE, whose sources of information are as various as they are accurate, the Texian advocate will permit me to say, his are both limited and valueless; whilst, in the love of his fellow-man, and of that liberty, which is at once his birth-right and his glory, he falls immeasurably below the man whom he affects to despise.

It would appear that the writer in the *Hull Observer*, has travelled through Texas, as well as through the slave States of North America, and, as the result of his observations, he states that the

Texians are an intelligent and enterprising people, "whose object it is to establish free institutions on a congenial soil;" that "persons who have travelled with unprejudiced minds through the southern States of the American Union, cannot conscientiously assert that the negroes are subjected to ill-treatment, or that their masters deserve to be held up as monsters to the rest of the world;" that the rude interference of a "zeal without knowledge" . . . "has prevented the emancipation of the slaves in Maryland and Virginia," and that to oppose the recognition of the independence of Texas "is to play the game of the pro-tariff Americans, in order to gratify a few crotchetty enthusiasts, who would plunge us into a war with the people of our own blood, without attaining the desired end, but, on the contrary, creating new obstacles to its attainment."

I challenge Mr. William Kennedy, or the writer in the *Hull Observer*, to the discussion and proof of these several points. Let him produce his facts—let him marshal his arguments in support of his opinions and statements; but let him not suppose that to designate Joseph Sturge as a "credulous man, whose mind is possessed of one predominating idea," and those with whom he acts, as a "few crotchetty enthusiasts"—will accomplish his purpose, or prove that "the Texian land pirates," or "the southern slave-holders and slave-breeders," are worthy of honour, or that himself is the wisest and most unprejudiced of men.

At present, I have done with Mr. William Kennedy and the *Hull Observer*, but with permission, Sir, I would venture a few remarks on the claims of Texas to be recognised as a free and independent State by this country; and of the consequences which would inevitably follow.

The ostensible ground on which Texas appealed to the United States for the recognition of her sovereignty was, that she was fully justified in her revolt against Mexico, and that she had achieved her independence, and was enabled to maintain it by force of arms; but the real ground on which she was recognised, with such indecent haste, by that Government, was with the view to her ultimate, if not immediate, annexation to the union.

The evidence on this point is complete: and were it not that it

would occupy too large a space in your columns, I would ask permission to present it to the attention of the British public through that medium. Thus much, however, may be predicted with certainty, that should State reasons, of paramount importance, so far influence the cabinet of Washington, as to render it inexpedient to annex Texas to the United States at present, the time is not far distant, when that glorious land will become an integral part of the great republic by cession, or failing that, the southern States will assuredly annex themselves to Texas.

It may be proper to remark here, that the Government of the United States has not peremptorily and finally refused the proposal of annexation made by the Texian legislature, and that subsequently to the suspension of the negotiations on this important subject, the Texian legislature, upon the motion to withdraw the proposal, decided in the negative; so that they may effect its renewal as soon as a favourable opportunity arrives.

Texas is of vital importance to the southern slave States. Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky will find there a vast market for their surplus slave population, and the detestable and loathsome business of slave-breeding will be the most profitable of all speculations. "Give us Texas," say the slave-holders and slave-breeders, and you will increase the value of our property fifty per cent!" Governor M'Duffie, J. C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay, the most eminent of southern politicians and statesmen, have al advocated the acquisition of Texas as of vital importance to the slave States; and there will not be found, south of the line which separates the free from the slave States, a single man, of any importance, who is not of the same opinion, and who is not prepared to make the greatest sacrifices for its attainment.

The revolt in Texas owes its origin to the prevalence of this opinion and determination. Having failed by negotiation and fraud, during the last twenty years to secure Texas, the slave-holders of the south, and the land-jobbers of the north, have poured into that unhappy country, hordes of characterless villains, whose sole object has been to re-establish slavery and the slave-trade, and by the most infamous species of gambling to dupe the credulous, and to fill their own pockets with unrighteous gain. Taking

advantage of the intestine feuds of the Mexicans, they have, in the moment of their greatest weakness, wrested the fairest portion of their dominions from their grasp, and, in defiance of every principle of justice and honour, have availed themselves of the very privileges which were conferred to crush their power. The Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, ex-president of the United States, in his celebrated speech, delivered in the House of Representatives, the 25th of December, 1835, says, "That at the time the United States made the offensive overture to Mexico to cede a large portion of her territory, (Texas,) large enough to constitute nine States equal in extent to Kentucky," the "Colonists from these United States were covering the Mexican border with land-jobbing, and with slaves, introduced in defiance of the Mexican laws, by which slavery had been abolished throughout that republic. The war now raging in Texas," he further says, "is not a Mexican civil war, but a war for the re-establishment of slavery where it was abolished. It is not a servile war, but a war between slavery and emancipation." Another authority, not less eminent or well-informed, Dr. CHANNING, traces, with a master's hand, the causes which led to the revolt in Texas, and the character of the men who figured in the nefarious transaction. In his eloquent letter to the Honourable HENRY CLAY, written in August, 1837, he says, "the first great cause was the unbounded, unprincipled spirit of land speculation, which so tempting a prize as Texas, easily kindled in multitudes in the United States, where this mode of gambling is too often a vice." "Another cause of the revolt," he continues, was "the resolution to throw Texas open to slave-holders and slaves;" and again, he adds, "the settled invincible purpose of Mexico to exclude slaves from her limits, created as strong a purpose to annihilate her authority in Texas. By this prohibition, Texas was virtually shut against emigration from the southern and western portion of the United States, and it is well known, that the eyes of the south and west had for some time been turned to this province, as a "new market for slaves, as a new field for slave labour, and as a vast accession of political power to the slave-holding States." "By whom," Dr. CHANNING asks, "has Texas been conquered? By the Colonists? By bands which raised

the standard of revolt? By foreign Governments espousing their cause? No, it has been conquered by citizens of the United States, in violation of our laws and of the laws of nations. We have filled the ranks which have wrested Texas from Mexico. In the army of eight hundred men, who won the victory which scattered the Mexican force, and made its chief a prisoner, not more than fifty were citizens of Texas, having grievances of their own to seek relief from on that field. The Texians in this warfare are little more than a name—a cover under which selfish adventurers from another country have prosecuted their work of plunder."

On this point, I may further quote the remarks of Mr. Swift, a member of the Texian legislature last year, in the debate on the expediency of withdrawing the proposition for the annexation of Texas to the United States. That gentleman, after having said his constituents "were opposed to the withdrawal of the proposition," added, "there was another reason of some importance that had a bearing on the question. The withdrawal of the proposition would crush the hopes of thousands of emigrants from the United States, who were daily pouring in upon our shores, buoyed up by the anticipations of a speedy union of this country with the one they had left. Whence," he emphatically asked, "in any future time of need, are we to look for that aid which had enabled us to roll back the tide of Mexican invasion, and hold out defiance to the tyrant of the west? Will it come from England? Will England marshal her chivalry on our prairies, or open her thunders upon the Gulf, in response to our call? No! To the people of the United States are we indebted for what we have achieved, and for being what we now are." Here is a confession at once of the inherent weakness of Texas, the atrocious means by which it has been wrested from Mexico, and the pole-star which guides the citizen of the United States to that splendid country—annexation to the Union.

I shall say nothing of the characters of the principal men who have figured in this revolt, the Houstons and Burnets, the Ingrams, and Potters, the Fannins and Bakers, the Hawkinses and Robinsons, though I find them branded in the most respectable

papers of the United States, opposed to the abolitionists, as monsters of iniquity, as men who stood charged in their own country with the worst of crimes. Even the *Arkansas Advocate*, a southern paper, in referring to them, and to their followers, hesitates not to say, "We are very certain that the vicissitudes of fortune have transformed a multitude of cut-throats, desperadoes, outlaws, and criminals, into Texian heroes and statesmen."

But let us measure the men by their acts. What have these *soi-disant* Texians done to win renown, or to gain for themselves the honour of being numbered among the sovereign powers of the earth?

They have revolted from Mexico without any just cause for so doing. They had no injuries to redress and no claims to prefer, which would not have been honourably met. The emigrants in Texas were always treated with the greatest liberality by the parent State, whose sole object was to foster them, and to encourage the free, the industrious, and the enterprising, to seek a home within her borders; to acknowledge the independence of Texas, under these circumstances, is to sanction treason of the worst kind, and to fix a premium on unprovoked rebellion, simply because it has been successful.

I have already shown that the revolt in Texas was nurtured and sustained by the land-jobbers and slave-holders of the United States, who by the force of arms had conquered it, and that the Texians, few in number, and without any real grievances to redress, were made a cover to the villanous projects of these daring adventurers. To acknowledge its independence is to sanction an usurpation of the most unjustifiable character;—and a violation of the law of nations unparalleled in the history of civilized States.

But not only are these Texians to be regarded as rebels and usurpers, in reference to Mexico, and to be considered as such by powers in amity with that republic, but they stand before the world the confessed enemies of the human race, and of the sacred principles of freedom. Here, again, we refer to their acts.

It is well known that the Mexicans, as far back as the year 1824, totally abolished the slave-trade, and in the year 1829,

finally terminated the existence of slavery throughout their dominions. But the revolted Texians have re-established both. To place this matter beyond dispute, I make the following quotations from their laws, and place them in juxta-position with those of Mexico, that their atrocious character may be the more conspicuous :—

LAWS OF MEXICO.

The Slave-Trade.

1. The commerce and traffic in slaves, *proceeding from whatever power, and under whatever flag, is for ever prohibited within the territories of the United Mexican States.*

2. "The slaves who may be introduced contrary to the tenor of the preceding article, shall remain *free in consequence of treading the Mexican soil.*" — Decree of July 13, 1834.

Slavery.

"The President of the United Mexican States to the inhabitants of the republic :—

"Be it known, that in the year 1829, being desirous of signalizing the anniversary of our independence by *an act of national justice and beneficence*, which may contribute to the strength and support of such inestimable welfare, as to secure more and more the public tranquillity, and reinstate an unfortunate portion of our inhabitants in *the sacred rights* granted them by nature, and may be protected by the nation under wise and just laws, according to the provision in article 30 of the Constitutive Act; availing myself of the extraordinary faculties granted me, I have thought proper to decree :—

1. THAT SLAVERY BE EXTERMINATED IN THE REPUBLIC.

2. CONSEQUENTLY THOSE ARE FREE, WHO UP TO THIS DAY HAVE BEEN LOOKED UPON AS SLAVES."—

Decree of President GUERERO, 15th September, 1829.

LAWS OF TEXAS.

Slavery and the Slave-Trade.

Sec. 9. All persons of colour, who were slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who *are now held in bondage*, shall remain in the like state of servitude, provided the said slave shall be the bona fide property of the person so holding said slave as aforesaid. CONGRESS *shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their slaves into the republic with them*, and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the United States, nor shall CONGRESS HAVE THE POWER TO EMANCIPATE SLAVES; NOR SHALL ANY SLAVE-HOLDER BE ALLOWED TO EMANCIPATE HIS OR HER SLAVES WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF CONGRESS, unless he or she shall send his or her slave or slaves without the limits of the republic. No *free* person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall *be permitted to reside permanently in the republic*, without the consent of Congress; and the importation or admission of Africans or negroes into this republic, excepting from the United States of America, is for ever prohibited and declared to be piracy."

Note. The prohibition of the African slave-trade was designed to assimilate the Texian laws to those of the United States, and to give the slave-breeders of the Southern States the monopoly of the slave-market. But notwithstanding the prohibition, African slaves, *via* Cuba, are continually introduced.

Here then we have the atrocious fact unblushingly avowed in the solemn decisions of the Texian legislature, that Texas, one of the fairest portions of the world, is to be devoted in perpetuity to slave-holders and slaves! To acknowledge its independence in view of

this fact, would be to place the mark of honour on a despotism the most cruel and revolting that ever afflicted or disgraced mankind, and to consign millions of the human race to interminable bondage, instead of putting the brand of infamy on so flagrant a violation of the rights of man and the authority of God, and of holding up to universal execration the men who could "frame (such) iniquity by law."

Still the whole tale of Texian perfidy and guilt is not told. Not only have these monsters desecrated the soil of Texas by the re-establishment of slavery and the slave-trade, but they have also provided for the exclusion from the rights of citizenship, and I would add, the final expulsion of the aboriginal tribes, and in this they have become more vile than their republican brethren in the United States. They have always sought some colourable pretext for removing the Indians from their borders, but the Texians intend to make short work of it. Here is the law:—Sec. 10. "All persons (Africans, the descendants of Africans, whether in whole or in part, and Indians excepted) who were residing in Texas on the day of the declaration of independence, shall be considered citizens of the republic, and be entitled to all the privileges of such." Thus are they made aliens in the land of their fathers, and their fate will, undoubtedly, be that of the free coloured population, who, we have seen, will not be permitted to reside permanently in the republic.

And these are the men who have sent their envoys hither to obtain their recognition as a sovereign State! If there be any dignity in our rulers—any respect for the national honour—any regard for the rights and happiness of mankind—any devotion to the cause of liberty—any reverence for God, these envoys will be sent back with scorn and indignation to the base Government they represent. Let them bear back the message, that England, true to the great principles she professes, true to the interests of humanity, true to the cause of freedom, true to the sacred claims of religion, sends an emphatic negative to all her overtures.

I am, Sir, your very obedient humble servant,

JOHN SCOBLE.

Hounslow, Oct. 8th.

WAGES, OR THE WHIP?

Even the Earth itself, which teems profusion under the cultivating hand of the free-born labourer, shrinks into barrenness from the contaminating sweat of a Slave.—MONTESQUIEU.

(To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.)

SIR,—In an elaborate article which appeared in your paper of the 15th instant, copied from the *Colonial Gazette*, the writer has undertaken to advocate the recognition of Texas as an independent State by the Government of this country, on grounds which, while they reflect great credit on his honesty and candour, reflect none whatever on his judgment and principles.

With the philosophy of this writer on the subject of "free trade," I have nothing to do: I leave him to the full glory of having demolished the great authorities, both living and dead, to which he has referred, and whose theories he has denounced, and as he imagines, refuted! But, perhaps, I may be permitted to offer a few remarks on his theory in its application to Texas, whose "affectionate overtures," it appears, have hitherto been "scornfully rejected" by this country, and whom he pronounces to have been "injured and deeply insulted by the nation which has the greatest interest in cultivating her good-will."

The philosophy of this writer is comprehended in certain opinions, which he conceives to be truths, and these he endeavours to sustain by certain statements, which he thinks to be facts; but, as are his statements, such are his opinions, valueless, because they are unsupported by experience, and are at variance with all history.

1. His opinions: He says, "So long as land remains extremely cheap in Texas, or any where else, there it will be impossible to obtain a sufficient supply of labour for hire, or to raise much surplus produce for exchange, except by means of slavery." And adds, The "crime" of slavery "will, probably, be repeated over and

over again in countries so situated, until the rationale of slavery shall come to be understood, and artificial means be devised of rendering land dear where it is naturally cheap."

2. His facts: He says that "in all ages and countries slavery has existed in some shape while land was very cheap, and has been as surely abolished when and wherever land became dear;" that the "efforts of abolitionists hitherto, it is not only admitted, but emphatically asserted by the most zealous of them, have done more harm than good—have greatly aggravated the evil which it was their object to cure;" that "England has ruined an important part of her Colonial empire by abolishing slavery there, without providing any substitute in the form of labour for hire;" and that "we have set free 800,000 negroes in the West Indies, and have *thereby* prompted Brazil to import as many fresh slaves from Africa."

Such are his principles and his proofs. Proofs! I deny that he has or can prove the truth of his theory. He may invoke history in vain, philosophy in vain, in its support; they both repudiate it; and demonstrate, that, as far as the value of land is involved in the question of slavery, the reverse of this is true. Slavery depreciates the value of land by impoverishing it. Look at Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, with their immense districts of land, once fertile and flourishing, now entirely worn out and abandoned, notwithstanding the increase of the slave population in these States, and, consequently, increased means for its profitable cultivation. It is quite clear that, if the slave-holders in them could not find a vent for the sale of their surplus slave population in the markets of Louisiana, Mississippi, and one or two other States, RUIN OR EMANCIPATION would speedily take place. The fact is, only the most fertile lands—lands most intrinsically valuable—can sustain slavery. Hence we find that slavery is gradually receding southward and westward in the United States, leaving its curse upon the soil it has been compelled to abandon, a legacy for freemen! And now contrast Pennsylvania and Ohio, not to mention other free States bordering on the slave States, and we behold flourishing communities and a wealthy population, whose demand for manufactures such as Great Britain can supply, is ten-fold greater, in proportion to the population, than that of their neighbour States cursed by slavery.

In a community of slave-holders and slaves, as compared with a community of freemen, all other things being equal, the demand for manufactured goods will be infinitely less in the former than in the latter. The coarsest fabrics in the smallest quantities, for instance, will do for slaves; and so with respect to food, habitations, and other comforts and luxuries. "But it is no use to reason," with such writers; I will, therefore, turn to the testimony of slave-holders in Virginia and elsewhere, in opposition to his views. The Honourable THOMAS MANN RANDOLPH, of Virginia, formerly Governor of that State, in a speech before the Legislature in 1832, (while speaking of the surplus number of slaves annually sold from Virginia to the more southern slave States, in consequence of the necessities of the State,) said, "The exportation has averaged 8500 for the last twenty years. Forty years ago, the whites exceeded the coloured 25,000, the coloured now exceed the whites 81,000; and these results, too, during an exportation of nearly 260,000 slaves since the year 1790, now perhaps the fruitful progenitors of half a million in other States. *It is a practice, and an increasing practice, in parts of Virginia, to rear slaves for market.* How can an honourable mind, a patriot, and a lover of his country, bear to see *this ancient dominion converted into one grand menagerie, where men are to be reared for market like oxen for the shambles!*" In the same year, Mr. GHOLSON, of Virginia, in his speech in the legislature of that State, says, "It has, perhaps erroneously, been considered by steady and old-fashioned people that the owner of land had a reasonable right to its annual profits, the owner of orchards to their annual fruits, the owner of *brood mares* to their product, and the owner of *female slaves* to their increase. We have not the fine-spun intelligence nor legal acumen to discover the technical distinctions drawn by gentlemen. The legal maxim of *partus sequitur ventrem* is coeval with the existence of the rights of property itself, and is founded in wisdom and justice. It is on the justice and inviolability of this maxim that the master foregoes the service of the female slave; has her nursed and attended during the period of her gestation, and raises the helpless and infant offspring. *The value of the*

property justifies the expense; and I do not hesitate to say, that *in its increase consists much of our wealth.*" I stop not to comment on this extract from the speech of the honourable member, it speaks for itself, but pass on to the speech of Mr. FAULKNER, another honourable member of the same legislature, from which I make the following extract:—"Mr. GHOLSON," says this gentleman, "has laboured to show that the abolition of slavery, were it practicable, would be impolitic; but as the drift of this argument runs, your slaves constitute the entire wealth of the State, all the productive capacity Virginia possesses. And, sir, as things are, I believe he is correct. He says (and in this he is sustained by the gentleman from Halifax, Mr. BRUCE) that the *slaves constitute the entire available wealth of Eastern Virginia.* Is it true, that for 200 years the only increase in the wealth and resources of Virginia has been a remnant of the natural increase of this miserable race? Can it be on this increase she places her sole dependence? I had always understood that indolence and extravagance were the necessary concomitants of slavery; but, until I heard these declarations, I had not fully conceived the horrible extent of this evil. These gentlemen state the fact, which the history and present aspect of the commonwealth but too well sustain. The gentleman's facts and arguments in support of his plea of impolicy, to me, seem rather unhappy. To me, such a state of things would itself be conclusive, at least, that something even as a measure of policy, should be done. What, sir, have you lived two hundred years without personal effort or productive industry, in extravagance and indolence, sustained alone by the return from sales of the increase of slaves, and *retaining merely such a number as your now impoverished lands can sustain as stock,* depending, too, upon a most uncertain market? When that market is closed, as in the nature of things it must be, what then will become of this gentleman's hundred millions' worth of slaves, and their annual product?" And well might Mr. FAULKNER say, "When that market is closed, (alluding to Louisiana and other States,) what will become of this gentleman's hundred millions' worth of slaves, and the annual product?" The key to the solution of this

difficult question is TEXAS: and that country was, in reference to this very difficulty, adverted to by Judge UPSHER, in his address to the Virginia convention. The learned judge said, "The value of slaves as an article of property (and it is in that view only that they are legitimate subjects of taxation) depends much on the state of the market abroad. In this view, it is the value of land abroad, and not of land here, which furnishes the ratio. It is well known to us all that nothing is more fluctuating than the value of slaves. A late law of Louisiana, reduced their value 25 per cent. in two hours after its passage was known. *If it should be our lot, as I trust it will be, to acquire the country of* TEXAS, *their price will rise again.*" For some years past, all the slave States, with the exception of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Missouri, as I am informed, have passed laws to prevent the further importation of slaves from other States into them, and as the time must come when they will be closed also against a further supply of slaves, Texas is the last hope, the *dernier resort* of the slave holders of the older slave States, against irretrievable ruin, or the liberation of their bondsmen.

In Judge UPSHER's views the Honourable PHILIP DODDRIDGE fully concurred. He said, "The acquisition of Texas will greatly enhance the value of the property (slaves) in question." Mr. GHOLSON, to whom I have before referred, "believed the acquisition of Texas would raise their price *fifty per cent.* at least." Such is the view taken by Virginians of the institution of slavery, not only in the impoverishment of land, the tortures which it inflicts on the servile population, and the deep degradation which it brings on all connected with it, but in the certain ruin which follows in its train. Virginia, in a period of two centuries, in some of its most extensive and fertile districts, has become a wilderness; and we have the confession wrung from the lips of some of her most accomplished sons, that the salvation of the "ancient dominion" depends upon a foreign market for the sale of her slave population, and that she looks to TEXAS to sustain her in the hour of her extremity and peril. What said the Honourable HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, one of the present aspirants after the presidential chair,

as far back as 1829? In a speech before the Colonization Society he remarked: "It is believed that *no where* in the farming portion of the United States would slave labour be generally employed, if the proprietor were not tempted to *raise* slaves by the high price of the southern market, which keeps it up in his own." This is the testimony of experience, and is most valuable from the lips of such a man.

If we may believe the statements contained in the American Papers, it is quite clear, that the Cotton Planters are in an agony at the present moment. The most talented amongst them have been devising schemes at a great convention in Georgia, to regulate the price of cotton-wool, in the British Market, through the medium of the Banks. Like the planters in the British Colonies, during the period of slavery, they are unable to sustain themselves, independently of foreign aid. They cannot afford to keep their stocks —they have no spare capital—hence, the struggle in which they are at present engaged, to sustain their interests, and to avert, if it be possible, that ruin which appears to be inevitable. From Mississippi alone, no less than 15,000 slaves were run out last year by their masters, who were unable to pay their debts, into Texas and Arkansas; and large numbers were in prison under executions, awaiting sales to meet demands on their owners. The *New Orleans Bulletin*, quoted in a New York Paper of the 26th October last, adverting to the great distress which is felt in Mississippi, observes, that "Good plantations with every improvement and convenience, such as Houses, Gins, and Negro Cabins, have often been sold at from two to five dollars per acre. In Madison County, some superior plantations have been sacrificed in the same way." In commenting on this, and similar statements, the Editor says:— "The slave system is full of wretchedness. Its abettors pluck forbidden fruit, and the ground brings forth her thorns and briers. So may we expect it to be in an age like this, wherever that system is retained."

In a very able report drawn up and published by William Kenrick, Esq., of Portsmouth, Virginia, on the present state of agriculture, and its future prospects in that State, bearing date the

1st April, 1839, I find the following remarks:—"In Lower Virginia, you have indeed, a vast and fine tract of country, from 60 to 80 miles broad, along the whole Atlantic coast. This vast country is now, in a considerable measure, without population, the abandoned lands being again covered with forests, as they were in the former days, in the times of the red men. The land once so fertile, having been progressively overrun, and in a great measure worn out or ruined by a system of perpetual cropping, and exhaustion for ages; little or nothing being restored to a soil never ungrateful, in return for all that was taken away, the earth thus cruelly injured and robbed of its fertility refuses its increase." Having thus stated the causes which led to its abandonment, and, which Mr. Kenrick states, are 'still continuing,' in other parts of the State, he inquires, how those lands which have now been restored to fertility, by the renovating processes of nature may be reclaimed and turned to profit. After observing that lands in Virginia can be purchased for five dollars per acre, which would cost one hundred dollars in Massachussetts: after having stated that the advantages from an abundant supply of manure, the length of the summer, and a variety of other circumstances are all in favour of Virginia, he shows his brother planters, that the abolition of slavery would lead to that result, and proposes a scheme for effecting it. These are his words: 'One great obstacle or objection with many northern men to a permanent residence in this country, is the state of slavery which here exists. For *slavery* in Virginia, *not only has a tendency to lower and degrade the wages of the free labourer, but to degrade also the profession of labour itself, by conforming the condition of the labourer to that of the slave.*" The State contains about 500,000 slaves, which are probably valued at 400 dollars each, or 200,000,000 dollars for the whole. *Now, can any one doubt, that if all these slaves were emancipated, the lands of Virginia would rise five dollars per acre?* This rise of five dollars an acre would be equivalent to the estimated value of all the slaves. "I am persuaded, however," he adds, "that the *rise of lands from this cause, would be far greater* than is here estimated; *and that were all the slaves emancipated* this day, the state of Virginia would expe-

rience a clear gain of more than 500,000,000 dollars, in *the rise of lands alone. Emigration to the south would then take place to a great extent*, from all the northern States. Instead of emigrating to the west, where labour is scarce, the Yankees would then flock hither, and hire up, at advanced wages, *the freed slaves, and ere long, the whole of Eastern Virginia might become a perfect garden.*"

Still further to show the exhausting effects of slavery, and the mighty power of freedom in developing the resources of a people, take the following comparative Tables of Imports into the States of Virginia, South Carolina, and New York, at successive epochs:—

YEAR.	Virginia.	S. Carolina.	N. York.
1760	£851,140 ster.	£555,000	£189,000
	DOLLARS.	DOLLARS.	DOLLARS.
1791	2,486,000	1,520,000	3,222,900
1821	1,078,000	3,000,000	23,000,000
1832	550,000	1,213,000	57,000,000

Thus, it will appear, that New York imported, in 1832, nearly fifty times as much as South Carolina, and about one hundred and ten times as much as Virginia, and that she imported about seven times less in 1832 than in 1760.

In 1835, the United States, debt was extinguished, after having absorbed about 422,000,000 dollars. The larger portion of this sum was paid to Citizens of the United States—of whom, those residing in the free States, were to those residing in the Slave States, as one hundred and sixty-five to eleven! And it further appears from the Tables before me, that the three States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachussetts, loaned to the Government thirteen times as much as all the southern States put together—a clear proof, if any were were wanting, that Wealth and Freedom co-exist; and that Slavery and Poverty are near akin.

Need I refer for further proof to our own West India Colonies? As far back as 1750, Long, the historian of Jamaica, established the fact, that the planters of that island were labouring under

severe distress; and BRYAN EDWARDS, the historian of the West Indies, himself a planter, referring to a subsequent period, said—"The great mass of planters are men of oppressed fortunes, consigned by debt to unremitting drudgery in the Colonies, with a hope—which eternally mocks their grasp—of happier days, and a release from their embarrassments."

In 1792, a Report was prepared on the sugar trade in Jamaica, by a Committee of the House of Assembly, and confirmed and printed by its order, which contains the following passage: "In the course of twenty years, 177 estates in Jamaica have been sold for the payment of debts, 55 estates have been thrown up, and 92 are still in the hands of creditors; *and it appears from a return made by the Provost Marshal, that* 80,121 *executions, amounting to* £22,563,786 *sterling, have been lodged in his office in the course of twenty years.*"

In 1805, the Assembly reported again, and, after details of the most melancholy kind, conclude the sum of their miseries by stating that "*a faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature.*" "Again, in 1807, they report that "within the last four or five years, 65 estates had been abandoned, 32 sold under decrees of chancery, and 115 more respecting which, suits in chancery were depending, and many more bills preparing." From these facts, they go on to say, "the House will be able to judge to what an alarming extent the distresses of the sugar planters have already reached, and with what accelerated rapidity they are now increasing, for the sugar estates lately brought to sale, and now in the Court of Chancery in this island and in England, amount to about *one-fourth of the whole number of the Colony.*" In 1812, after stating that "estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors, absent from the island, until there are large districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single proprietor of a sugar plantation resident; they add, "*the distress cannot be well aggravated.*" And again, in 1831, we have them complaining to the nation and to the parliament, of "*The alarming and unprecedented state of distress in which the whole West India interest is involved;*" which they said, justified them in asking for

measures of relief, "*in order to preserve them from inevitable ruin.*" Thus, almost from year to year, the Home Government and the House of Commons, were informed of the distress of the planters, of the transfer of properties, of the abandonment of estates, of execution sales, and the extensive ruin and beggary resulting therefrom, notwithstanding loans of money from the Government, protecting duties, and bounties on exported sugar, which gave the planters the monopoly of the home market, and put immense sums of money into their pockets on all the sugars exported to foreign States.

In December 1831, Viscount GODERICH, then Colonial Secretary, adverting to "the existence of severe commercial distress among all classes of society connected with the West Indies," said, "It is obvious that the great and permanent source of that distress, which almost every page of the history of the West Indies records, is to be found in the institution of slavery. It is in vain to look for long-continued prosperity in any country in which the people are not dependent on their own voluntary labour for support, in which labour is not prompted by legitimate motives, and does not earn its natural reward." And again, "*I cannot but regard the system itself as the perennial spring of those distresses of which, not at present merely, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just.*" When will the advocates of slavery learn wisdom? When will they learn this great truth, that the natural course of the moral government of the world is framed with a singular aptitude to disappoint the designs of those, whose object it is to enrich themselves by the rigorous exaction of the uncompensated labour of their fellow-creatures?

But, perhaps, the writer in the *Colonial Gazette* will favour the public with his proofs from "all ages and countries," in support of his theory. For my own part, I must confess my ignorance of such proofs being in existence. He may prove, indeed, that slavery has existed in forms, more or less modified by the genius and institutions of the people, among whom it has been found; but this is not the question: The point to be decided is, whether slavery enriches the land, and renders it so costly, that it cannot sustain

itself, in other words, whether it renders "lands naturally cheap," by some peculiar process of its own "dear," and thus paves the way for free Institutions to the destruction of itself! In no part of the world has this been its ultimate effect. It is freedom, and freedom alone which gives value to land; and in the application of the skill, industry, and energy it calls forth, makes even the poorest lands valuable; and, by the noble motiveswhich it presents to action, can change a sterile region into fruitful fields. The bare statement of the proposition of this writer, carries with it its own refutation.

With respect to the assertion that the efforts of abolitionists, on their own admission, have failed, nothing can be more untrue. The abolitionists have never made such a confession. On the contrary, they have had the greatest cause to rejoice that their labours have been crowned with success, both in the abolition of the African slave-trade, and of slavery in the British Colonies; and that their own country stands absolved from the guilt of sanctioning the continuance of these twin abominations. They have deeply lamented the continuance of the foreign slave-trade, over which they had no control; and, that through the perfidy, cupidity, and inhumanity of the powers in treaty with Great Britain for its suppression, the means which have been resorted to have increased its horrors, without diminishing its extent. This they deplore; but it is an affair which belongs to the Government. In the meantime, they are using their best efforts to destroy it by the universal abolition of slavery.

Not less opposed to fact is the assertion, that "England has ruined an important part of her Colonial empire by abolishing slavery there, without providing any substitute in the form of labour for hire." In confutation of his statement, I refer to the pages of the *Colonial Gazette*, by which it will be seen that the imports of sugar and other staples in the year 1838, the year of transition from slavery to freedom, and of crisis to the Colonies, were greater than the average of the two preceding years! In the very act for the abolition of slavery, the Government substituted a body of free labourers for slaves; and wherever fair wages have been

given, and honourable treatment shown to the liberated bondsman, they have manifested the greatest alacrity to perform a fair amount of labour, and have exhibited a spirit and temper, under the most trying circumstances, which it would be well if their masters appreciated, if they did not imitate.

Akin to his other assertions is that in which he states that "we have set free 800,000 negroes in the West Indies, and have *thereby* prompted Brazil to import as many fresh slaves from Africa." The Brazilian slave-trade has been great for many years, and the causes which sustain it are far different from those assigned. The slave produce from Brazil is shut out from the British market; and I should like to know what other market we have created for its products which it did not enjoy before?

And what has been the aim of this writer in the unjustifiable statements he has made? To exalt Texas, which has had the wisdom, he says, to establish slavery and the slave-trade; and to depreciate Great Britain, which has had the honesty to terminate both! In his estimation, the Texians are "men of the highest energy and the strongest commercial propensities;" and he warns this great country against wounding "the pride of as proud a set of men as ever lived," by refusing to acknowledge their independence. One would suppose that this country depends upon Texas as a market for her manufactures. But the writers in the *Colonial Gazette* are inconsistent with themselves. In the articles under review we are told, that by refusing to recognize Texas, "we make France a present of her trade with Europe;" but in the editorial part of the paper issued on the 2nd instant, it is said, "If Texas takes British manufactures in exchange for cotton, there will be a thriving and growing trade between the two countries, with or without 'recognition;'" and it is added, "suppose commerce with the new republic prohibited, English vessels would discharge their cargoes at New Orleans, thence to be forwarded to the proscribed territory." I have no doubt that commerce with this country, if that be the thing desired, will be carried on between the two countries, whether there be slavery or no slavery in Texas, and whether it be recognized or not, as an independent State: but there are grounds both

moral and political, which should prevent this Government from listening for one moment to the overtures of the Texian envoys to secure its recognition as a sovereign State. Its recognition by France is considered by the *Constitutionel* and other influential papers in that country, as of very questionable policy, and the event will show whether she will be a gainer by it. I much doubt it.

On moral grounds the question of its recognition ought not to be entertained; but as I have already addressed you somewhat at length on that point, in concluding this letter I will throw out a few remarks, why I conceive that, on political grounds, this country should refuse to entertain the proposition.

1. Our relation with Mexico. I am no politician—I profess not to be learned in the lore of international law—I do not understand the moral code of statesmen; but this I can conceive, that the recognition of Texas, under present circumstances, is likely to inflict a deep injury and insult on a friendly power in league with us. It is a well-established fact that Texas has been wrested from Mexico, not by her own subjects in the redress of their grievances and the vindication of their rights, but by the citizens of the United States, whose object has either been plunder; or the re-establishment of slavery and the slave-trade, evils which Mexico had, to her great honour, abolished throughout her dominions. And it was in the honest attempt to cause her laws to be respected in this particular, and to break up a contraband trade which had been extensively carried on by American adventurers, that she sent General Cos, and subsequently Santa Anna, with troops into Texas: they were both defeated; and, in consequence of the supply of men and the munitions of war from the United States, coupled with her own intestine feuds, Mexico has not hitherto been able to regain her authority in that province. These are the facts of the case.

It strikes me as of the greatest importance that the integrity of the Mexican empire should be preserved in tact, as a check upon the Anglo-Saxon Americans, whose intriguing spirit and encroaching ambition we have much reason to fear. It should be remembered also, that, by diminishing the territory of Mexico, we curtail her means of paying the debts she owes our merchants, and thus

throw unnecessary obstacles in the way of their final adjustment. The least thing we can do is to remain neutral in the affair, especially as we have not yet acknowledged the independence of Haiti, with her million of freemen, who richly deserve the liberty they have won, and who have shown themselves able to defend the freedom they have achieved. Is it because Haiti is a republic of blacks that she has been thus treated, or was it in compliment to France that we have thus acted towards her? Whatever may have been the reason, of this I am certain, that Texas, has no claims that can be at all compared with her's in the matter under consideration.

2. The position of Texas. What is that position? Is it one of strength or weakness? Unsustained by the United States, she is powerless. She looks to the arm which sustained her in rebellion to defend her in future. And that assistance will be refused the moment it is understood that Texas abandons the project of annexation to the Union. Should she set up for an Independent State, she will be the rival of the southern States in the British markets, and be able to undersell them; for, according to General Hamilton's statement, she can, not only raise a superior article in cotton, but can raise it at 30 per cent *less* than they can grow it. Will the South, which has made Texas what she is, allow her to be a competitor and rival? It is absurd to suppose so.

In the early part of last year, a proposition was made in the Texian legislature to withdraw the proposition for annexation which had been formally made to the United States, and the great argument used was this, "that England would never recognise the independence of Texas so long as they continued to request annexation to the United States." From the report of the proceedings of the Texian legislature, on discussing the proposition alluded to, I make the following extracts:—

"Mr. Jones read extracts of a letter from our minister at the Court of St. James, setting forth the friendly feeling on the part of the British Government towards this republic, whose ability, however, to maintain her independence, the letter observed, was doubted in England." "Mr. Hill doubted the right of Congress

to withdraw the proposition. The people directed it to be made, and would, if necessary, direct it to be withdrawn." Mr. Branch was in favour of annexation. A large portion of the people of the United States were also in favour of it. Mr. Swift observed:—"The withdrawal of the proposition would crush the hopes of thousands of emigrants from the United States, who were daily pouring in upon our shores, buoyed up by the anticipation of a speedy union of this country with the one they had left. Whence, he asked, in any future time of need, are we to look for that aid which had enabled us to roll back the tide of Mexican invasion, and hold out defiance to the tyrant of the west? Will it come from England? . . . . No! *To the people of the United States are we indebted for what we have achieved, and for being what we now are.*" This, then, is the position of Texas; and can we, in the face of acknowledged facts, with such a confession of her own weakness, and the admission that she relies on external aid to support her pretensions to independence, recognize her as a sovereign State? If the reasons adduced last year were valid for non-recognition, they are valid now; the position of Texas is in reality unchanged.

3. And what is the attitude of the United States in reference to the annexation of Texas. I need not here recal to the recollection of your readers the repeated attempts of the federal government to get possession of that fine country, and that they would have accomplished their purpose long since, but for fear of a double war with Great Britain and Mexico. But they bide their time. The great Northern Republic is watching like the eagle for her prey; and will again entertain the proposal of the Texian republic and its legislature, for annexation. This is the common opinion held in the United States, and so great is the alarm felt by the friends of liberty in New York on the subject, that a circular has been issued by them, calling upon the public to pour in petitions to Congress against it. After having adverted to the consequences of annexation, that it would involve war with Mexico, if not with this country; that it would open a large slave market, and thus give a new spring to slavery in the old

States; that it would give the slave holding interest a fearful predominance in the nation, and would enable the south to trample down the freedom of speech and of the press, the right of petition, &c. &c., it is added, "*As to the prospect of success, we fear the danger was never so great as at this moment. A cautious, plausible scheme is on foot to take the opponents of the measure by surprise. Prompt action will alone save the nation.*"

The policy of this country, to place the subject on no higher ground, ought to be the same now that it was in 1830. *The Times* of that period made the following remarks on the debate in the House of Commons, upon the presentation of the Liverpool petition respecting our relations with Spain and Mexico:—

"Mr. Huskisson, in presenting the Liverpool petition, urged with great force the propriety of preventing Spain from making further attacks from the side of Cuba, on the now liberated republic of Mexico.

"There was a farther subject, and one of extreme importance, discussed by Mr. Huskisson, in the course of his speech—we mean the general prevalence of an opinion that the United States covet a fine province of Mexico, called Texas, and are disposed to have recourse to violence, if necessary, for the purpose of getting it into their hands. The province of Texas extends southwards from the United States along the coast of Mexico, and, as such, the seizure of it by the former power could not be a matter of indifference to Great Britain. The possession of the Floridas by the United States, has long since given rational cause of uneasiness to England, from regard to the safety of her West India Islands; and we agree with Mr. Huskisson, that when the Government of Washington intimated its repugnance to seeing Cuba transferred from the feeble grasp of Ferdinand to that of this country, the United States should have been informed that, if Cuba were to continue permanently Spanish, *so Texas, and in general the whole shore along the Gulf, should be insured to the Mexican republic.*

"The reference made by the right honourable gentleman to communications, official as well as private, from the late Mr. Jefferson, descriptive of the eager and deep-rooted longings of the

American statesmen for slices of Mexico, and, above all things, for the island of Cuba, will not, we are sure, be lost upon the memory of his Majesty's Government in its future transactions with the Spanish Cabinet, with that of Mexico, and of the United States. With Spain we have a defensive alliance, ready made and consolidated by the most obvious interest, to prevent Cuba from falling a prey to the systematic aggrandisement of the United States. *With Mexico we are equally identified in resistance to the attempts of the same States upon Texas.*"

That the United States should have acknowledged the independence of Texas, was to be expected; that France has followed her example may be accounted for by recent events; but that Great Britain should do so, in view of all the circumstances of the case, would argue an infatuation perfectly suicidal to her influence and power in the Gulf of Mexico and the West Indies, as well as a reckless disregard of human happiness, and the onward progress of freedom.

I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

JOHN SCOBLE.

London, October 18*th.*

TEXAS AND ITS ADVOCATES.

Not only the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, but NATURE herself cries out against a state of slavery.—LEO X.

Slavery is INJUSTICE, which no consideration of policy can extenuate. —HORSLEY.

(To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.)

SIR,—The Editor the *Colonial Gazette*, and Mr. WILLIAM KENNEDY, of Hull, appear to have the Texas mania strong upon them. They both labour with assiduity and address, to obtain the recognition of the "Young Republic," as an independent State. I

earnestly wish that talents, such as theirs, were devoted to the support of a better cause! Whatever be their *motives* for the course they have judged it convenient to pursue, the one claims to be considered a *philosopher*, and the other a *patriot*, and to argue the question in view of the character each has assumed. The philosophy, however, which would teach me that slavery is the parent of civilization—that, in every country, where land is naturally cheap, as in Texas, the labouring class, whether white or black, must and will be held and used as slaves, until land becomes dear, and that, however "shocking to our sensibility," compulsion to labour from "the fear of the lash" is really not worse than that which arises from "the fear of hunger," is too sublime for my comprehension; and the patriotism which would enrich the merchant princes of this country at the expense of the freedom and happiness of millions of mankind, is too exalted for my imitation! I say, if the fertile lands of Texas cannot be cultivated except under the infliction of the lash—if its magnificent forests and boundless prairies cannot be reclaimed but by the tears, and blood, and toil of slaves,—let them remain in all their solitary grandeur, a pasturage and a shelter for the buffalo and the deer. And I further say, if the savage tribes of mankind cannot be civilized, but by their degradation into the condition of "chattels personal" of their fellow-men, let them remain untouched by its withering influence, and undestroyed by its murderous effects. But it were impiety to suppose that the most beautiful and fertile portions of the earth were created for tyrants and slaves; and that the benign influence of education and religion were not able to elevate the most abject of our race to the same height of refinement with ourselves.

In one point I most cordially agree with our philosopher and patriot, namely, in stigmatizing slavery as a "crime:" they both deplore its existence, as the great "blot" on the fair fame of Texas. Enough of humanity, of English feeling, and the love of liberty remains in them to do this; but I have yet to learn how the philosopher can reconcile this opinion, with his justification of Texas for refusing to bring herself "into the condition," of what he terms,

"an impoverished and barbarized West Indian Colony of England," by following her great example. Perhaps, however, the philosopher sometimes merges into the *man*, and this may account for his inconsistency in branding slavery as a "crime," while, at the same time, he justifies the *criminals* who maintain it! And the patriot is equally inconsistent with the philosopher. He claims to be regarded as one whose "humble endeavours have been uniformly devoted to the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies," and yet he pleads the cause of the Texian slave-holders with all the zeal of a feed advocate. But he merges the *man* in the patriot!

The points I propose to bring under review, in refutation of the statementsof the Editor of the *Colonial Gazette*, and Mr. KENNEDY, is the true cause of the Texian revolt; the absurdity of supposing that the Texians can maintain their boasted independence, unaided by the United States;—and to show that the annexation of Texas to that great republic, though relinquished in form, is not abandoned in fact.

The Texian Advocates both affirm that, "The violation of a constitutional compact, and reiterated acts of injustice on the part of Mexico," was the cause of the revolt. In support of this view, the Editor of the *Colonial Gazette*, asserts, that AUSTIN's Colony, (Fredonia,) was settled in 1824, "upon the express invitation of the Mexican Government, and after reciprocal stipulations had been solemnly guaranteed on both sides"—that successive bands of emigrants were allured by the Mexican Government, from that period down to 1832.—That this body of emigrants became "Mexican subjects;" and, in return, were promised "entire religious freedom, and a Republican Government on the basis of a number of federated States:"—That SANTA ANNA, subverted their rights, by altering the Constitution of the Empire, and by the new Government enacting, that "The Roman Catholic Religion, should be the exclusive religion of the State:"—That AUSTIN and MILAM, were sent to Mexico in 1835, to remonstrate against this, but were arrested and thrown into prison, and "after months of incarceration," were "allowed to return, only to tell that all was lost:"—That in the autumn of 1835, the garrisons in

the pay of the Central Government, were driven out of every port in Texas; and that in the early part of 1836, the Texians annihilated the troops, under the command of Cos and SANTA ANNA, and established their independence. Mr. KENNEDY, in confirmation of his views, cites the Colonization Law of Coahuila and Texas, of the 26th of March, 1825, and observes in consequence of this law, "the citizens of the United States, with their accustomed enterprize and daring, entered the country, protected, as they supposed, by a constitution, and frame of Government similar to the one under which they had lived:"—That "these adventurous strangers, soon grew into a community powerful enough to excite the jealousy of Mexico, whose federal Government, in 1830, passed the following Decree:—"That the Citizens of Foreign Countries, lying adjacent to the Mexican Territory, are prohibited from settling, as Colonists, in the States or Territories of the Republic adjoining such countries:"—That "this violation of faith on the part of Mexico, produced great discontent, and subjected the emigrants to injury and loss;" but that they bore peaceably this "violation of right," until "1834, when the Prohibitory Law was repealed," by SANTA ANNA:—That after this, "matters proceeded quietly in Texas—population increased—titles for land were freely conceded—agriculture flourished, and the people were too contented to dream of Revolution:"—That in 1835, Coahuila and Texas, their legislature being in session, though "destitute of resources," remonstrated "against SANTA ANNA's usurpations, and declared their fixed resolve never to submit to them:"—That in 1835, he sent Cos into Texas, (Coahuila having submitted to his authority,) who was defeated and captured, that in this struggle they applied "for assistance to their kindred in the United States;" and that "in March, 1836, they dissolved their connexion with Mexico, and promulgated a declaration of independence, "which their bravery has nobly maintained."

The Editor of the *Colonial Gazette*, will permit me to say, that however sound in his philosophy, he is not correct in his facts; and Mr. WILLIAM KENNEDY, must allow me to add, that the *suppressio veri et suggestio falsi*, were never more conspicuous in

the writings of the notorious PETER BORTHWICK, the great Pro-Slavery advocate, than in his.

Now for the facts of the case. Previously to the year 1820, a few citizens of the United States, temporarily established themselves in the eastern part of Texas, as Indian Traders. These were unauthorized adventurers; but in that year, a large grant of land was made to MOSES AUSTIN, of Missouri, on condition that he would introduce, within a given time, three hundred families of industrious, orderly settlers, professing the *Roman Catholic Religion.* Before completing his arrangements he suddenly died, and his son, STEPHEN F. AUSTIN, took the matter into his hands, as the legal heir and representative of his father. He repaired to Texas with a considerable number of settlers from Tennessee, Missouri, and Louisiana; but, prior to his obtaining legal possession of the grant made to his father, the revolution in Mexico broke out, which terminated in its separation from the Spanish Crown. AUSTIN applied to the new Government for a confirmation of the grant made to his father, which he obtained with little difficulty, in a modified form. The Contractor and the Settlers were liberally supplied with lands gratis, on the condition of occupying them, and pledging themselves to be obedient to the laws of the country; yet the settlement of the Colony, was still restricted to persons of the Roman Catholic faith. Thus, the plan of Colonizing Texas was regularly commenced by the Government, and laws were enacted settling the terms, and plans of Colonization. And when the Provinces of Coahuila and Texas, were united under a State Government, special regulations were made by the Legislature, in conformity with those of the General Congress, all of which were submitted to by the Colonists, as binding upon them.

The Slave Trade was abolished throughout the Mexican Dominions on the 13th of July, 1824, in the following terms:—"1. The commerce and traffic in slaves, proceeding from *whatever power*, and under *whatever flag*, is for ever prohibited within the territories of the United Mexican States. 2. The slaves who may be introduced contrary to the tenor of the preceding article, shall remain free in consequence of treading the Mexican soil."

The constitution of Coahuila and Texas was promulgated on the 11th March, 1827, and contained the following important article, in conformity with the declaration of the constitution of the Mexican Republic, adopted in 1824, viz :—"In this State no person shall be born a slave after this constitution is published in the capital of each district; * * * * neither will the introduction of slaves be permitted under any pretext."

Under the stipulations and restrictions adverted to, settlements were rapidly formed, AUSTIN fulfilled his contract, and received the *fee simple* of large tracts of land as a reward for his trouble.

The spirit of adventure and *speculation* was thus aroused; and divers persons applied for grants of land, and obtained them on the most liberal terms. For instance, the Grantees were not only authorised to select large tracts of land, and hold the same in *fee simple*, on condition of settlement, but were also permitted to introduce all articles necessary for their own accommodation, for the space of ten years, free of the customary duties paid by the citizens of the Republic, the Government requiring of them, only, submission to the fundamental laws of the empire. Among the most prominent contractors with the Mexican Government for lands, were ZAVALA and FILASOLA, of Mexico; DE WITT, of Missouri; ROSS and LEFTWICH, of Tennessee; MILAM, of Kentucky; BURNET, of Ohio; THORN, of New York; WAVEL and BEALES, of England; CAMERON, of Scotland; VEHLEIN, of Germany; and M'MULLEN, POWERS, and HEWITSON, of Ireland. Of all these, only DE WITT, POWERS, and HEWITSON, succeeded in fulfilling their contracts. Most of the others disposed of their "grants" to Joint Stock Companies, organised for the purpose, in New York and Nashville.

Out of these transactions, sprung "The Galvezton Bay and Texas Land Company,"—"The Arkansas and Texas Land Company,"—"The Rio Grande Company," &c. &c. &c. In connexion with these Companies, gambling speculations to an incredible extent took place. Immense quantities of "scrip" were sold; and the "scrip," being transferable, fell into the hands of needy adventurers, who hesitated at no measures, however base, to promote their pecuniary interests.

In the mean time, emigrants poured into Texas from the slave States, carrying their slaves with them, in defiance of the Colonization laws. Beside these, a large number of *squatters*, consisting of fraudulent debtors and fugitives from justice, intruded themselves from the United States; and not a few took lands, professedly with the view of settlement, but really to carry on a traffic in contraband goods, such as arms, ammunition, &c. &c., which they supplied to the Indians, as well as to others. In point of fact, the laws of Mexico were grossly violated by the emigrants, both in the introduction of slaves, and the frauds practised on the revenue by the extensive smuggling trade carried on. Such was the disturbed state of the Mexican Government at that time, that these abuses could not be checked; and the slave-holders, land-speculators, and smugglers, had it all their own way.

At length, however, the Government determined to put a stop to emigration from the United States, not less because of the daring violation of the laws by these adventurers, than on account of the disgraceful conduct of Mr. Poinsett, at Mexico, where he was charged with intriguing with its enemies, for the purpose of securing Texas to the United States. Under these circumstances, it was, that, in 1830, the Government passed the decree:—"That the citizens of foreign countries, lying adjacent to the Mexican territory, are prohibited from settling, as Colonists, in the States or territories of the Republic adjoining such countries." This law is, however, admitted not to have been rigidly enforced, inasmuch as sea-borne emigrants, were, for a time, allowed to enter Texas, and go whithersoever they pleased.

The Texian advocates would make it appear, that this prohibitory law was an infraction of the rights of the Colonists, and a "violation of faith" on the part of Mexico, when, in point of fact, it was imperatively called for, in support of the general laws of the country, and to protect Texas from the designs of the southerners now become apparent, who were longing to have it within their grasp, and who had determined, if they could not obtain it by fraud, to secure it by force.

In 1832, the law prohibiting emigration to Texas from the United States, was repealed, and the Supreme State of Coahuila and Texas passed a Colonization law, similar to that passed in 1825, with a few trifling alterations in its details, without changing its general features or principles. In that law, it is again provided, that "*the new settlers, in regard to the introduction of slaves, shall be subject to the laws which now exist, and which shall hereafter be made on the subject.*" The Supreme Government had decreed, on the 14th of October, 1823, that "foreigners who bring slaves with them, shall obey the laws established upon the matter, or which shall *hereafter* be established." In 1824, as we have before seen, Mexico entirely abolished the slave trade, whether from Africa, or from the United States, or elsewhere; and on the 15th of September, 1829, it consummated its noble designs by the total overthrow of slavery throughout the country.

On what pretence, then, can it be argued that the Anglo-Saxon Americans from the United States have been wronged? Did they not voluntarily place themselves under the Government and laws of Mexico, whether it respected religion or slavery? The Colonists well knew that none but the established religion could be tolerated *constitutionally* by the Mexican Government, when they took the oath of allegiance to it. But the Mexicans, notwithstanding, allowed the Colonists the free exercise of their religion, and both Methodists and Presbyterians held their meetings openly, without molestation or hindrance from the Government or from individuals. The Colonists also knew, that slaves would on no account whatever be allowed to be introduced into Texas, and yet they introduced them, in large numbers, and, calculating upon the sympathy and assistance of the slave-holding south, they defied the general Government, and finally rebelled against it. The opposition of the Mexican laws to the re-establishment of slavery and the slave-trade in Texas was the origin of the revolt. On this point, there is but one opinion, in the United States, and, though the Texian advocates affect to speak slightingly of the authority of the celebrated Dr. Channing, no man who knows that eminent individual will for a moment question the accuracy of his

statements on matters of fact. He states, and he demonstrates what he states, "that the eyes of the south and west had for some time been turned to this province (Texas) as a *new market for slaves, as a new field for slave-labour, and as a vast accession of political power to the slave-holding States.* That such views were prevalent," he adds, "we know; for, nefarious as they are, they found their way into the public prints. The project of dismembering a neighbouring republic, that slave-holders and slaves might overspread a region which had been consecrated to a free population, *was discussed in newspapers as coolly as if it were a matter of obvious and unquestionable humanity.*" Nor less valuable and emphatic was the declaration made in Congress, by the Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, in December, 1835, that "the war now raging in Texas is not a Mexican civil war, but *a war for the re-establishment of slavery where it was abolished.*" The late BENJAMIN LUNDY, than whom a more devoted philanthropist never lived, who had travelled through Texas, and made himself entire master of its history and pretensions, observes, in a pamphlet published at Philadelphia in 1836, "It is susceptible of the clearest demonstration, that the immediate cause and the leading object of this contest, originated in a settled design among the slave-holders of this country, *to wrest the large and valuable territory of Texas from the Mexican republic, in order to re-establish the system of slavery; and to open a vast and profitable slave-market therein; and ultimately to annex it to the United States.*"

From the time that senator BENTON wrote his celebrated articles on the acquisition of Texas to the United States, down to the period when the TexianGovernment made the formal proposal to annex it to the great republic, no one ever questioned the facts which the Texian advocates in this country now affect to deny. HENRY CLAY, J. C. CALHOUN, and a multitude of inferior names, have all publicly advocated the acquisition of Texas to the United States, on the ground that it would give stability to the south, and perpetuate its "peculiar institutions."

AUSTIN and MILAM, it is asserted, were sent to Mexico in 1835, to remonstrate against the establishment of the Roman Catholic

religion as a "violation of faith" on the part of Mexico; but they were arrested and thrown into prison, where they were kept for several months, and liberated only to return to Texas, to say, that "all was lost." It was in 1833, that AUSTIN went to Mexico, and on this point, I propose to let him speak for himself, in refutation of the Texian advocates. In a letter which he addressed "to the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, the 2nd of January, 1834, he says:—"I have been arrested by an order from the Minister of War * * * * * * for writing an officio to the Ayuntamiento of Texas, dated 21st October last, advising, or rather *recommending that they should consult amongst themselves for the purpose of organizing a local Government for Texas*, in the event that no remedies could be obtained for the evils that threatened the country with ruin. *I do not in any manner blame the Government for arresting me.* * * * * * * I give the advice to the people there, that I have always given, keep quiet, discountenance all *revolutionary measures or men.* * * * * * * Petition through the legal channels," &c. He adds, "The national revolution is ended, a constitutional Government exists, the people are obedient to the Government and law everywhere. Be the same in Texas and have no more excitements, *tolerate no more violent measures, and you will prosper and obtain from the Government, all that reasonable men ought to ask for.*" The fact is, the Texians wanted to organize a State Government, independent of Coahuila, that they might accomplish their long-cherished schemes, but in this they were for the moment defeated; and we have the public testimony of AUSTIN himself, in the letter from which I have already quoted, "that the general Government are disposed to do everything for Texas that can be done to promote its prosperity and welfare, that is *consistent with the Constitution and Laws;*" and he adds, "I have no doubt the State Government will do the same if they are applied to in a proper manner." The idea was entertained by the Texians, that an "independent State," under the confederated system, might stand upon its "sovereignty," and nullify the decrees of the General Government to suit its purposes, and this led to the calling

of a Convention in 1833, to draft a State Constitution for Texas. A draft of a Constitution was prepared by that illegal Assembly, and AUSTIN was deputed to be its bearer to the capital of the republic, to apply for its ratification by the general Congress. The then existing Constitution of Coahuila and Texas, as I have before shown, contained an express prohibition of slavery, *but no reference whatever was made to it in the one proposed for Texas.* For this, and other important reasons, it was promptly rejected. AUSTIN then recommended an immediate organization, which was an act of treason in itself, and for this, as he himself confesses, he was properly arrested. He then, having discovered his folly, recommended the adoption of conciliatory measures, and at length was liberated, upon his engagement that he would exert himself to secure obedience to the laws. AUSTIN visited New Orleans on his way home to Texas, and there, forgetting his solemn promises, the future plans of operation against Mexico were concocted. He was accompanied to Texas by some daring adventurers. An army was immediately organized, and the Mexican revenue-cutters were seized. The troops under the command of General Cos, who had been sent thither to enforce the laws, were defeated. Expeditions were fitted out from Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, &c., to assist the revolted Texians. And the rest is soon told: a convention was called, a constitution voted, SANTA ANNA was defeated, and Texas declared independent. Slavery was re-established: a new slave-market opened; and annexation to the United States immediately proposed.

I scarcely think it necessary to show the course which the Government of the United States pursued in reference to Texas, beyond stating the fact, that it was claimed, when Mr. ADAMS was President, as part of Louisiana, which had been ceded to the United States by France; that this preposterous claim was abandoned, and that Mr. POINSETT, then in Mexico, was instructed to offer the Mexican Government, impoverished by intestine quarrels, 10,000,000 dollars as a loan,—Texas being held as a mortgage for its re-payment. This proposition was rejected with indignation, and the intriguing POINSETT obliged to flee from Mexico,

to avoid the vengeance of the people. Colonel BUTLER succeeded him, and was instructed to negotiate for its purchase for 5,000,000 dollars, but the Mexicans would not part with it, tempting as was the bait. The chivalrous southerners finding they could not obtain it by intrigue or by purchase, hesitated not to obtain it by force, when they were invited to do so by their worthless countrymen, who had found an asylum there, under the sheltering wings of the Republic, on taking the oath of allegiance to the Government, and promising obedience to the laws.

It is supremely absurd for Mr. KENNEDY to affirm, that the Texians fought for the Constitution of 1824 against SANTA ANNA. That Constitution expressly forbad the introduction of slaves from any country whatever; and the decree which General Cos issued on the 20th March, 1836, when he entered Texas, had special reference to this point, and was intended to secure obedience to the laws, as the following extract from that document will prove:—"Whereas a great number of Colonists, in contravention of the laws and institutions of the Mexican Republic, which expressly forbids slavery and the slave-trade in all its possessions and territories—availing themselves of the state of bondage, ignorance, and almost destitution in which slaves are generally to be found in some of the States of the United States—found the means of importing by sea and by land, and keeping in slavery a great number of coloured people, thus entailing that disgraceful system upon our country:—

RESOLVED—The laws and institutions of the Mexican Republic on Slavery and the Slave-trade, shall, from this day, remain in full force in the whole Territory of Texas.

2. In compliance with the said laws, the persons of all coloured people, of both sexes, are from this moment, declared free. Coloured people who may present themselves to the Military Governors or Commanders, claiming the protection of the Mexican Laws, shall be protected, allowing them their freedom, as well as the faculty of settling in whatever section of the Republic they choose, providing them with the necessary passports.

But, it appears, that the Texians are now in a position to defend themselves from the attacks of the Mexicans, and to maintain

the independence they have achieved; and that, so conscious are they of their strength, that they even threaten Mexico itself with invasion, if she presume much longer to refuse the acknowledgment of their independence! This bravado is quite in the Anglo-Saxon-American style, but it can impose on no man acquainted with the inherent weakness of Texas, its scanty resources, and the discordant elements of which its population is composed. One vigorous and well-directed effort on the part of Mexico would crush the Republic of Texas, and reduce it to obedience.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of the population of Texas at the present time. In 1832-3 the population of Coahuila and Texas was said to be 84,672, but as it was known that a considerable number of Colonists were not included in the Census, it was supposed by those competent to form a judgment, to be about 97,000 in all, of whom 18,000 or 20,000 were foreigners, Texas is now separated from Coahuila, and the greater portion of its inhabitants are emigrants from the United States with their slaves. Leaving the slave population entirely out of the question, the number of whites, recognized as citizens entitled to all the privileges and immunities of freemen, cannot greatly exceed, if indeed it reach, 5000. The number of citizens entitled to vote for representatives in the Congress of 1836, was scarcely 3500. A considerable part of these were men of desperate fortunes, or persons who had been allured into Texas by the expectation of plunder. Unassisted by the supplies of men, and money, and the munitions of war, from Louisiana, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and other of the southern States, Texas could never have been formidable; and I again repeat, in case of any properly organized attempt on the part of Mexico to recover the revolted province, the Texian republic, would cease to be, unaided by the citizens of the United States.

At the present moment, she has enough to do with the deeply injured Indian population within her borders, and is likely to have as much difficulty in expelling the tribes of which it is composed, from the land of their fathers, as the citizens of the United States have had, and still have, to subjugate the Seminoles in Florida. Last year, her legislature voted

600 troops for the detestable purpose of destroying the Indians, and the last packet from the United States brought the intelligence that she is still fiercely engaged with the Native Tribes. Mr. William Kennedy informs us, that in the year 1825, when "the citizens of the United States with their accustomed enterprize and daring, entered the country, "they found Texas was overrun with bands of wild Indians, some of them cannibals, and *the whole a terror to the Mexicans;* and that his brave Anglo-Saxon-Americans accomplished what Mexico acknowledged her inability to effect, they "subdued the country by the *rifle*, &c. In other words, they slaughtered the poor Indians wherever they found them, contrary to the laws they were bound to obey! The "savages"—"the Cannibals," who were a terror to the Mexicans," were thus protected by the very laws under which Texas was colonized. Act 27, "The Indians of all nations bordering upon the State, as well as the wandering tribes within it, shall be received in the markets without exacting from them any commercial duties upon their trade in articles of the country. And if thus drawn *by the gentleness and confidence with which they shall also be treated*, they shall, declaring themselves first in favour of our religion and institutions, establish themselves in any part of the settlements which shall be formed, they shall be *admitted and allowed the same terms as other settlers, treated of in this law*, distinguishing the natives as Mexicans, and the borderers as foreigners, without exacting from the first any number of cattle." Instead of being drawn by "gentleness and confidence," they were shot down by the *rifle*; and instead of being admitted to settle on "the same terms as others," provision is now made by the Texian laws for their entire expulsion from the Country, and armaments are fitted out from year to year to carry their destruction or extirpation into effect! Can Mr. Kennedy seriously justify this?

At present the Indians are a source of *great weakness*, as well as terror to the Texians, and will remain so, whilst they continue their wicked policy. Talk of "savages!" Every right principled mind will not fail to apply the term to the Texian buccaneers, rather than to the victims of their atrocious cruelty!

The correspondence of General HOUSTON with General DUNLAP, in 1836, and the revelations made in the Texian legislature last year, clearly prove that Texas is dependent upon the United States for its emigrants, for its slave population, and for its defence, in case Mexico should determine to recover it. Texas is, moreover, without capital: her resources were wasted in the late revolt, and one of the chief objects she has in view in urging upon the British Government the question of her recognition, is that she may be able to negotiate a loan with this country, to the extent it is said, of 2,000,000 to 5,000,000 dollars! Thus, if we consider that her military means are small—that her infamous conduct to the Indians has made them her enemies, and that already they keep her soldiers continually on the alert—that her labouring population is composed of slaves, who may, on the first favourable opportunity presented to them, take vengeance for the deep injuries and wrongs which they have suffered—and that she is without resources and in debt, I ask on what pretence it can be affirmed, that she is in a position to defend herself against Mexico, when that power shall determine to reduce her to obedience? At all events, I ask, whether the British Government, under these circumstances, would not compromise its dignity, and greatly lessen itself in the opinion of the people of England, of Mexico, and of the world, were it seriously to entertain the proposal of its recognition?

There is another point of immense importance to this country, in connexion with the separation of Texas from Mexico: I refer to its annexation to the United States. The slave-breeding States want Texas as a slave market, to which they can send their surplus population for sale. To give some idea of the traffic in slaves in the southern States, I quote a passage from the *New Orleans Courier*, February 16th, 1839. In speaking of the prohibition of the African slave-trade, while the inter State slave-trade is permitted, it says:—"The United States' law may, and probably does, put MILLIONS into the pockets of the people living between Roanoke and Mason and Dixon's line; still we think it would require some casuistry to show, that the present slave-trade from that quarter, is a

whit better than the one from Africa;" and the *Virginia Times*, of 1836, has the following statement:—" Intelligent men estimate the number of slaves exported from Virginia within the last twelve months, at 120,000—each slave averaging at least 600 dollars, making an aggregate of 72,000,000 dollars. Of the number of slaves exported, not more than one-third have been sold (the others have been carried away by their owners, who have removed into other States,) which would leave in the State the sum of 24,000,000 dollars, *arising from the sale of slaves*." The *Natchez Courier*, (Mississippi,) says, " That the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas, imported two hundred and fifty thousand slaves from the more northern States, in the year 1836." These statements from southern papers will show of how great importance Texas is to the slave-breeders, and what a horrible impetus will be given to the slave traffic, if it be permitted to carry into effect its infamous designs.

The southern politicians have for years past regarded Texas as necessary to the salvation of the southern States and the security of their " peculiar institutions," and have openly advocated its acquisition and annexation to the union.—Texas will give them *nine* additional States, equal in extent to Kentucky, and will secure to them in perpetuity, their preponderence in the politics and Government of the republic. In 1837, the legislature of Mississippi passed the following among other resolutions:—" *Resolved*, That the annexation of Texas to this Republic, is essential to the future safety and repose of the southern States of this confederacy." Nor was Tennessee behind in the wish to acquire Texas. In her general assembly it was *resolved*, " That we desire most anxiously that Texas be acquired by the United States," &c. and Alabama was not a whit less desirous than her sister States to possess this fine province; she *resolved* in her general assembly, " That the overture on the part of the Republic of Texas, for annexation to the United States of America, ought to be met by the Federal Authorities in the most friendly manner," &c. Arkansas, Georgia, the Carolinas, Kentucky, and indeed the whole of the slave States deeply sympathised with the Texians in

their revolt—having their eyes constantly directed to that splendid land, as the consummation of their brightest hopes. I know not that I can better display the feeling of the entire south on the question of annexation, than by quoting the following paragraph from the *Frankfort Commonwealth*, a leading paper in Kentucky, in the interest of MR. CLAY. It bears date May 2nd, 1838. "For ourselves we have never for a moment," says the Editor, "doubted the policy which our Government should have pursued in relation to Texas. We have heretofore asserted, and we repeat it again, that *Texas should be made a component part of our country* AT ALL HAZARDS—*peaceably if she was willing, and* FORCIBLY IF SHE WAS RELUCTANT." In addition, it may be mentioned, that the annexation of Texas to the United States had a warm and earnest supporter in General JACKSON, the late President of the United States, and his colleagues in office; and that when the question was formally propounded to the Government at Washington, by General HUNT, Mr. Secretary FORSYTH, after admitting the "powerful and weighty" reasons urged by Mr. HUNT for its annexation, put only a qualified negative on the proposition, so that it became a reserved question. The ground upon which the overture of Texas was not then accepted, was, that its premature annexation to the United States would be equivalent to a declaration of war against Mexico.

And now let us ascertain the sentiments of the Texians themselves, on this important point. In the celebrated letter which General HOUSTON wrote to General DUNLAP, of Tennessee, calling for military aid, he said, "There is but *one feeling in Texas*, in my opinion, and that is, *to establish the independence of Texas*, AND TO BE ATTACHED TO THE UNITED STATES. In August, 1836, the election of officers to carry on the Texian Government was held. S. F. AUSTIN was one of the candidates for the Presidency. In a letter addressed to the Texian constituency, dated 4th August, 1836, he says—"I perceive by the proclamation of the President, (BURNET) ordering the election, that the people are, requested to say whether they are in favour or not of annexing

Texas to the United States. On this point, I shall feel myself bound, if elected, to obey the will of the people. As a citizen, however, I am free to say, that *I am in favour of annexation, and will do all in my power to effect it with the least possible delay.*" Mr. H. Jack, who for a time officiated as Secretary of State, and was then proposed as a candidate for the legislature, in a letter dated 5th August, said,—" I am decidedly and anxiously in favour of annexing Texas to the United States—I consider it the '*rock of our salvation*,' and a consummation of happiness most devoutly to be wished for."

The question of annexation was then submitted to the people and decided by a vote of 3279 to 91 in its favour. Accordingly, we find President Houston, who had been just elected to office, holding the following language in his inaugural address:—" A circumstance of the highest import will claim the attention of the Court of Washington. In the election which has just transpired, the important subject of annexation to the United States of America was submitted to the consideration of the people. They have expressed their feelings and their wishes on that momentous subject. *They have, with a unanimity unparalleled, declared that they will be reunited to the great republican family of the north.* "The appeal is made," he continued, " to a willing people. Will our friends disregard it? They have already bestowed upon us their warmest sympathies. Their manly and generous feelings have been enlisted in our behalf. We have been cheered by the hope that they will receive us to a participancy of their civil, political, and religious rights, and hail us welcome into the great family of freemen. Our misfortunes have been their misfortunes; our sorrows, too, have been theirs, and their joy at our success has been irrepressible."

On the 4th of August 1837, General Hunt, in conformity with his instructions from the Texian Government, addressed a letter to the Secretary of the United States' Government, proposing the annexation of Texas to that Republic; and on the 25th of the same month received its reply which, like most other State documents, might be read any way. The Texian Legislature

in its session in 1838, declined to withdraw the proposition for annexation, which fact, Mr. KENNEDY grossly perverts. The resolution submitted to the Legislature was as follows: viz.—"Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Texas, in Congress assembled, That the President be, and is hereby instructed, to cause the proposition heretofore made by the Government to the Government of the United States for the annexation, to be respectfully and unconditionally withdrawn," &c. This resolution was negatived, and the President had, therefore, no power to withdraw it. But it appears that General LAMAR undertook on his own responsibility to withdraw the proposition for annexation, and has been sustained by the Legislature in its session this year, but in this matter both he and the Legislature have acted unconstitutionally, for the powers which he has assumed were not delegated to him under the constitution; and with the evidence before me, I am satisfied the Texians as a body are in favour of annexation. For the *motives* which have governed the "high-minded" LAMAR in this proceeding, I quote a passage from a speech delivered by him at a dinner *given in his honour* at Mobile, in the latter part of 1837, on that occasion, he said:—"Rather than have his own free, noble, generous, beloved Texas joined to this union, with the turbulent and incendiary fanatics, the infuriated abolitionists with Mr. ADAMS at the head, he would pray that it might, by some sudden convulsion of nature, by some mighty earthquake, be cast out upon the ocean, a lone island, and rather than be joined himself in a union with such fanatical enemies of the *liberty, freedom and* RIGHTS OF THE SOUTH, he would prefer to be chained like Prometheus, to a rock, to be devoured by vultures, or like Mazeppa, bound to a wild horse to be dashed down precipices until life should be extinct. *Get rid of these fanatics,* gentlemen, said he, *and Texas is yours, with all my heart.*"

The withdrawal of the proposition to annex Texas to the United States, is a mere *ruse*. Texas wants its recognition by this country, TO RAISE MONEY; and her leading men, with the Southern Politicians, are playing a deep game at the present moment, for the

purpose of blinding the eyes of the abolitionists of the northern States, and of the Government of this country, to secure their object. But the friends of human happiness and liberty are on the alert, and I trust, will be enabled to frustrate their designs. I again affirm that Texas is doomed to become an integral part of the United States by cession, or failing that, that the southern States will annex themselves to Texas; and if the Government does not wish to compromise British interests in the Gulph of Mexico, it must pause before it elevates Texas to the dignity of an independent State.

On this point, let the Hon. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS be again heard. In a public letter addressed to his constituents, which appeared in the Boston papers in June last, that distinguished individual says:—"The policy of the South, with regard to the affairs of the Union, is exclusively devoted to that object"—the maintenance of their peculiar institution, slavery. "That was the impulse under which they effected the dismemberment of Mexico, and the establishment of the Republic of Texas. A part of that plan, as you know, was to annex to this Union the New Republic, with an additional belt of five degrees of latitude across Continent to the South Sea. Had that plan been consummated, a territory sufficient for the foundation of ten States with the new brand of irrevocable slavery upon their brows, would have been brought to sit like an incubus upon the nation, and nothing less than the unextinguishable energies of freedom could have saved you from the re-instated curse of slavery upon yourselves. It may serve as a consolation and encouragement to you, under the contemptuous treatment of your petitions, that, slighted as they were, they averted *for a time* that impending ruin. I say FOR A TIME; for you will do well not to trust that *ostensible withdrawal* by the Republic of Texas of her solicitation for the annexation of herself to this Union. The fraud and duplicity with which the whole project was conducted, from the first mission of Mr. ANTHONY BUTLER to Mexico, and the confidential letters of the late President (JACKSON) to the Secretaries of Arkansas and Florida, down to the last session of Congress, when all your petitions

against this meretricious amalgamation were laid *unheard and unread*, upon the table, *are still at work, and with exertions as as active as ever*. At the late Congress *the whole South, and the Administration part of the North, combined to suppress all debate—and all discussion upon the subject of Texas;* but if the projected annexation had been honestly and fairly abandoned, there could have been no possible motive for refusing to hear, to consider, and to answer, the petitions against it." These are the words of a sagacious and observant politician, and they contain a warning which no wise man in this country will disregard.

There are but two points more in the letter of Mr. William Kennedy which require attention: the first is, the extent to which the African slave-trade has been carried on in Texas, under its present Government; and the second, has reference to the reputed character of his Texian heroes and statesmen.

Mr. Kennedy utterly denies that African slaves, *via* Cuba, have been introduced into Texas, under its present Government, and defies me to prove the fact. My lamented friend, the late Benjamin Lundy, in his comments on the perfidy and hypocrisy of the Texians in the matter under consideration, and which I have now before me, says:—"Even while the Texian Convention was in session, (drafting its constitution, &c.) a slave-trader boldly landed a cargo of slaves in Texas from Africa, *via* Cuba, and nothing was done to punish the "pirate," although it was publicly known that he was for a length of time in the country, making sale of his slaves, not far distant from where the convention met. A short time after, another similar cargo was introduced, and disposed of with like impunity.

In a communication made from the Havanna to the British Government in the early part of 1836, I find the following reference to this subject:—"In the spring of last year, an American agent from Texas purchased in the Havanna 250 newly imported Africans, at 270 dollars a-head, and carried them away with him to that district in Mexico—*having first procured from the American Consul here, certificates of their freedom.*" It is added, "Within the last six weeks, considerable sums of money have been

deposited by the American citizens in certain mercantile houses here, for the purpose of making additional purchases of bozal negroes for Texas. * * * * "*a great impulse is thus given to this illicit traffic of the Havanna.*" An article appeared in the *Albany Argus*, in July, 1837, which contained the following statement:—"The fate of HENRY BARTOW, (a swindler,) late of the Commercial Bank of this city, has at length been definitely ascertained. The agent sent out by the Bank has returned, and states that BARTOW died at Marianna, near Columbus, in Texas in June last, of the fever of the country. He had purchased a farm on the Brassos, and in company with a native of the country, had commenced an extensive plantation, and *sent* 10,000 *dollars to Cuba for the purchase of slaves?*" In the *New Orleans Bulletin*, December 10th, 1836, there is the following reference to the same subject:—"We are informed from high authority, that the Texian Government intends entering a formal complaint before the cabinet of Washington, against the practice pursued by American citizens, of introducing into their territory, in vessels belonging to the United States, negroes coming from other quarters than this Union; and further, that their minister at Washington will be instructed to ask our Government, that a vessel may be ordered to cruise along their coast, to prevent the introduction of such unlawful slaves; and, also, that a small force be stationed at the mouth of the Sabine, to guard against their being landed on the coast of the United States, and immediately transferred to the Texian territory. Adjacent to the mouth of the Sabine are numerous inlets and coves, where small vessels may easily be concealed, and from these points, at present, very remote from settlements or garrisons, it is easy, without the fear of detection, to transport slaves across the Sabine, and thereby escape the laws of both countries."

To what extent African slaves have been introduced into Texas, since the Government, as it is called, has been formed, it is impossible to say, but when we consider the facilities which its creeks and coves, its rivers and inlets, afford for carrying on the nefarious traffic; the inability of the Government to prevent it;

and the fact, that prime negroes can be had for 300 to 500 dollars, *via* Cuba, which would cost 600 to 1000 dollars, imported from the United States, we may feel confident that a large number is annually introduced; and that the law which declares it to be piracy, is scarcely better than waste paper. I have a communication from Dr. M. Thompson, of H. M. S. Sappho, before me, dated 14th August, 1838, in which he states, that "slaves are still imported into Texas from Cuba, and the African coast;" and adds, that the captain of one of the slavers, which had been recently captured by that vessel, had assured him that his next vessel would be taken to Texas. Wherever there is a market for slaves, there slaves will be taken in defiance of all laws, especially when the law makers, and the law administrators, as in the case of the Texians, are slave-holders.

On the other point, on which the Texian advocates feel so sore —the reputed character of their worthies—I would observe, that vituperation and abuse, I abhor and repudiate as much as my censors. There are, however, some men who may be properly designated by their crimes, and in my opinion, the Texians are of that number. It is no offence against truth or charity, in my judgment, to call a slave-holder, a man-thief, though the term may appear harsh to those who know nothing of the degradation and horrors of slavery, and the violation of every righteous and holy principle which it involves. I certainly do not feel condemned by the terms I have applied to the leaders of the Texian revolt, and to the infamous principles on which they have founded their Government.

The *Boston Atlas* of April 16th, 1837, a paper opposed to the Abolitionists, asks:—"Who are the Leaders in this heroic struggle?" And the reply is, "General Houston, once Governor of Tennessee, but since that, a Chief of the Cherokees, a miserable vagabond and brawler, lately enacting Lynch's Law at Washington, now the apostle of Texian freedom. Robert Potter, once a member of Congress, but infamous throughout the Union, for his bloody brutality and universal scoundrelism—lately the tenant of the State prison; expelled with scorn and contempt from the Legisla-

ture of North Carolina; now "a great character" in Texas. "Add to these," the Editor goes on to say, "all the murderers, swindlers, and horse-thieves, who have fled from the southern States for the last ten years, and the list of Texian heroes will be complete!" IRA INGRAM, late speaker of the Texian House of Representatives, was "in 1812 or 1813, a school teacher, in the village of Utica, where he committed a forgery, for which he was sentenced to imprisonment in the State of New York." "CHARLES E. HAWKINS, late Commodore of the Texian Navy, was the same individual who, some eight or ten years ago, committed a most savage, cold-blooded, and deliberate murder, in Key, West Florida, upon W. A. McREA, Esq., the talented, high-minded, and honourable attorney, of the United States district." R. P. ROBINSON, "the undoubted murderer of HELEN JEWETT, is an officer in the Texian army." BAKER "was once at the head of the State rights party in Alabama. While a member of the Legislature, he committed forgery, was thrown into prison, broke jail, fled to Texas, and was a leading politician in the Republic." The gentlemen who led the Kentucky Volunteers into Texas, in 1836, on their return published a long account of their expedition, and in it, they say:—"That the mass of the people, from the highest functionary of their pretended Government to the humblest citizen, with but few exceptions, are animated alone by a desire of *plunder*, and appear totally indifferent whom they plunder, friends or foes." They further state:—"We could but sicken and wonder at the vile deceptions which had been practised upon us; yet, we are told that this people have risen up in their might, to vindicate the cause of civil and religious liberty. It is a mockery of the very name of liberty. They are stimulated by *that motive*, which such men can only appreciate, *the hope of plunder;*" and they add, by way of caution to their countrymen:—"We say listen not to the deceitful and hypocritical allurements of LAND SPECULATORS, *who wish you to fight for their benefit, and who are as liberal of their promises, as they are faithless in performance.*" And what do these Texian worthies say of each other? HENRY SMITH, the first

Governor, before the adoption of the existing Constitution, sent a message to his Council, in which he himself denounced them as *a set* of vagabonds and fugitives from justice. HOUSTON himself has repeatedly and publicly spoken of BURNET and his cabinet, as a set of corrupt and greedy rogues, not fitted to be trusted; and LAMAR has written and published letters, in which he more than hints that HOUSTON suffered himself to be bribed. These be your "gentlemen of religious habits" and "fair average domestic characters!" But supposing they were not the "cut-throats, desperadoes, outlaws, and criminals" which the *Arkansas Advocate* asserts them to be; and were adorned with all the virtues and graces which the Anglo-Texian advocates say they possess, would it not be sufficient to condemn them to the execration of all good men that they have deliberately re-established slavery and the slave-trade in Texas, and provided for the permanency of these institutions; and that they have further provided by law, for the expatriation of all free persons of colour from the soil, and for the destruction or expulsion of the native Indians?

I may be "pre-eminently ignorant" in the opinion of Mr. WILLIAM KENNEDY, and a mere "sentimental abolitionist" in the judgment of the Editor of the *Colonial Gazette*, but I rejoice that I can say, that I have never uttered a syllable, or written a sentence in defence of tyrants, or which could tend to the degradation and affliction of my fellow-man; and my earnest prayer is, that the British Government will have virtue enough to refuse the overtures of the Texian envoys, and treat with the disdain they merit the insidious counsels of their advocates.

I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

JOHN SCOBLE.

London, November 18*th.*

P.S.—I should like to have inserted here, as an appropriate close to these Letters, the whole of an exceedingly important document, presented to the United States' Government by the Mexican Minister, immediately on its having become officially known, that it had recognized the

Independence of Texas. I must, however, content myself with a single extract from it, viz. :—

"The Mexican Government deems that of the United States too just, to suppose that ignoble views, and purposes of aggrandizement, can have induced it to take the premature step alluded to: but as it is an unquestionable fact, that this step has been taken, since it has been announced in an Official Journal of the United States, the undersigned has received an express order from H. E., the President, *ad interim*, of the Mexican Republic, to protest, as he does in effect protest, in the most solemn manner, before all civilized nations, against the acknowledgment of the Independence of the Pretended Republic of Texas, made by the United States of America, declaring that this acknowledgment, cannot in any way whatever, neither now, nor at any future time, weaken, diminish, or invalidate, in the least degree, the rights of the Mexican Republic, to the Territory of Texas, as well as those which it unquestionably has to employ, all the means that are or may be, in her power to recover it."

In the following caution to Emigrants, I most cordially concur.

CAUTION TO EMIGRANTS.

"All persons inclined to Emigrate to Texas, are earnestly recommended, well and seriously to consider, the provisions of the Texian law in relation to Emigrants.

The grants of land to Emigrants, are only made on condition of permanent residence,—the performance of all duties required of other Citizens, for the term of three years, *to the satisfaction of those in power!!* —they must be ready to bear arms against the Parent State of Mexico and the Native Indians, for the purpose of subjugation and expulsion, and to sustain the twin abominations of SLAVERY and the SLAVE-TRADE, which the Mexican Empire to its great honour, had totally and for ever abolished. Will any Englishman, Irishman, or Scotchman, subject himself and his family to degrading contact with the atrocious system of Slavery; Will he take arms in its support, and to sustain the domination of men, alike destitute of conscience, and of honour? Can any man, voluntarily placing himself in such circumstances, expect the blessing of God on his undertaking?

(On behalf of the Committee.) J. H. TREDGOLD,
Secretary.

Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
27, New Broad Street.

THE END.

Johnston & Barrett, Printers, 13, Mark Lane.

SPEECH

OF

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq.,

AT A

GREAT MEETING FOR THE EXTINCTION

OF

NEGRO APPRENTICESHIP,

HELD IN THE

TOWN HALL, DEVONPORT,

On Wednesday, May 2nd, 1838.

LONDON:

CENTRAL NEGRO EMANCIPATION OFFICE,

25, TOKENHOUSE YARD;

WILLIAM OLIPHANT AND SON, EDINBURGH; GEORGE GALLIE, GLASGOW;

FINLAY AND CHARLTON, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

MDCCCXXXVIII.

LONDON:
Printed by JOHNSTON & BARRETT, 13, Mark Lane.

SPEECH, &c.

Mr. Mayor, Ladies and Gentlemen; favoured with your permission and your patience, I will offer a few remarks upon the interesting and momentous topic now under discussion. I am anxious to see this question divested of a political complexion, and placed upon that high ground, which it should ever occupy before a Christian and a British assembly. For myself, I may say, I am influenced by no personal, party, or political feeling whatever. During seven years of my short life, I have been the advocate of the negro's rights—his advocate in labour, and peril, and much weakness; and during that period, I have never delivered a political speech, and I consider it a high compliment to be told by one who has heard me speak frequently, that he knows not yet, what political sentiments I cherish. I can tell this assembly however, that I stand before them with feelings of pure loyalty to my Sovereign, with profound respect for her Government, and with a desire to yield, in the fear of God, obedience to the law of the land. While I feel this as a Citizen, I remember at the same time, that I am the servant of the King of Kings, and the friend and brother of the outcast and oppressed negro, and that I am found to vindicate the

integrity of the Divine Law, and to labour to release the prisoner held in cruel and unjust chains.

When last among you, though a stranger, you kindly received me, you patiently heard me, you flatteringly commended me. If I had then aught of title to your indulgence and good opinion, permit me to say, that my claim is not diminished. I appear before you with the same uncompromising hatred of slavery, and the same devotion to the cause of the injured negro.

Never did I present myself before an audience of my countrymen to discharge a more delicate or painful duty than that which truth and justice—a proper regard for my own character, and the character of those with whom I labour, and the interests of a million of the human race have this day devolved upon me. I desire to fling away every petty and personal feeling, and without passion and without partiality, to address myself to the subject before us, under a controlling sense of my responsibility to Him, by whose revealed will we should be guided in all our efforts to benefit the condition of our fellow-creatures.

The speeches of the gentleman who introduced the first Resolution, and my friend who seconded him, have rendered unnecessary any further details respecting the character and workings of the Apprenticeship System. I shall not, therefore, weary you with long quotations from parliamentary papers; still less, with a repetition of the stale steryotyped calumnies of Aldermanbury, or the apocryphal writings of Joseph Sturge, but direct your notice to the contents of the pamphlet now in my

hand, which has been already referred to by the gentleman who sits below me. This pamphlet purports to be a speech delivered by an honourable Baronet, closely connected with this Borough. The rank and character of its author, the situation which he fills, the circumstances under which it was uttered, and the facts and allegations which it contains, all entitle it to—I may go farther and say, lay us under a solemn obligation to bestow upon it—a calm and serious consideration. Of the honourable Baronet, as a private individual, I will speak with all possible respect. I am perfectly aware, that his virtues and excellencies have obtained for him a very high character amongst all who know him. But while I pay a deserved tribute to his private worth, I must claim the privilege of speaking of his public conduct, according to the views I entertain of the tendency of his Colonial policy.

The speech before us, was delivered in the House of Commons, on the 29th of March, in support of Lord Glenelg's Bill, and in opposition to the motion of Sir George Strickland—in support of the measure of the Cabinet—in opposition to the will of the country. It contains a number of grave and weighty accusations against the promoters and supporters of the present movement in favour of the immediate extinction of the Apprenticeship.

Sir George Grey charges the abolitionists—

1. With practising frauds at public meetings:—
2. With suppressing evidence:—
3. With delaying the publication of information until it could serve the purposes of popular excitement:—

4. With having "an invincible aversion to Parliamentary Committees, because they are there subjected to cross-examination; because their allegations are there capable of being sifted and scrutinized; and because there, evidence may be adduced to rebut some of those allegations, and a full and comprehensive view of the whole case may be presented:"—

5. With having "importuned Members of the House of Commons not to listen to the arguments on both sides of the question, not to decide calmly and dispassionately after they had heard it discussed, but to pledge themselves before-hand to support a motion which had never before been brought forward in Parliament, and on which no opportunity had been afforded for argument or debate:"—

6. With a determination to bring the Apprenticeship to a "*violent* termination:"—

Many other charges are insinuated, but these being the most distinct and tangible, I have selected them for the purpose of attempting a refutation of them before you the people of Devonport this day. You will admit, that these are fearful allegations to bring against persons professing to be influenced by benevolent and Christian motives. Either they are true or they are false. If true, what are we? If false, what is the man who brings them? For myself,—standing at the bar of my country,—I plead, "Not Guilty." I disown, in my own behalf, and, if you please, in your behalf, the truth of these charges, and declare, that he who made them either knew us not, or knowing us, wilfully and cruelly misrepresented us.

But it may be said, "the honourable Baronet will certainly bring forward evidence in support of his accusations." We shall see. He ushers in his speech by saying:—

"I rejoice that now, though for the first time, this question is about to obtain a fair, dispassionate hearing. I pledge myself, before I sit down, to show, that the facts of the case do not bear out the statements which have been made, and the resolutions which have been adopted at the meetings to which I have alluded."

Here then, we have the statements which have been made, and the resolutions which have been adopted by the Abolitionists, placed on one side, and the facts proving their inaccuracy and unsoundness on the other. Fortunately for the interests of truth, all our statements and resolutions are upon record. Even our desultory conversations, during the meetings of Delegates in London, before and after dinner, and after tea, and after supper, (for we toiled, and spoke, and cogitated at all hours), have been reported; and often with such correctness, as to make us blush on the morrow to see our nonsense in print. Let me not be misunderstood. I speak of errors in phraseology not of principle, and I dare say, any friend who cried "hear," has by this time discovered, that it is sometimes difficult to put our thoughts into the best language. I say, that fortunately for the ends of truth, our statements and arguments are all in print. Our summary of punishments—our contrasts of food—"our case made out"—our analysis of Colonial laws—our description of tread-

mills, and prisons, and hospitals are all in print, and have been scattered over the country. Of course, they were produced as evidence against us. All these, and more, were laid upon the table of the House of Commons in proof of the delinquencies charged against us; and, as the honourable Baronet proceeded with his speech, he called up document after document as witnesses against us. Such a course was rendered the more necessary by the fact, that the honourable Baronet repeatedly charged us with making unsupported assertions, and suppressing testimony favourable to the accused party. How will you wonder then to learn that the honourable Baronet not only did not quote against us the mass of our printed documents, but that he did not condescend to cite a "solitary case," to sustain the heavy charges he brought against us. He arraigned, tried, and condemned the accused, without producing one tittle of proof against him, and without permitting him to call one witness to his character. If this be justice, we have made an extraordinary discovery, and may henceforth save ourselves much trouble, and our country much expense, by constituting certain persons, what Sir George Grey constituted himself, accuser, witness, juryman, and judge. (A gentleman near the platform here called, "Order, order,") Sir, I shall endeavour to keep to order. I think I am perfectly justified in saying, that Sir George Grey should have supported his charges by proof from our printed documents. He should have said, "here is a *fabrication*," putting in a document; "here a *fraud*," putting in

another; "here a *falsehood,*" putting in a third; "here an *exaggeration,*" putting in a fourth; "this is a *solitary case,*" putting in a fifth; "these resolutions are unsound in principle; these, incorrect in statement." I say, such a course was rendered necessary by the mode in which the honourable Baronet thought fit to argue the question. But, if it be contended, that our side of the case was too well known to require the production of any of our documents, and were I disposed for a moment to admit it, I am justified in requiring at least, that the honourable Baronet's own documents make out a contrary case, and clearly demonstrate,—

1. The falsehood of our statements.
2. The necessity for continued restraint, and "modified coercion."
3. The justice and impartiality of existing laws.
4. The independence and efficiency of the magistracy.
5. The general kindness of the masters.
6. The danger of immediate emancipation.

It appears to me necessary to make good these propositions, before the prayer of the abolitionists is pronounced unreasonable and unjust. But I must return to notice the specific charges brought against the prime agitators of the question. And, first, with respect to the frauds alleged to have been committed at public meetings.—

Mr. Tripe put it to the meeting, whether the immediate question before them was not that of Negro Emancipation?—(Order, order.) As to whether the

Government of the country had been in error, in pursuing the course they had done, and were doing, with this question, any observations, it seemed to him, however strong, however luminous, would have a double intention.—(No, no.)—He should object, on principle, to placing Sir George Grey in an invidious position, with regard to his constituency—

Mr. Thompson:—I rise to order. If the gentleman speaks to order, let him do so; but if he intends to make a set speech——

Mr. Tripe again rose, and made a few remarks, when the Mayor declared that he did not consider Mr. Thompson to have been out of order. If he was not allowed to comment on Sir George Grey's speech, he did not see how he could substantiate his argument. —(Loud cheers.)

Mr. Thompson resumed,

Sir, I thought the most honourable, manly, and English mode of encountering opinions adverse to my own, if denied the opportunity of refuting those opinions in the place where they were delivered, was to come where my opponent was best known and most loved—where his friends were found thick as leaves in Vallambrosa—that in such a place, if I attacked his private character, or sought to sully his fair fame, or to remove him from the pedestal to which the suffrages of an admiring constituency had placed him, he might be defended by honest and generous hearts, and eloquent and persuasive lips. I did not dream that it would be more honourable to commence the war in the East,

when my enemy's strong hold was in the West. I have already solemnly denied being influenced by any political feeling. Who, after that denial, dares impute to me a party object. My motto is, "Perish names and parties, and live the cause of man, and the Law of God." Who makes this a political question? I, who humbly strive to lift it far above the considerations of parties, and the atmosphere of politics, or they who would make it subordinate to the schemes of a faction, and sacrifice the interests of the negro at the base shrine of political expediency? Sir, you shall judge between us. It will not, I think be difficult to identify this day those who would make this a political question. I cannot permit myself to consider for a moment the effect of my speech upon the parliamentary interests of Sir George Grey. I have expressed my respect for his private character, and have pronounced an honest eulogium upon his talents: if that be not enough, his friends must indeed be greedy. I have given him credit for many virtues and good intentions, but I cannot forget, that in proportion to the influence of his name and character is his ability to do mischief, should his policy be a mistaken one—should he uphold a system which equity cannot sanction—which justice cannot approve. I have in my hand a printed speech which has been extensively circulated. I intend to comment upon the arguments and facts here brought forward, and as I see it also in the hands of the gentleman near me, who will, doubtless, track me in my course, let me say, that if I garble, or twist, or pervert

any passage, I will permit you to brand me on the forehead as an unfair and disreputable opponent. It is said, I am attacking Sir George Grey in his absence. This charge I deny. He is here present amongst us in this printed speech. He is in many other places besides: and, surely, while he is spreading contagion in many places, I may be permitted to supply the antidote in one.

1. Now for the charge, that we have practised frauds at public meetings. This must be noticed or I cannot proceed. If it is proved, then I have no business here. If this charge is deserved, you ought to hiss me from this platform; but if it be false, you ought to shield me from my calumniator. "Frauds have been practised at public meetings!" We ask, "when?" "where?" "by whom?" what was the nature of the frauds?" To these questions no answer is returned. They are utterly unsubstantiated. Oh, I am glad to see my friend turning over the pages of the speech to find the "frauds." Let him shew me *one*, and

> "As truly as to Heaven I would confess
> The vices of my blood."

So truly will I acknowlege the sin we have committed, and amply atone to the honourable Baronet whom I here publicly accuse of propagating a cruel and injurious falsehood. The first charge then falls to the ground for want of proof.

2. Next the suppression of evidence. Sir George Grey considers us, I suppose, guilty of suppressing the

testimonies he has supplied in this speech. He shall have the full benefit of this argument. We will notice at leisure the evidence he has brought forward, for I intend, before I leave this platform, to make out my case from this book. There is, however, a specific case referred to; namely, the case of James Williams. It is alleged, that the facts in his narrative were purposely concealed until they could be made to serve the ends of popular excitement. A simple story will set this matter right. That excellent man Joseph Sturge, whose name is synonimous with whatever is pure in principle, and truthful in statement, and honourable in conduct, and humane in feeling, went out as a missionary of humanity, as he is justly termed, to the West Indies. While there, examining as he did, many negroes touching their condition, he examined James Williams. He gave important evidence, but the fact having transpired, it seemed likely that James Williams would suffer some disadvantage, Mr. Sturge, therefore, did what cannot be too highly commended—he bought out of the hands of his master the remaining term of his apprenticeship, and said to him, "You are free; you cannot now suffer for any thing you have said touching your own sufferings, or those of your fellow-slaves." He brought the young man to England without any intention of publishing his narrative, and the idea of giving it to the world was suggested by another, who, in questioning James Williams, and drawing from him many facts he had never divulged to Mr. Sturge, deemed it of importance that the world should

have the benefit of the revelation he had made. The first copy of the pamphlet was sent wet from the press to the Colonial Office, and laid upon the desk of Sir George Grey. So much for the charge of concealment.

3. What proof does Sir George Grey give of our invincible aversion to Parliamentary Committees? None. Let us see if this charge is borne out by the "facts of the case." Who obtained the Committee that inquired into the horrors of the Slave Trade? *The Abolitionists.* Who, years ago, sought a Committee to inquire into the foul deeds perpetrated at Mauritius? *The Abolitionists.* Who moved for the Committee that produced the ponderous volume of evidence which my friend there (Mr. Dowson) has so industriously conned over? *The Abolitionists.* Who denied that Committee for more than Six Months? *The Government.* Hear Mr. Buxton.

"Failing in all my endeavours to avert the apprenticeship, I concluded my remonstrances; and recorded my sense of the impracticability of the System, by proposing to insert these words in the preamble, 'And whereas it is not unreasonable to expect persons to work without wages—'

The apprenticeship was, however, enacted, and came into operation in August, 1834. So soon were my fears confirmed as to the working of it, that *on the* 19*th of June*, 1835, *I moved for a Select Committee* 'to inquire whether the conditions on which the twenty millions were granted, had been complied with.' I showed that the terms of the agreement had not been fulfilled by the planters, and I added, 'I am sure I speak the sense of the House, when I declare

the twenty millions ought not to be paid.' I warned the House of the feeling that would arise in the country, in these terms: 'Should they find that slavery, or something very like it, continues; that the planters, having taken their money, disappoint their hopes; it will kindle a flame of indignation *against all such as withstand inquiry*, while the money is yet safe in our coffers, such as no government will be able to resist.

"The events of the succeeding year, were by no means calculated to change my views of the apprenticeship; and accordingly, *on the 22nd March*, 1836, *I moved the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the working of the apprenticeship system.* I then said, 'Nearly two years have expired, and it is time to inquire, whether any attempt has been made to evade our statute, or to defraud us of any portion of that freedom, which cost us so much. I say, there has been such an attempt, and, what is worse, the attempt has been hitherto successful:' and after some further remarks, I added, 'I now proceed to show, that it is not trifles they aim at; but that now—when the money is hardly in their pockets, when one would suppose they had hardly recovered from their amazement at their good fortune in getting twenty millions for that which was not a loss, but a gain,—even now, at the very outset, they are attempting to lay hands, not on trifles, but on the essential features and sacred principles of the Abolition law.' I then proceeded to show the glaring breaches of contract in their legislation; and added 'My second complaint is, that the law bad as it is, is better than the practice.'"

I am told, that Sir George Grey voted for the first Committee. Though not before aware of the fact, I am ready to give him the benefit of it. My case remains

the same. The charge against us is unjust. I have shown you, that the abolitionists have no aversion to Parliamentary Committees, and least of all for the reasons assigned.

In further proof of the anxious wish of the Abolitionists to promote inquiry upon the subject, I may state, that after the loss of the motion in June, 1835, the London Committees prepared an able Memorial, setting forth the character of the laws of the Colonies, and the actual condition of the apprenticed population, appending thereto a number of authentic documents: which Memorial was presented on behalf of the Anti-Slavery and Abolition Societies of the United Kingdom to Lord Glenelg. This Memorial is dated the 14th of August, 1835.*

* The following are the concluding paragraphs of the Memorial:—

"Your Memorialists now conclude a painful duty, which they owed to the Government, the public, and themselves. Unwilling without sufficient information to spread alarm, they forebore, perhaps too long, the expressions of their fears for the safe working of a dangerous experiment.

"But, if this delay has led to the conviction, that their jealousy was not misplaced, it must furnish an ample justification of the position they now re-assume, after allowing the planters the fairest trial of the new system, and the fullest opportunity of convincing the world, that a wrong estimate had not been formed of their incurable aversion to all safe and satisfactory methods of improving the condition of the bondsmen.

"Henceforward, the attitude of the friends of emancipation must be one of unabated and unceasing vigilance; may they be permitted to hope, it will likewise be one of cordial co-operation in the beneficent designs of Government? Their own course is fixed, for they are

Not yet satisfied with their efforts to promote a spirit of inquiry in the Colonial Office, and in the minds of Members of Parliament, the London Anti-Slavery Committee, on the 1st of March, 1836, published a pamphlet of 68 pages, entitled "Statements and Observations on the working of the Laws for the Abolition of Slavery, throughout the British Colonies; and on the present state of the negro population." At last the Committee was obtained, and the result was, the publication of the volume referred to by Mr. Towson. That gentleman has given you some extracts from the evidence in question, in vindication of the Government, and of their present measure. Has that gentleman read the evidence through? Has he pondered well the analysis of the Laws of Jamaica, as furnished by Mr. Jeremie? Has he digested the evidence touching the actual condition of the Negroes? If he has, I think he must admit that our case is established. I know the Committee refused to recommend the abolition of the apprenticeship, and, that Mr. Buxton (unfortunately, as I think) agreed to the report; but in justice to that distinguished Philanthropist, I must give his own explanation of his reasons for that course, and his deliberate views of the Apprenticeship System. I quote from a Letter to Lord John Russell, dated April 18th, 1838.

solemnly pledged to themselves and to the country, to spare no prudent exertions, and to leave no constitutional means untried, until the last vestiges of slavery shall have merged in perfect and unconditional freedom."

"From the first day on which Lord Stanley's scheme was propounded, to the present hour, I have had but one mind on the subject, viz: that the apprenticeship was unjust in principle,—indefensible in policy,—an anomalous, unnatural, and unnecessary state of things; and in practice, as the practice has unfolded itself, worse than in theory. For a proof of this assertion, I need only refer to my reported speeches and proceedings in 1833, and I might add ever since.

"The inquiry for which I moved was conceded, and the charge of inconsistency now made against me, is chiefly grounded on the report of that Committee, in which I am said fully and *bonâ fide* to have concurred. It is true, I did acquiesce in it, but under certain circumstances, which I will now explain. Two of the members who generally agreed with me on this point, were unavoidably absent, and after I had given notice of my intention to divide the Committee, on the paragraph approving of the apprenticeship, it was intimated to me by the remainder of my usual supporters, that I should be alone in my vote. My object therefore, being, not a fruitless show, but the greatest possible amount of real good, I considered it to be best for the interest of the negro, to abstain from dividing the Committee, (which indeed I could hardly have done, for want of a seconder,) on condition, that I should be at liberty to frame the words in which the report should claim entire and unqualified freedom after the expiration of the apprenticeship. I thought it right to exchange the ceremony of a fruitless division, for the practical benefit of this declaration.

"As far, therefore, as my opinions are of any consequence, I trust that it is now clear, that from the beginning, I have denied the justice,—the policy,—the necessity,—and the success of the apprenticeship scheme. Three great errors have, as I think, been committed.—1*st*. The establishment

of the apprenticeship at all.—I have shown, that from first to last, I protested against it. *2ndly*. The declaration of the Home Government, that the Jamaica Act was adequate and satisfactory;—when this came to my knowledge, I protested that it was inadequate and unsatisfactory, and moved, an inquiry. *3rdly*. The payment of the money before we had attained the object for which it was granted."

The charge of invincible aversion to Parliamentary Committees, is, I have reason to believe, founded upon the protest which the abolitionists felt it their duty some months ago to enter against the re-appointment of a Committee, to inquire into the laws and practices of the Colonies under the Abolition Act. No individual had a better opportunity of knowing the reasons for that protest than Sir George Grey; and had he stated them as made known in a Memorial to Lord Melbourne, read in his presence in November last, he would have shewn, that the abolitionists were not the enemies of truth, but the lovers of justice, when they solemnly protested against the re-appointment of the Committee of Inquiry. The following passage from the Memorial referred to, is a triumphant refutation of the charge brought against them:—

"We further beg to state to your Lordship, that the proof and evidence for the justification of such a measure,—if it ought not rather to rest on the eternal principles of justice and truth, and the solid basis of our own free constitution, —are, in our opinion, already made so abundant and complete by Official and Parliamentary documents, as to render any Committee of Inquiry in either House of Parliament *unnecessary*—that we should deprecate such a course of

proceeding *as calculated only to serve the purpose of mischievous delay, to defeat the ends of justice, and to prolong the misery of the negro;* and we do THEREFORE, most earnestly and respectfully entreat your Lordship to resist such a proposal."

4. We are charged with importuning honourable members not to hear both sides of the question. In the name of the abolitionists of this Empire, I deny the justice of the charge. That honourable members have been reminded of their duty to the negro, and of the wishes of their constituents; and have been earnestly requested to vote in favour of immediate abolition, I most frankly acknowledge. I will say more—and beg to be understood as stating my solemn and deliberate opinion. The man who is not prepared to release the negro from every unjust and blood-guilty compact by which he is held in unpaid and involuntary servitude, in defiance of the righteous law of God, is untaught in the very elements of morality, and unfit to be a Legislator for a Christian people. Sirs, I am glad you cheer that sentiment. Yes, there is a code above all other codes—"a law above all other laws"—and every earthly arrangement which weakens or sets aside the authority of that Law which has been given to keep the world in order, and that Gospel which is to bring the millenium to its birth, is fit only to be abhorred and broken up; and the man whose allegiance to God is not strong enough to overcome the difficulty of an unholy human contract, is, I repeat it, unfit to represent a Christian community in the year 1838.

The efforts of abolitionists through fifty years have been directed to the work of exhibiting both sides of the question. It was the work of Mr. Clarkson to reveal the dark side for the first time, to men who had previously heard only of the benefits conferred upon the African by the now-accursed Slave Trade. The life of Mr. Wilberforce was spent in impressing upon the House of Commons the duty of looking at both sides of the question. The promoters of the present effort have been as anxious as any of their predecessors that both sides should be impartially examined. Yet, when the nation cries for justice, and weeping mercy entreats on behalf of the African in bonds, a voice from the Treasury Bench is heard saying: "allay your excitement,"—"silence your complaints,"—"withdraw your claims,"—"we have not yet heard both sides of the question." It is not our fault if both sides of the question are not understood. Volume upon volume has been filled with evidence for the special benefit of those, whom we are charged with a desire to warp from the path of even justice. The volume which Mr. Towson seems to think makes out so good a case for the Government and Special Magistrates, has been upon the table of the House of Commons for nearly two years. These and all the other documents upon which our representations are founded, are, and ever have been accessible, and ought to be, by this time, perfectly familiar to our Legislators; and if we now call upon them to give a decision in favour of freedom and justice, I think, we ought not to be charged with

seeking to stifle discussion. What after all is the question? It is simply this. Ought men to be compelled to work without wages? When honourable gentlemen have decided that point according to the word of God, which declares the labourer to be worthy of his hire, and calls upon masters to give unto their servants that which is just and equal, they will be prepared to act righteously upon this subject, and not till then. In dismissing this charge, I shall only further say, that we flatly deny its truth, and challenge investigation into the means we have taken to secure an equitable decision upon the claims of the defrauded negro.

Lastly, it is said, we are determined to bring about a "violent termination" of the present system. If these words have any meaning, we are represented as the friends of spoliation and blood. Is this charge really merited? If it is, then let the execration of the community be ours. But if it is not, then we have a right to charge Sir George Grey with the deliberate utterance of another false and cruel charge. That honourable Baronet ought by this time to know, that the weapons of our warfare are not carnal. That we are not preachers of sedition and vengeance to the negro. Were we, however, disposed to recommend resistance to tyrants, we need not travel far for precedents. There have been such things as Polish meetings, and Greek Loans, and gatherings to celebrate "the three glorious days of July," and to applaud the revolutionary Belgians, and to send consecrated banners to the field

of blood, and to offer sympathy and support to exiled Patriots. Yes, and it is considered the peculiar glory of our country, that its shores are an asylum for the oppressed of all nations,—that the patriot Pole, driven from his home by the haughty Czar—the exiled Greek, far from his sunny Isles—that every struggler for freedom, red from the field where tyranny has unhorsed him, may find a welcome and a safe retreat upon our soil. Tell me, men of Devonport! did the exiles of Siberia, or the brave youths of Paris, or the victims of the turbaned Turk, ever fight in a holier cause than that in which the negro would be engaged, were he to take the field against the men who kept him in slavery? Tell me, if any or all of these whom I have named, ever offered as a justification of their resort to arms, a list of grievances longer or blacker than that which every apprenticed negro in the West Indies presents, to kindle the sympathies and enlist the moral energies of this generous nation? Yet we have never preached the doctrine of resistance. Our precepts have been always pure and pacific. Our messengers have been men of God. Our gifts have been Bibles and not bayonets. While striving through long years to wring from the Legislature of the country a recognition of the negro's rights, our advice to the sufferer has been, "Art thou called, being a slave, care not for it, but if thou mayest be free, use it rather." Yet, in the face of all our endeavours to stay the effusion of blood, and to work out, by moral means, the liberty of them that are in bonds, we are told, that we carry

not the olive branch of peace, but the sword of war, and would effect the "*violent* termination" of the existing state of things. The propagator of this charge cannot know us. I am constrained to impeach his understanding that I may spare his heart. We repel the charge of being friends to violence. The friends of peace we have been—the friends of peace we still remain; and we tell the Government, that they must for many years to come keep back the hire of the labourer, and rob the negro of his rights, ere we become the friends of rapine, and vengeance, and blood. I have done, for the present, with Sir George Grey's charges, and proceed to look at the facts with which he seeks to overturn our case.

Let me briefly state that case? Fraudulent registration. Neglect or abuse of classification. Exorbitant valuations. The eight hours system. Excessive punishments. Flogging of women. Licentious and cruel practices in Houses of Correction. Abuses of the Hospital system. Denial of customary allowances and indulgences. Obstruction of Magistrates. Incurable obstinacy of Colonial Assemblies, and repugnancies in their Laws to the spirit and letter of the Abolition Act.

On all these points the abolitionists have furnished ample evidence, taken from parliamentary volumes, upon the law and practice of the Colonies—volumes which record a state of things utterly at variance with the purpose for which the Abolition Act was passed, and with the repeated assurances given from time to time by the Government, respecting the working of the system.

This statement of our case is almost entirely overlooked by the honourable Baronet. He deems it sufficient to quote extracts from Governors and Magistrates in proof of the improved condition, and industrious habits of the negro. The testimony he supplies, is, however, very convincing, and I do not despair of demonstrating the reasonableness and justice of our present movement from the pages now before us.

The first point which I shall illustrate by the quotations made in this speech, is,

THE FITNESS OF THE NEGRO FOR FREEDOM.

The following extracts are from the Report of Special Justice Daughtry:—

"With partial exceptions, the conduct of the apprentices has continued to be favourable. They are gradually performing their labour with more apparent willingness and good humour.

* * * * * *

"The disposition to work for money-wages is increasing. Some plantations which had been suffered to run almost into a wilderness before the commencement of the apprenticeship, by the diversion of the strength to other objects, as, for instance, the cultivation of ginger, have been nearly restored during the last few months, solely by labour obtained from apprentices *in their own time.* It has become now, I think, a matter of general observation that *they do more on a free labour day than on a compulsory day*, and yet on occasions of this sort they are often far *less strictly superintended. They appear actually ashamed to skulk on a* HIRED *day.*"

Mr. Lyon reports :—

" In taking a review of the interval that has elapsed since my last quarterly Report, I am happy to have the opportunity of asserting, that nothing has occurred to indicate any alteration in the general *good conduct and industrious disposition of the apprentices of this district*—a grateful fact, which furnishes me with no opportunity of original remark."

Mr. Carnaby says :—

" I have much pleasure in reporting, that the apprentices in my district are *well disposed*, and that their conduct for the last quarter has been both *quiet* and *orderly ;* they perform their work *cheerfully*.

* * * * * *

" *Voluntary task-work* is becoming more general, and in the digging of cane-holes and cleaning the cane-pieces, *answers well.*

" I have, within the last few months, observed an improved disposition on the part of the apprentices to labour in their own time FOR HIRE, for which they receive from 2*s*. 6*d*. to 3*s*. 4*d*. per day.

"The greater number of attornies and managers give many of the old allowances. Those withholding, form the exceptions, and do so either from the poverty of the property, or their own bigotted and illiberal notions."

Mr. Lyon, at a later period, writes,—

" From the commencement of the apprenticeship I have been anxiously and unremittingly watching the development and the beneficial progress of freedom. In superintending the administration of the Abolition Law in this district, *during a period of more than two years and a half, I*

have had the gratification to report favourably of the conduct of the apprentices, to speak well of the condition of the estates, and, in announcing that crime had decreased, to represent that the decorum of social life was daily being better understood and observed by the labouring population, and that *the example of those who were released by purchase from their apprenticeship* was likely to have a beneficial influence upon the habits and feelings of the remaining bond-servants."

Mr. Grant, in April 1837, says,—

"It affords me much pleasure to have to state, for the information of his Excellency the Governor, that, since my last quarterly report, the apprentices generally in this extensive district have conducted themselves with very *great propriety*, paying *strict attention to their duty*, and respectful and obedient to persons in authority over them in almost every instance *where persons, by conciliatory and kind acts, show themselves deserving of, and entitled to, respect and obedience.*

"There is in general a good feeling between the apprentices and their employers. To an intelligent manager it is very evident that, on the cultivation of a good feeling between himself and his apprentices, altogether depends the success of his endeavours for the benefit of the property under his charge; yet *there are men who imagine that nothing can be done but by coercion*, who watch every action of an apprentice in the endeavour to find something wrong, and for this have him or her (if possible) punished. The exceptions, however, to a general good feeling between both parties in my district are, I am glad to say, very very few; in those few instances, however, where a bad feeling does exist, I have no hesitation in attributing its cause to the irritability of the managers, in whose minds

no thought of conciliation ever enters. *The apprentices generally perform their work willingly, and well;* they know that they have a duty to perform, and, *far from evincing any desire to elude that duty, they seem to perform it with pleasure,*"

On the 1st July, 1837, Mr Fishbourne says,—

"The general conduct of the apprentices in my district, since my last general quarterly report, has been *peaceable* and *industrious;* they perform their labour *well* and *willingly.*"

Mr. Edward Baynes says,—

"An *increasing desire for knowledge* and improvement is apparent among them; it manifests itself now in the general acceptance of the truths of Christianity, in the enlarged attendance on places of public worship, in the increasing attention to personal decency and comfort in their apparel and houses, and in the signally intelligent questions which they often put, on a variety of subjects, to those who have inclination or leisure to converse with them."

These extracts amount I think, together, to conclusive evidence of the fitness of the negro for immediate and entire freedom. Sir George Grey here demonstrates — that the negro is willing to work for hire,—that he is ashamed to skulk when labouring for wages—that by voluntary exertion, properties suffered to become barren, have been restored—that just in proportion as the rigours of the system have been relaxed, the apprentice has risen from a sullen slave into a grateful labourer, and that

there is a thirst for knowledge, which can only be satisfied when complete freedom shall throw down the hindrances to general instruction. A gentleman present would have me read from the top to the bottom of every page, but I maintain, that, I have made my extracts with fairness. My object is to demonstrate the injustice of withholding liberty from the negro—the crime committed by plundering him of the righteous recompense, due to him as a cultivator of the soil. And now, I demand in the name of whatever is honest and English, if these human beings can be longer kept in their state of bondage without the commission of an enormous sin. If they are fit for freedom; and this pamphlet proves them to be as fit for that boon as any who now hear me—then, great must be the guilt of those, who sanction for another hour the continuance of a system which deprives them of the liberty of the British subject, and keeps back their hire by fraud.

Having given you the evidence which this speech contains respecting the character and conduct of the negro, I proceed to quote a few of the passages with which it abounds, proving the existence of many of the evils of which we have complained.

ADMISSION OF EXISTING EVILS.

In the extracts from the despatches of the Marquis of Sligo and Sir Lionel Smith, to Lord Glenelg, I find the following:

The Marquis of Sligo says,—

"I know several attornies who continue *their old system*

of exacting the pound of flesh, which I unhesitatingly pronounce to be the worst possible policy, and that many a proprietor in England will deeply suffer if they do not throw on one side all the nonsense which is so prevalent about the negro character not being known."

Again,—

"*These people have, in many instances, had all their former allowances of food and indulgences stopped from them*, and for some unwillingness to labour, or some reason whether deservedly or not, *their Saturdays are often taken from them;* how then are they to exist BUT BY THEFT?"

Again,—

"Your Lordship having been pleased in your despatches of the 24th April and of the 14th June, to direct me to turn my attention to some enactments to remedy the deficiencies in the Abolition Law, for the purpose of preventing the perpetration of *such cruelties* as are therein alluded to, I have the honour to state, and I do so with much pain, that *the necessity for such enactments becomes every day more and more apparent to me*, and that the hope I entertained of the existence generally of ameliorated feelings, though justified in many instances, is not universal."

Sir Lionel Smith says,—

"*Unfortunately we have nothing but the usages of slavery to insist on, without any positive law to enforce them.* The only expedient we have is to direct the special justices not to award any punishment for insufficiency of work, occasioned by that want of necessary assistance which they are fairly entitled to."

And again—

"On *well-regulated estates* those usages and indulgences

have never been withdrawn, and the system is working satisfactorily; but it is where managers or overseers, having *only a temporary interest in the properties*, disregard the present welfare of the labourers, and the future benefit of proprietors, that discontents and complaints are created, alike injurious to the working classes, and to the character of the community."

The value of this extract would have been increased, had the honourable Baronet given the number of "well regulated estates," in comparison with the number of those managed by persons "having only a temporary interest in the properties." I believe the number of estates in Jamaica, managed for absentees, by persons possessing only a "temporary interest," in their prosperity, are as ten to one in comparison with those under the management of resident and *bona fide* proprietors.

Again,—

"I believe *all parties would be glad to abandon the system to-morrow for further compensation.* When asked my opinion on that subject, I have deprecated its absurdity, because I felt convinced no Ministry could go to Parliament for an additional grant towards negro freedom; or would it, in my opinion, be desirable, *if* we could get the local Abolition Law revised and improved. As it stands, *I denounce it the worst law* of all the late slave Colonies."*

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* It is highly important to refer to the attempt made by Sir Lionel Smith to amend the law, here referred to. On the 31st of October, 1837, Sir Lionel sent a message to the House of Assembly in Jamaica, containing certain proposals, "materially bearing on the welfare of the apprentices." The following is an extract from that

I pause here a moment to notice the word *compensasation.* No word is more frequently used, either by the West Indian or the Minister than the word compensation. But when is it ever used with reference to

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message. It is worthy of the most serious attention. I would draw particular notice to the fourth paragraph.

" 1st. The magistrates' reports show that on some estates *the apprentices have been deprived of cooks and water-carriers while at work in the field;* thus the time allowed for breakfast, instead of being a period of rest, is one of continued labour, as they have to seek for fuel and to cook.

" The depriving them of water-carriers is still more injurious, as *the workmen are not allowed to quit their rows to obtain it.* Both these privations are detrimental to the planter's work.

" 2nd. A law seems wanting to supply the estates' hospitals with *sufficient attendants on the sick apprentices,* as well as for the *supply of proper food,* as they cannot depend on their own grounds whilst unable to leave the hospitals. The 16th clause of the Abolition Law has not been found strong enough to secure these necessary attentions to the sick.

" 3rd. In regard to jobbers, more exposed to hardships than any other class, a law is greatly required, allowing them the distance they may have to walk to their work, at the rate of three miles an hour, and for compelling the parties hiring them to supply them with salt food and meal. Their grounds are oftentimes so many miles distant it is impossible for them to supply themselves; hence, constant complaints and irregularities.

" 4th. *The mothers of six children and upwards, pregnant women, and the aged of both sexes, would be greatly benefitted by a law enforcing the kind treatment* WHICH THEY RECEIVED IN SLAVERY, but which is now considered optional, or is altogether avoided on many properties.

" 5th. Nothing would tend more to promote general contentment and repress the evils of comparative treatment than the issue of

the negro? I may be told, that the Bill now on its way to the Colonies is intended to compensate the injured slave. But will it, if it accomplishes all it promises give compensation for the past? Will this Bill re-kindle life in the murdered victims of apprenticeship oppression? Will it give vigour, and beauty, and purity, to the wasted, the withered, and the polluted? Will it heal scars? Will it restore innocence? Is it compensation to the living or the dead, to say, "You shall not be treated so any more?" Is this, Sir, the compensation you would award in this Hall of Justice? Would you give gold upon gold to the

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'fish' as a right by law. *It was an indulgence in slavery* SELDOM DENIED, but on many properties is now withheld, or given for extra labour instead of wages."—*Vide Papers relative to the Abolition of Slavery*, 1838.—Part V. (1) page 330.

Let us now see what expectation the Governor was afterwards led to entertain of the success of his recommendations. Writing to Lord Glenelg, on the 24th of November, 1837, nearly one month after the message above cited, he says,—

"Referring your Lordship to the messages which I early sent to the present House of Assembly, in view to the correction of certain clauses of the Abolition Law, bearing *oppressively* upon the apprentices, I am sorry to inform your Lordship that *I have no hope left* that they will correct the evils I exposed to them, to ensure more just laws for the remaining apprenticeship.

"Your Lordship will see that I cannot report officially on the subject till I get the official answer, but I thought it desirable to give your Lordship the earliest information on *what I am assured will be the fate* of my anxious endeavours to have the laws ameliorated, that your Lordship may make up your mind, and instruct me for my further guidance, when the subject is brought before you in a more tangible shape."

vindictive ruffian, and say to the wretch he had robbed and wounded, "Go your way and be thankful, you shall be protected for the future?" O Sir! what mockery and injustice are mixed up with the discussion of this question. What a system of villany and deception is this scheme of apprenticeship! (At this moment the audience were somewhat startled by a vivid flash of lightning, followed by a loud peal of thunder, and the atmosphere became suddenly darkened by the passing clouds.) Mr. Thompson exclaimed,—Let not these things scare you my good friends. They are emblematical of our cause. The clouds have gathered blackness, and many hearts feel sad. But these clouds shall burst—the lightning of British indignation shall smite the throne of despotism reared in the West—the mild rays of freedom shall light up the Antilles;—and verdure, and freshness, and health, shall succeed the mildew, and the pestilence, and the darkness of slavery.

We proceed to the admissions of Special Justices.

Mr. Higgins says,—

"Whilst I am able to bear testimony to the general good conduct of the negroes, I have much satisfaction also, in having it in my power to commend the proprietors and managers generally, for conducting themselves towards their apprentices in a kinder and more conciliatory manner. Some of the subordinate planters, it is true, *still cling to the old system*, and cannot divest themselves of their former *prejudices towards the negroes;* they at present, however, I am happy to say, compose but a small section of the general body of the planters of this district."

Mr. Baynes says,—

"It is by no means my intention to imply that, even on estates where the reins of discipline are tightest drawn, the negro is labouring under actual oppression and cruelty; my observations are limited to the *short-sighted, perverse, and unconciliatory system, but within the pale of the law*, pursued by some, which, *generating ill-will and resentment in the breast of the apprentice*, will too surely be visited, to his cost, on the proprietor in the sequel."

Mr. Lyon, writing from a new district, says,—

"I have, I trust, succeeded in putting an end to *the system of incarceration in cells, and assault by constables*, and yet I have not had a single complaint of indolence against a gang, and remarkably few complaints by managers against individuals."

Mr. Harris says,—

"The good feeling and friendly understanding, which it has afforded me such pleasure on previous occasions to afford my testimony to and approval of, still reign predominant in the district; and in any case, where the stream thereof might happen to be obstructed, it could only be attributed to *the attempt at exercising by the employer something of the despotic sway of olden times, including a harshness of tone and manner, and ungraciousness*, which the emancipated bondsman or woman cannot be expected to endure, as the affrighted and trembling slave would and must have done. The labouring populations, after a three-years' enfranchisement from thraldom, know too well their rights and liberties; they feel themselves raised and elevated in the scale of existence; and what would once be accounted heinous offences, and punished with severity, can and should now only be considered as a respectful assertion of their rights."

And again,—

"As to the indulgences usually allowed during slavery, my observations and remarks hereon must be the same as those heretofore submitted; they are most usually given; but, as *they are only indulgences, they are liable at any moment, and upon any occasion, to be wholly or partially withheld, and either temporarily or permanently.* Upon the whole, I believe they are allowed, and if at any time withheld, not for any very considerable length of time."

Here then, in the very passages selected by Sir George Grey, for the purpose of proving the kindness of the masters, and the general good condition of the negroes, we find admissions of the existence of the most serious evils. The law is declared unjust. "Some Attornies still exact the pound of flesh." The "Saturday is often taken away," and the negroes are left to thieve. The Home Government, with all its negligence and supineness found it necessary to send out repeated despatches, enumerating "cases of cruelty," and strongly recommending the amendment of the Law. That the necessity for such amendment is "every day more apparent," and that as yet, no amelioration has taken place. That a system of "incarceration in cells, and assaults by constables" has existed, though such practices were altogether illegal, and needless for the management of the negroes. That there are only the "usages of slavery" to insist upon, and "no law to enforce" even those, and that therefore the indulgences granted under the former system "are liable at any moment, and upon any occasion, to be partially or wholly with-

held." Yet, notwithstanding this evidence of the direct and flagrant violation of the Imperial Act, both by the Legislature and individuals, we are told in the very paragraph, by which the extracts I have made are introduced, that

"There has been on the part of the West India proprietors and their agents in the colonies, a *bonâ fide* adherence to the spirit, as well as letter of the Emancipation Act, and that they have given their cordial concurrence, in carrying out the principles of that Act."

Seldom have I been more startled by any declaration, than by this of Sir George Grey's. I know that in the very papers from which the honourable Baronet made his extracts, he had the evidence before him of the existence of the most general and wilful evasions, and violations of the Imperial Act. Could the honourable Baronet, when he made this statement, be ignorant of the failure of the efforts made by the Marquis of Sligo to ameliorate the condition of the negro population? Was he ignorant of the fact, that all the messages sent to the Assembly of Jamaica by that noble Lord had been rejected with scorn and defiance? A *bona fide* adherence to the letter, as well as the spirit of the Abolition Act! Oh! where had modesty and truth flown, when this barefaced assertion was made?—made at the very moment when the utterer was moving the second reading of a Bill, whose very preamble, whose every clause, and section, and sentence, contained proof of the universal and systematic violation of both the purport and specific provisions of the Abolition Act. "A *bona*

fide adherence!" Then why insult, misrepresent, and criminate the Colonies, by making a new law to prevent the flogging of women,—to provide for the support of the sick in hospitals,—to save Special Magistrates from annoyance and defeat in the discharge of their duty, and the consequences of giving a righteous decision? Why then deprive, to a great extent, the Legislative Assemblies of their chartered rights, and place arbitrary and despotic power in the hands of the Governors? Let Sir George Grey reconcile, too, if he can, his bold and unqualified denials, with the Chief Colonial Secretary's admissions. Let him tell the world who is right—he when he declares, that the planters and their agents have yielded a *bona fide* adherence to the spirit, as well as the letter of the Abolition Act, and specially refers to Jamaica as an instance—or Lord Glenelg, when he declares, that with reference to Jamaica, "*evils existed* which might be made the grounds for claiming the abolition of the Apprenticeship System."* If Lord Glenelg be right, then we are justified in the course we have pursued, and Sir George Grey is contradicted by his superior in office, as well as by the Bill he is carrying through the Commons.

Let us now notice for a few moments the reasons which the honourable Baronet assigns, for refusing his consent to a measure of immediate Abolition.

He says, that we are bound in justice to continue

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* Vide Speech of Lord Glenelg in the House of Lords, Tuesday, February 20, 1838.

undiminished and undisturbed the present system, because we have given the planters a lucrative interest in the services of the apprentices. He argues, that the twenty millions was but *a part* of the compensation, and that, deprived of the benefit of any portion of the Apprenticeship, the planters would be so far cheated of their due.

At last, it appears then, that this scheme of "modified coercion" was not intended, as we ignorantly supposed, for the good of the negro, but as *a bonus to the master.* The twenty millions sterling was equal to £25. per head all round, reckoning those past labour, infants, the maimed, the halt, the blind, and the leper, with the able-bodied and productive hands. This, at the time, was deemed generous and ample compensation. We have since been supplied with the proof, that for all the purposes for which they were at first obtained, the negroes are much more valuable as free labourers than before they were as slaves. But, says Sir George Grey, we are not at liberty to depart from our bargain. He sees "no pretence for taking away without compensation, a pecuniary interest conferred and guaranteed by a solemn Act of the Legislature." Now, if it can be shown from Sir George Grey's own speech, first, that the system is unnecessary; secondly, that it is attended with inconvenience and suffering to the apprentice; and, thirdly, that the planters have already received more than the market value of the slaves, we think the Imperial Parliament are more than justified in pronouncing the system at an end, and setting aside

an arrangement entered into evidently under mistake and misapprehension. The two former of these propositions we regard as established. In respect to the third, I shall draw your attention to a very extraordinary passage in the 40th page of Sir George Grey's speech. They are not his own words, but part of a quotation made with much apparent satisfaction from a document from the pen of Mr. Edward Baynes, a gentleman, of whose honour and intelligence, Sir George Grey speaks in the highest terms.

"Land daily increases in value, and THE LABOUR OF APPRENTICES, considered as property, has brought, and is bringing in, for the six years of the apprenticeship, a sum EQUAL TO THREE TIMES THE WHOLE LIFE VALUE OF THE SLAVE, as appraised by commissioned valuators in 1834."

What think you, Sirs, of this testimony? What think you of the bargain now? Twenty-five pounds down upon the nail for every human beast of burden on the estate, and afterwards the exaction of labour "equal to three times the whole life value of the slave, as," mark that! "appraised by *commissioned valuators* in 1834." Do not, I pray you, forget this evidence. Let me tell you also that there is no expression of dissent from Mr. Baynes. No: Mr. Baynes is brought forward to prove the admirable working of the system —to demonstrate the deep pecuniary interest of the master in the unpaid labour of the slave. And what does his evidence, if it be correct, amount to. Why to this—that the working negro will, on the 1st of August,

1840, have paid for himself *three times* over. That, if he be liberated on the 1st of August next, his master will have obtained double his market value, exclusive of the compensation money. What colossal robbery is this! What an unutterably wicked system does Sir George Grey stand forward to defend! Add the value of the negro's labour, as stated in the passage I have read, to the stupendous sum of twenty millions, and you will then have before you the amount of which the planters and the Government have together basely plundered their unhappy victims.

In close connexion with the argument drawn from the planter's beneficial interest in the maintenance of the system, is that of—

THE CONTRACT

into which it is said the parliament and the country have entered with the planters and proprietors.

On this part of the subject, I would observe in the first place, that whether there is in reality any contract, is a question still in dispute. Many eminent men, among whom I may name Lord Brougham (ex-High Chancellor) Lord Denman (Lord Chief Justice) and Mr. O'Connell, argue that there does not exist any contract, and that, therefore, the parliament are at liberty to consult their own pleasure in the steps they shall take upon the matter. Others, distinguished for their learning, as Sir Edward Sugden, distinctly maintain the existence of a contract or compact, but argue that a case has been made out to the whole extent of the

right of the Legislature to set such engagement aside, for the prevention of cruelty and other abuses. I shall not undertake to decide the point at issue according to law. I may, however, state, that the Constitutional functions of the people's Representatives, are according to Blackstone, and all authorities upon the subject, for "the making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, revising, and expounding of Laws, concerning matters of all possible denominations." Hence, it does not appear that parliament can tie up their own hands by any contract. They are to review their former legislation, and to confirm, amend, abridge, and abrogate, as they shall find that previous enactments have accomplished their intentions or otherwise. I would also take leave to doubt the competency of this parliament, to apprentice without their consent, 800,000 human beings, who, had they been left to choose for themselves, would have repudiated such an arrangement. We petitioned the Legislature for the extinction of slavery, not for the establishment of apprenticeship. But, while they nominally abolished slavery, they created by their Imperial authority, a system stamped with many of the most odious features of the slave's former condition. I say again, I doubt the moral competency of the Legislature to do this. What should we say, if, while discussing this subject, a messenger, booted and spurred, should bring us the intelligence, that the night before last, the collective wisdom of the land had seen it right to make us all apprentices for six years, without wages, and had placed us under

the rule of men who were sworn to enforce the law they had enacted? The apprentices, though deeply interested, have never been consulted. They have been denied the privilege of boys of fourteen years of age in this country. Further, we say, that taking the contract, so called, as it stands, there has been such a violation of its conditions on the part of the planters and their Assemblies, as fully warrants the Legislature in setting it aside. For the proof of this, we need not travel beyond the Bill now before parliament, which proceeds upon the ground of a general violation of the former Act—which asserts the necessity of an immediate and vigorous intervention of the Imperial Legislature, to prevent cruelty, restore that which has been taken away, and enable magistrates, whose influence and office have been hitherto despised, to do their duty. Sir George Grey laboured hard in the speech before us to prove that the majority of the planters were "honourable men," although, at the same time, the Bill in his hand arraigned them as ungrateful and flagitious culprits. Surely, if there was neither proof nor suspicion of heinous guilt, it was most unjust and libellous in Sir George Grey to brand them as he did in the Bill of which he took charge.

Again, Did Sir George Grey, when he talked so much about the sacredness of the contract, know that his own Bill violated that contract in several vital particulars? Did he (to quote only one instance) compare the 13th clause of the Act of 1833, with the 38th clause of the present Bill? The former clause gives

authority to the Special Magistrate to bind out children under six years of age, on the 1st of August, 1834, or born after that time, if destitute, to the person or persons entitled to the services of the mothers; such indentures to continue in force until such children shall respectively reach the age of twenty-one years. The latter clause, provides for the termination of all apprenticeships on the 1st of August next, "any thing in the former Act, or in any Indenture to the contrary notwithstanding." Here is a direct violation of the assumed contract. The planter pleads that he has fed, clothed, lodged and nursed the child for a certain number of years, and points to the Act of 1833, which, in consideration of the expense and trouble to which he has been put, gives him the services of the child until it reaches the age of twenty-one. The Act of 1838, annihilates that engagement, and decrees the entire freedom of the child in the year 1840. Far be it from me to find fault with such a decree: but may I not ask if the power which interposes to set aside the indentures of the child who has received every thing, and rendered nothing, is not equally competent to set aside the indenture of the adult, who has rendered every thing, and received nothing?

The essential immorality of this pretended contract, is another and an all-sufficient reason for its immediate abolition. It compels hundreds of thousands of loyal and well-conducted subjects of this realm to give their uncompensated labour for six years. This is an odious and wicked Act, and the more mean and iniquitous,

because perpetrated upon distant, disfranchised, and comparatively friendless beings. Can such a contract be justified in the sight of God? I believe not. Being altogether immoral, it was, *aborigine*, invalid.

We are told that the present Bill will set all to rights. Those who place any reliance upon this assurance will find themselves utterly deceived. It does not set the negro free. It is, therefore, radically and incurably unsound. It does not pretend to give compensation for past injuries. It is, therefore, deficient in justice and compassion. It possesses no self-executing power. It is, therefore, a piece of worthless legislation. It may enlarge the authority of Governors and Special Magistrates, but it will neither change their nature, nor render them omniscient, nor give them the ability to enforce their will. It will be scorned by the proud, evaded by the subtle, and openly set at defiance by the bold and impudent despots of the West Indies. In whatever light we contemplate the Government measure, we are constrained to censure, reject, and condemn it. The remedy is freedom—immediate, entire, and unconditional. Safety, political economy, national honour, philanthropy, and Christian morality, unite to urge upon the Government and Legislature the adoption of such a measure. For what did we petition? Freedom. What did the Government promise? Freedom. For what did we pay twenty millions in 1834? Freedom. What have we in 1838? SLAVERY! What then is our duty to the negro, to ourselves, and to God? It is plain. *To petition and*

agitate for freedom, till we get it. In this sacred cause "England expects every man to do his duty," and to do it at whatever sacrifice of political partialities.

You may be told that your agitation of this question will bring discredit upon the Government, and, perhaps effect their downfall. With these consequences, permit me to say, you have nothing to do. We are not the foes of the Government, but the friends of the negro. Were *they* the negro's friends how gladly would we labour to sustain them! How pleasant it would be to extol them! But while we believe their policy adverse to the rights and welfare of our coloured brethren, we can suffer no similarity of general views —no attachment to particular individuals to draw us aside, or paralize our exertions.

In concluding this address which your patience has permitted to be so protracted, let me remind you of that solemn and vast assembly of which for a moment this meeting may be regarded as the type. In that

"Great day, for which all other days were made,"

we shall be summoned before the bar of an equal God to give account of the deeds done in the body, and THE NEGRO WILL BE THERE. Yes, the now scorned and fettered negro will be *there!* He will be selected as the representative of him who was "despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." In that hour, the individual who will stand forth to test our love of the Saviour, and the sincerity of our Christian profession—will not be the

man who had riches, or rank, or intellect, or beauty—but the poor, the unlovely, the fallen, the helpless—the hungry who wanted bread—the wretched who wanted sympathy—the enslaved who sighed for liberty. And, when the stern Judge shall point to the negro and say, "forasmuch as ye did it not unto the least of my brethren, ye did it not unto me,"—Think ye, it will suffice to say, "Lord! we would have given him liberty—we would have recognized his immortality—we would have clothed him with his rights—we would have brought him under the shelter of our Constitution, and have crowned him with honour and glory—But—our Representative saw not, felt not as we did—we should have disturbed his plans, and, perhaps, have shaken his seat had we followed the dictates of our hearts—had we asserted the rights of our brother!" Or will it be enough to say—"we would have done all our pity and our Christianity moved us to do, but we were too much attached to the Government, or too much afraid of violating a compact!"

I will not believe that there is one here prepared to rise and say, "I would be willing to meet my Judge with such excuses as these." If then, these refuges of lies will not avail us in the last great day, let us not flee to them to-day. Let us forsake the path of political expediency, and bravely resolve to stand or fall by the heaven-born principles of the Gospel. So shall we secure the blessing of the perishing, and the approving verdict of our conscience, and our God; and, it may be, that ere our Virgin Queen is anointed with the consecrated oil,

and her right hand grasps the sceptre—and the shout of "Long Live Victoria,"—"Long Live the Queen," rends the air; the news may be wafted over the Atlantic, that England has done justice to the slave—so shall the grateful hymn of the ransomed negro, echo the loud acclaim of Westminster Abbey.

[*Note.*—The able letter to the *British Emancipator*, appended to this Speech, will show with what impartiality Sir George Grey is in the habit of quoting official documents. It will repay a very careful perusal.]

APPENDIX.

ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON

SIR GEORGE GREY'S SPEECH.

In a Letter to the British Emancipator, of May 16, 1838.

As none of your correspondents have noticed at any length the remarkable speech delivered by Sir George Grey on Sir George Strickland's motion, I venture to submit the following observations upon it, for insertion in the *Emancipator* :—

It is only within a few days past that I have had the opportunity of perusing that speech as published in an authentic form, and my present object is rather to increase than to neutralize its effect; for so far as I am able to judge from observation and report, its influence upon the public mind has been decidedly favourable to the anti-slavery cause, inasmuch as it is manifestly a display of special pleading, and the very opposite of a calm and fair exposition of the truth. Sir George Grey has replied to facts by the partial quotation of opinions; he has misstated the character of testimony which he found it impossible to rebut; and has endeavoured to divert attention by casting censure and odium on those who have dragged his official faithlessness into public view. None of the acts of an unscrupulous advocate has he disdained to employ in his attempt to prolong his "*intermediate state of modified coercion!*" After attempting to establish the existence of a "contract" with the West India party, Sir George Grey proceeds :—

"It has been confidently asserted, that one of the parties having violated the stipulations of the contract, Parliament is at liberty at once to cancel it. I object to the mode in which this is attempted to be proved. *We are bound to look to what were our reasonable expectations when the Act of* 1833 *passed!* The parties who assert a general breach of contract on the part of West India proprietors, altogether omit to take into account the state of society produced by slavery," &c.

How different is this language from the glowing announcement with which Lord Stanley ushered in the apprenticeship to the world. The memorable declaration of that noble Lord to the House of Commons, formed the groundwork of expectation to the people of England, of the results of their unparalleled munificence to the West Indian planters, and that declaration has been justly deemed the grand interpretation of the spirit and design of the apprenticeship clauses of the Abolition Act. Sir George Grey's standard of "reasonable expectation," appears from the first to have been low enough, and this, perhaps, is the chief cause of his present unenviable position as a minister of the crown charged with responsible duties, which he has notoriously failed to fulfil. I admit, notwithstanding, that he takes a philosophical view of the subject; that what has occurred is precisely what might have been foreseen, and that the apprenticeship has produced results which cannot fail to be recognized as the legitimate offspring of so unnatural a system.

But this is not a line of argument which the under Secretary for the Colonies is at liberty to take. If he abide by the apprenticeship, he is bound to see it carried out, through its whole extent of immunity and protection. The advocates of abolition have nothing to do with the comparisons which, without data, he institutes between the apprenticeship and slavery. They have a right to ask that the condition of society set forth in the clauses of the Abolition Act shall be *practically realized.* If this be conceded to be impossible—if it be indeed an *unreasonable expectation*, they are then entitled to characterize the apprenticeship as a fraud and a delusion, and to demand its immediate termination.

Sir George Grey says, he is "prepared to show that with regard to the conduct of individuals in the great majority of cases, there has been on the part of the West India proprietors and their agents in the Colonies, a *bonâ fide* adherence to the spirit as well as the letter of the Emancipation Act, and that they have given their cordial concurrence in carrying out the principles of that Act. The charges brought against the mass are, in fact, applicable only to a small majority."

In assuming this bold position, the Under Secretary for the Colonies has placed himself in direct opposition to Lord Glenelg, his superior and chief, who, in the House of Lords, has declared in the strongest language, that the violations of the law have been general and extreme. In support of his position, Sir George Grey has given quotations from the despatches of Lord Sligo and Sir Lionel Smith, and

various extracts from the Special Magistrates' Reports. Of the former class of documents it may be sufficient to state, that they require to be considered with reference to the source from whence they are derived; viz. the Reports of the Special Magistrates. If those officers had been placed (which they have not been) in a position independent of the planters; if they had received (which they have not) due support and countenance from the executive; and if, finally, they had shown themselves to be (what, as a body, they are not) worthy of the confidence of the British nation, the general result of the reports, as exhibited in the despatches of the Governors, would have been as valuable as it is now the contrary. But were the despatches in question conclusive evidence, and were they confirmed instead of contradicted by collateral information, based on more tangible data, they, by no means, bear out the hardy assertion of Sir George Grey, above quoted. The favourable colouring of the Governors is a thin disguise, through which the true state of the case is obscurely apparent. Both the Governors state explicitly that their powers are totally inadequate to carry out the remedial provisions of the law. They rejoice over the favourable disposition of some of the planters, (whom they and their superiors are most anxious to persuade themselves constituted a large majority) while they confess they have no means of enforcing the obedience of the contumacious minority.

It would have been a great moral miracle indeed, if, so circumstanced, the West India proprietors and their agents had, "of their own sweet will," "in the great majority of cases," given their "*bonâ fide* adherence to the spirit as well as the letter of the Emancipation Act." I shall, hereafter, have occasion to show that the very opposite of this is the truth, and that this acknowledged weakness of the local executive, of which the Colonial Office was fully and emphatically apprized by Lord Sligo two years ago, in his despatches, has been taken advantage of by the great majority of the planters to the fullest extent.

Before dismissing these important witnesses of Sir George Grey, I must observe that Lord Sligo, with all the weight of his character, experience, and humanity, has declared in favour of immediate emancipation, himself as a West India proprietor, setting a noble and magnanimous example; while Sir George Grey might have selected from the recorded declarations of Sir Lionel Smith, one as recent and far more relevant, than any which he has thought fit to quote. In his address to the assembly of the Island, the 29th of October last, Sir Lionel Smith declared that "the Island (no petty minority, but

the Island!) is subject to the reproach that the negroes, in some respects, are in a worse condition than they were in slavery!"

The extracts given by Sir George Grey from the Special Magistrates' Reports, are well worthy a careful perusal and attentive consideration. I must do the writers the justice to state, that with one or two doubtful exceptions, I believe them to be honourably distinguished from the majority of those holding the special commission. Their testimony is therefore valuable, and I cannot but express my unfeigned astonishment at the use which Sir George Grey has made of it. These extracts bear striking testimony to the patience, reasonableness, and docility of the negro, to his fitness for self-command, and to the regulation of his conduct by enlightened and moral influences. If there be an individual so uninformed as to talk of the danger of immediate emancipation, and of the necessity of preparation for the negro, (the justice of his claim to *immediate* personal freedom being on all hands conceded), such an one must per force be convinced of his error by the statements read by Sir George Grey. Special Justice E. D. Baynes, is the only magistrate who expresses himself at length, and in decided terms, respecting the advantage of an intermediate state. I have the pleasure of this gentleman's acquaintance, and am aware that he possesses literary talent of a high order. Motives of personal regard may not, however, deter me from stating that I consider his judgment on this point of as little value as that of any individual who could be named of those filling the same official station.

He is well known to entertain extremely unfavourable views respecting the ultimate destinies of the colony, and is believed to contemplate its social and political prospects through the distorting medium of crude and pre-conceived theory. He has lately been appointed editor of a newspaper, entitled the West Indian, established by Government for the ostensible purpose of diffusing light and intelligence among the negroes. The files of this novel hebdomadary, when viewed in reference to the class it is chiefly intended to benefit, present amusing specimens of the judgment and discrimination of its editor. In opposition to Captain Baynes, I will venture to put the opinion of E. B. Lyon, a magistrate of the highest standing with respect to character and ability, and from whom, also, Sir George Grey has largely quoted. He is a native of the Island, and his experience of the character and disposition of the negroes being co-extensive with his own life, is far more valuable than that of Captain Baynes, which does not date even so far back

as the commencement of the apprenticeship. His deliberate opinion, which has now been some months before the public, is expressed as follows:—"I have particularly and anxiously watched the conduct of those who have released themselves by purchase from their apprenticeship, not alone from the influence which their example would naturally have upon the remaining bondsmen, but also as an indication of the disposition of the labouring population after 1840; and the result has been, *that I firmly believe that the Island would have been in a far more prosperous condition had there been no intermediate state; that the apprenticeship has rather tended to retard than develope the energies of the peasantry.*"*

It is desirable to notice one circumstance respecting E. B. Lyon, alluded to by Sir George Grey, who says that he had been appointed "to a new district, in which abuse was suspected to have existed!" The Under-Secretary is great at insinuation! The removal of this exemplary magistrate is here represented as an instance of the superintending vigilance of the executive, while, on the contrary, it was the result of a successful intrigue on the part of the planters in his former district, who were weary of his humane and impartial administration of the law. His removal was received by them as a triumph, spoken by them with exultation, deemed by himself a token of disapproval and of censure, while it necessarily entailed on him a heavy pecuniary loss.

A principal object with Sir George Grey has been to show "the great improvement which has taken place in the social and moral condition of the negro under the present system." His sophistry consists in attributing results to the apprenticeship, which are owing to very different causes. I also, among others, have borne willing testimony to the extraordinary advance in morals and intelligence which the negroes have made within the last four years. The commencement of the change, however, dates further back than 1834, and progress has subsequently been made, not in consequence of the apprenticeship, but in despite of it. The Missionaries of most, if not of every denomination, would tell Sir George Grey, that much more would have been accomplished but for obstructions which the apprenticeship has perpetuated.

To the same effect, Sir George Grey quotes from a very interesting and important report of three Special Magistrates on the state of crime. The report was drawn up by special justices Hill, Ram-

* Vide "West Indies in 1837," page 452, 2nd edition.

say, and Higgins, in reply to a malicious and libellous presentment of the grand jury of Middlesex; the first-named gentleman being an active magistrate, and also the assistant-secretary of the governor, charged with the entire correspondence belonging to the Special Magistrates' department. The document refers to the state of the apprentice population in a district of country immediately surrounding Spanish Town, the seat of government, and I know of no single report stamped with so much ability and authority, or which throws so much light on the condition of the negroes. I regret that its great length precludes my quoting it entire, but the following extracts will show the reader with what dexterity the Under-Secretary for the Colonies has suppressed such parts even of the very documents on which he has attempted to rest his defence of the planters, as did not serve his special and immediate object:—

"When the British Government decided on abolishing colonial slavery, they provided for an intermediate state, during the continuance of which, the "laws then in force in the colonies were to be adapted to the new state and relations of society" which would follow the general manumission of the slaves. All the parts of the former institutions which ensured a continuation of useful and industrious habits were still retained, while those principles which were to enforce a steady adherence to social duty, through the common bonds of mutual dependence, reciprocal, regard, and united support, were to be founded on those motives of conduct in a free community which so essentially differ from those of slavery. 'If circumspection and caution are a part of wisdom when we work only upon inanimate matter, surely they become a part of duty too, when the subject of our demolition and construction is not brick and timber, but sentient beings, by the sudden alteration of whose state, condition, and habits, multitudes may be rendered miserable.' Like the actors in the French Revolution, to whom Burke addressed this remark, the men with whom we have had to deal in our public duties have considered that 'an unfeeling heart and an undoubting confidence,' are the sole qualifications to insure individual interest and public duty. There has been in too many instances little of 'love and respect of his kind' in the dealing of the master with his bond-servants, and too little of fear, too little of caution, in his calculations of their power to re-act upon him.

"The fearful decrease of the labouring population which marked the progress of colonial slavery was one of the strongest arguments for its abolition. The immediate release of the children under six years of age from all claims of the master, who held the parent as an apprenticed labourer, was supposed to lay the foundation of a future increasing population on the best and surest basis. One, however, of the most distressing controversies between the servant and the master, and one in

which the special justice has found himself a powerless arbiter, is the claim which the employer makes to the services of his female apprentices, *without any abatement whatever for the wants, necessities, and infirmities of her infant family.*

"Your Excellency's predecessor laid down a rule deduced from the common dictates of humanity for the guidance of the magistrate in all these disputes. That a necessity should have arisen for this appeal to his high authority is sufficient to convince a dispassionate person that the question must have been general, and *the liability of pregnant women to repay the master the time lost in childbirth, or of mothers, that expended in the suckling and nursing of their children,* harsh, severe, and repulsive as it may seem, *was of constant reference to the special justice.* There could have been little sympathy, little regard, little of those common bonds of mutual dependence and support which form powerful links in uniting communities in a free state, where such a dispute could be referred to the arbitration of a magistrate; and the magistrate who could feel that the one duty on such a reference was adequate protection to the poor and helpless was likely at once *to be viewed more as a partisan than as a judge.* This was one great source of detaching the respect and affection which might have subsisted between a slave and his owner in the former state of things, and induced both to consider that they no longer had any community of interest. Each now stood on the concessions made by the letter of the law, and demanded his rights under its authority. The master, finding that there existed no compulsory enactment to enforce the continuance of the provisions usually given out from the stores of his plantation, such as herrings and corn, *withheld them altogether,* and threw the labourer on the proceeds of his grounds in his own days, to realize by their sale in the market, the means of purchasing the food which was no longer doled out to him. In addition to this privation, the portion of the week for cultivating the provision grounds was reduced to the least possible time. The grounds allotted are usually detached some miles from the plantation, and the reduction of the hours of labour from nine to eight daily, under the pretext that the concession of the four and a half hours in each week, under the 47th clause of the Abolition Act, (equivalent to half a day), might be divided into an hour on each working day, was virtually *an extinction of the time conceded by the law for working their provision grounds.* The Saturday was, under these circumstances, the only day available to the negro for the necessities of himself, his wife, and his infant children, now thrown upon him in a state of absolute dependence in health and in sickness. Any dereliction of duty subjected him to the forfeiture of his time to make good the loss of labour which the master sustained by his misconduct, as well as by his absence from work. The magistrate generally, in awarding punishment, did not hold it unreasonable to make the servant a debtor to his master to the extent to which he might be a loser

by his misconduct; and, to aggravate the evils of his *dependent condition, the negro was deprived of his Saturday as a forfeiture to his master for his delinquency.*

These remarks are general, but there are circumstances in which this parish differs from all others, which are an aggravation of the social evils to which we have adverted.

With regard to the spirit of conciliation which the grand jury urge on our observance, we feel it does not so much rest with us to advise it (which is all that is within our power), as it does with the gentlemen of the grand jury themselves to practise it. In every instance in which gentlemen of their influence and condition in life have acted in this spirit, they have reaped the blessings which a kindly feeling never sows in vain. Where the usual store allowances of slavery have not been withheld; where the infirmities of the women have received consideration, and the helplessness of their children obtained aid, contentment, orderly and diligent labour have prevailed, and the work of the plantation has been conducted with cheerfulness and good will. In instances in which a contrary policy has been observed, the authority and influence of the special justice have been interposed in vain. We are not unmindful while making this remark, of the injunction with which the Chief Justice closes his echo of the presentment of the grand jury, that we should teach the peasant labourer that his duty is "to earn his bread in the sweat of his brow." We have the power, and we exercise it, to enforce toil, but no persuasion can secure the reward; it is not seen in the penurious dealing which we have narrated, nor in the pictures of disease and squalid misery which have so often come under our notice in our public duties."

The preceding observations refer to the evidence which Sir George Grey has adduced to prove that the "*contract*" has not been extensively violated by the planter, I wish now to consider the manner in which he has dealt with the statements which have been made to parliament and to the nation, of a directly contrary tendency.

Of them he speaks as "*individual instances of cruelty, the natural results of slavery;*" and which, taking place under the present system, are "*brought fully to light, are subject to close investigation and are punishable by law, and which are exceptions to the present rule;*" "*particular instances of oppression and wrong*, which alone do not afford a fair view of the operation of the system;" "evils which are the *remnant of those inherent in slavery*, and are gradually passing away." He protests "*against one case being selected from a thousand*, while the remaining 999, of a totally different character, are carefully withheld or overlooked!"

It cannot escape the remark of the most careless reader, that these

statements of Sir George Grey, if true, are conclusive against his own measure. He has taken away the only ground upon which *his* bill can possibly be defended! If the violations of the Abolition Act, are but as one in a thousand, and if they are already "punishable by law," what pretence remains for introducing a bill, establishing a despotism in every colony, and arming the Governor with unheard of and unconstitutional power? But, in fact, to quote Sir George Grey's expressions is alone sufficient to convict him of misrepresentation, and the charge of fraud, which he has brought against the advocates of abolition, recoils upon himself. "Individual instances" have, indeed, been brought forward, but they have been so numerous, so varied in circumstance, yet so uniform in character as to tend with irresistible force to establish not a number of exceptions, *but a general rule.* But these instances are but a part of the evidence against the system. There is the tabular view of punishments compiled from official records, to show that the negroes, notwithstanding their proved docility and good conduct, have been subjected to stripes by the million, and to the punishments of the treadmill, chain gang, and solitary cell, by the hundred thousand.

A fourth part of the labouring population of Jamaica have passed through the terrible workhouses of that colony since the commencement of the apprenticeship. In addition to this, the proprietary of Jamaica are convicted of a general violation of the law by the public acts of their representative body. Of the Local Abolition Law, Sir L. Smith writes, "I denounce it the worst law of all the late slave colonies." Yet this law, in itself a monstrous and glaring violation of the "contract," is the standard upon which the Special Magistrates frame their pseudo-favourable reports; and Sir George Grey would persuade us, while the *law* is so defective, that the *practices* of the planters have nearly come up to the required standard, and that the resistance of the Assembly to the proposed amelioration of the law, has been without a practical motive.

The Assembly have refused to put a stop to the flogging of women. They have passed vagrant, police, classification, and numerous other laws, in direct violation of what we are now told to consider a solemn "compact," binding, it would appear, upon the British Parliament and nation only. The Assembly have laid the recent remedial suggestions of Lord Glenelg on the table of the House, in silent contempt. Not a single protest has been heard from the proprietary against any part of their proceedings—not a single member has incurred censure or remonstrance from his planter constituency.

Various presentments of grand juries, and verdicts of petty juries exhibit, as Sir George Grey has cause to know, the same determined opposition to the carrying out of the protective provisions of the Abolition Act. The gathering of the planters in entire parishes to raise subscription-lists, for presents of plate and money to Special Magistrates, dismissed for proved and flagrant acts of cruelty, is another indication of the wishes and determination of the great majority.

Again, many "individual instances" illustrate the general working of the system. Such is the Narrative of Williams, which the Under-Secretary speaks of as "a case" of "direct infraction of the law."*

On the contrary, it is a history of the general violation of the law in an entire parish. In two districts out of that parish it exposes the tyrannical conduct of *successive* Special Magistrates, and proves by the uncontradicted evidence of numerous witnesses, that the workhouse of that parish, the most extensive in the Island, has been, from the commencement of the apprenticeship, a den of fiendish licentiousness and cruelty.

It is difficult to conceive that the evidence against the planters could, by possibility, have been of a more general and conclusive character than it is. The advocates of abolition have not therefore limited their view to "individual instances of cruelty," neither are these instances, when they occur, necessarily "brought fully to light" under the present system. It has been left for private individuals, by dragging them into public view, to compel investigation and redress; and there is too much reason to fear, that the darkest secrets of the prison-house remain yet undisclosed. Neither are the instances in question, "the remnant of those inherent in slavery;" the mere *debris*, as it were, of a former system. On the contrary, they are the peculiar characteristics of the apprenticeship. Such is the present workhouse discipline, of which such extraordinary revelations have been made, by Commissioners Gordon and Daughtrey, respecting St. Ann's; by the despatches of Lord Sligo, respecting those of Halfway-Tree, and St.-Thomas-in-the-East, by E. D. Baynes, respecting St. John's, and by the revolting scenes which are recorded in the Parliamentary papers respecting those of the parish

* Sir George Grey censures Joseph Sturge for not communicating Williams's case to Sir Lionel Smith. To this, it may be replied, that the officer did not possess the confidence either of the negroes, or their friends in Jamaica; and his public acts, up to that date, attest that he did not deserve their confidence. Did John Scoble obtain any redress of undeniable abuses in Guiana, by communicating their existence to Sir J. C. Smyth?

of Manchester, the parish of Hanover, the parish of Trelawney, the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, the city of Kingston, and even in Spanish Town, the very seat of the Executive Government. The treadmill is coeval only with the apprenticeship—it had no existence in slavery. The withholding of salt-fish, and other necessary allowances—the destruction of the hogs and poultry of the negro—the taking away the watchmen from their provision grounds, leaving the produce to be destroyed by the incursions of cattle—the neglect and cruelty towards the sick—the brutal treatment of pregnant women, of nursing mothers, of mothers of large families, and those advanced in age, all, as at present existing, are peculiar features of the apprenticeship. It is a task worthy of Sir George Grey, to seek to under-rate the wrongs of the apprentices, by comparing them with the possibly yet greater evils, which they endured during slavery.

I have now concluded what I had principally in view, in these observations, viz., to test the value of Sir George Grey's statements of the results of the apprenticeship. Other considerations are suggested by his speech, of great interest and moment, but which I must dismiss with a passing notice:—His assertions respecting British Guiana have already been disposed of, in the unanswerable speech of John Scoble, at Exeter Hall. One declaration of Sir George Grey, relative to this colony, deserves, however, especial attention.

John Scoble, by personal inquiry, brought to light the astounding fact, that the food of the apprentices of Demerara had been reduced by one-half from the quantity allowed by law during slavery. How does Sir George Grey meet this charge? In a manner truly chivalrous—by exonerating the planters, and taking the blame upon himself. He says, with immediate reference to this point, "if any defects exist in the laws in force there, as it respects the apprentices, the charge ought rather to be preferred against the Government, than against the proprietors, who may be compelled to submit to enactments by orders in Council." Looking at the magnitude of the interests at stake, involving, not the comforts merely, but the very existence of the negro population of Guiana, it is not too much to state, that Sir George Grey has, in this instance, pleaded guilty by anticipation, to the gravest impeachment which could be preferred against a negligent or unworthy minister.

This is not the sole example which his speech furnishes of the misconduct of the Colonial Government. He boasts that in framing Lord Glenelg's Bill, the Government have implicitly followed the

suggestions of Lord Sligo. Can he state why Lord Sligo's emphatic warnings first uttered two years ago, in his official despatches, have been till now disregarded? Disregarded until Lord Sligo, in despair, appealed from the Colonial Office to the people by the publication of his striking pamphlet. For years has the Colonial Office been in possession of Lord Sligo's views, and of the data on which they were founded, yet not until the public feeling was loudly and indignantly expressed, were any steps taken by Sir George Grey, to remedy existing and acknowledged evils.

One additional remark in conclusion. Sir George Grey expresses his firm belief, "that the *sudden and violent disruption* of the ties which still bind the apprentice negro to his master, would insure the termination of the apprenticeship under circumstances the most adverse and inauspicious to the interests of the negroes themselves!" Oh, the beauty and utility of metaphor in the hands of the sophist! What is the present bond of union between master and apprentice? In the language of Sir George Grey, it is "*a modified coercion!*" violence and force, therefore, are required to prolong the apprenticeship. Their discontinuance would involve its extinction, and "the violent disruption of the ties" above mentioned, is a phrase as appropriate and intelligible as would be the *violent discontinuance of strife* between opposed and contending parties.

T. H.

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A LETTER

TO

LORD BROUGHAM,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

BY AN AMERICAN.

LONDON:
JAMES DINNIS, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1836.

WILLIAM TYLER,
PRINTER,
BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

A LETTER,

&c.

My Lord,

Nothing but duties of an imperative character could have prevented the writing of this letter at an earlier period. I make no apology for addressing it to your Lordship, feeling well convinced that the interest you take in the subject to which it relates, is such, as to render *that* wholly unnecessary.

It is not, my Lord, in *defence* of Slavery that I undertake to address your Lordship. I bless God that this is an evil with which I have had nothing to do, except to endeavour, by humble means, to mitigate its pressure, and to hasten its peaceful termination. But it is with the view of defending my country, against some of the misrepresentations which have been recently heaped upon it; as well as giving to the British public some information on this subject which, I apprehend, they have not possessed.

It happened to me, my Lord, to be called by duty to visit London during the late season of the Anniversaries of those Religious and Benevolent Societies, which are both the ornament and shield of Great Britain. None of these meetings excited in my mind a more intense interest than that of the Anti-

slavery Society, at which your Lordship presided. With the greater part of what was said and done on that occasion, I could not feel otherwise than gratified. But in regard to some of the statements made, and the language employed in reference to the United States of America, I confess that I felt deeply pained; not so much, I assure your Lordship, from any sense of wounded pride, as from the deep conviction which I felt, and do still feel, that, so far as relates to those statements, and that language, the most effectual course was pursued to injure and retard the cause of the emancipation of the slaves in that country.

As I shall have occasion, in another part of my letter, to revert to this subject, I shall not dwell upon it here, but only say that I must wholly exonerate your Lordship from even the suspicion of having participated in those statements, or of having employed that language. The admirable speech which your Lordship made upon taking the chair on that occasion, as well as on leaving it, gave me unmingled pleasure.

It is true, indeed, that your Lordship, when alluding to the state of things in the United States of America, (which was done in a manner characterized by an accurate judgment, and an excellent sense of propriety,) fell into an error, which, although considerable, was wholly unintentional. It consisted in expressing the opinion, that there is reason to fear that the Americans are settled down in contentedness, with the existence of slavery amongst them. I do not quote your Lordship's language; but I think that I give the idea which was thrown out on that occasion. It is but justice to say, however, that you expressed not only a hope, but a firm belief, that the people of that country would soon awake to a decided action in con-

formity with the noble principles of their political organization.

It is my purpose, my Lord, to endeavour to demonstrate that the people of the United States are neither now, nor ever have been, contented with the existence of Slavery amongst them; and that there is good reason to believe that the benevolent anticipations of your Lordship will be realized.

The entire history of the United States, both as Colonies, and as Independent States, I affirm, proves that they have never been indifferent to the evils and the wickedness of Slavery. To support this assertion, let us review their history, commencing with that which is Colonial.

I ask, my Lord, who it was that introduced slavery into the then colonies of Great Britain, and imposed and rivetted the chains of slavery upon them? No one knows better than your Lordship does, that it was the British government.* It was, from first to last, a measure of that government, in order to promote its commerce, and, above all, its navigation interests. This is a statement which needs no proof from me; for it is known to every one who knows any thing of the history of Great Britain and those colonies. Yes, my Lord, the slave trade was then maintained by England, and hundreds of thousands of slaves were imported from Africa, into the colonies, upon the same principle, and with about as little remorse, as the Newfoundland Fisheries, or any other branch of trade, was kept up—*to extend and cherish her navigation interests!* Was it not so, my Lord? The colonies had little, or, rather, no Foreign commerce, carried

* It is no valid contradiction of this statement to say,—which was really the fact, that the first slaves introduced into these Colonies, were imported into Virginia in 1620, by a *Dutch* ship. The British Government allowed it to be done; and then took up, itself, and perpetuated the horrible work.

on in their own shipping, for a long period after their settlement. It was not considered to be for the advantage of the mother country that they should have. Every thing which could be done by legislation on the part of Great Britain, to prevent it, was done. And it was British, and not Colonial ships, which monopolized this infamous traffick, so far as it was connected with that portion of the American continent which is now called the United States.

And what was the course pursued by the colonies? *They opposed the introduction of slaves amongst them.* This was done so generally that it may with propriety be said that this opposition was universal. But still the horrid work went on. Some persons were found in the colonies who were willing to buy slaves, for cupidity is to be found in all countries, and in every age of the world. By degrees slavery gained a lodgement in every colony, though the greatest accumulation of it was in the southern colonies, which were less free in their forms of government, and more under the control of the British Crown, than those of the north. Other causes also co-operated to create that accumulation.

To the evils of slavery, as well as to those of any other sort, people may become gradually accustomed, and even to too great an extent reconciled. It was so, in some measure, with the colonies. Stern necessity shut them up to this alternative. But were they entirely contented? No; they petitioned the government of Great Britain again and again not to allow slavery to be perpetuated amongst them. Virginia did so; Pennsylvania did so; Massachusetts did so; others did so. And *all* would have done so, if they had not been discouraged by the unsuccessful attempts of their sister colonies.

The power which turned a deaf ear to the cries of these infant colonies, entreating that slavery might not be forced upon them at its commencement, still refused to hear when they besought that it might not be rendered perpetual.

The case of the colony of Georgia was, if possible, more remarkable and afflictive than that of any of the others. That colony was not founded in the darkness of the seventeenth century, but almost in the middle of the eighteenth. It was the last, in the order of time, of the whole thirteen British colonies, which afterwards formed the United States. The worthy and beloved General Oglethorpe was its founder, and first governor. As usual, no sooner was the colony established, or rather commenced, than slaves began to be forced upon it. The governor and council besought the British government not to allow slaves to be brought for market, to that colony. This they did at a time when the parent country might easily have prevented the evil. The colony itself had no such power. None of the colonies had such power. It was the claimed prerogative of the British government to regulate the commerce of the colonies, to prescribe what articles of trade should be admitted into them, and under what, if any, restrictions; whilst there was, on the part of the colonies, no power to prevent the entrance of such articles of commerce as were allowed by the government of the mother country. Consequently, so long as there were any persons to be found in any colony who were willing to buy slaves, they were sure to be imported. Such being the case, all that Georgia could do was to *petition*, and to *remonstrate*. This was done nine or ten times, as can be proved by the records of that colony, until the British government, wearied by the importunity of the venerable Oglethorpe, and his council, dis-

missed him from his office! These, my Lord, are matters of fact, and if they are not known to the world, it is time that they should be.

But still the colonies did not cease from their efforts to induce the government of Great Britain to relieve them from the evils of slavery, or at least not to allow more slaves to be imported into them. Their efforts, however, were of no avail; and when their resistance to oppression assumed an open and general character, one of the numerous grievances of which they complained, and which stood prominently on the long catalogue, was that the parent country had not only forced slavery upon them at first, but had also continued to introduce slaves among them even after they had repeatedly remonstrated against it. They even took some measures themselves, the year before the commencement of the war of the revolution, to put a stop to the slave trade. For the Continental Congress, as it was called, which met at Philadelphia in 1774, recommended, by a resolution, to the colonies not to import, or purchase any slave imported, after the first day of December in that year; and wholly to discontinue the trade. The Convention of Delegates of the people of Virginia had anticipated this measure, for in August preceding they resolved to discontinue the importation of slaves. And, my Lord, I need not inform you that when the distinguished committee, appointed by the American Congress, in 1776, to prepare the Declaration of Independence, composed of Jefferson, Adams, R. R. Livingston, Sherman, and Franklin, brought in that celebrated document, it contained the following passage in relation to slavery, which was, with some other passages, struck out by Congress, not because it was not approved by almost every member, but because it met with the opposition of a few from the southern

colonies, and entire unanimity was considered to be of paramount importance :—

" He (the King of Great Britain) has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms amongst us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them ; thus paying off former crimes, committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

With regard to this, as well as every other species of oppression enumerated in that declaration, it is added, " In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms ; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries."

During the war of our revolution, the attention of our fellow-citizens was absorbed in the protracted conflict with a powerful enemy. As the slaves were not then so numerous as to excite apprehension of danger from them, and were, moreover, almost universally attached to their masters, the war, by employing the white population to a very great degree, and leaving the support of their families almost wholly to the industry of the slaves,

incredible as it may at first sight appear, operated rather to make the people, especially in the southern states, less repugnant to slavery. At its termination, the thirteen colonies were left free and independent states, but with nothing which properly deserved the name of a general or united government. Articles of confederation had, indeed, been adopted, and a congress composed of delegates chosen by the legislature of the several states, annually assembled. But their legislation was limited to a few general subjects, of which slavery was not one. This state of things lasted five or six years, until the present constitution was formed, in 1787, ratified by almost all the States during the next year, and went into operation in 1789.

It has often been a matter of surprise, that the framers of the constitution did not, by that noble instrument, secure either the immediate or the gradual abolition of slavery; or, at any rate, bring the subject under the legislative control of the general government, which was created by that instrument. I confess, my Lord, that I have a thousand times wished that they had done so. Perhaps they might have done it. If so, a noble opportunity was then lost for accomplishing this desirable object. But, on the other hand, your Lordship, I presume, is fully aware of the difficulties by which they were surrounded. The majority of the States then held slaves; for none but two or three of the New England States had abolished slavery in the interval which had elapsed between the declaration of independence, and the meeting of the Convention to form the constitution. The political power was, therefore, in the hands of the slave-holding states. And so great was the difficulty of forming a united and efficient government, owing to the fact that each state had its own organization, and had long

exercised the prerogatives of state sovereignty, that it required great wisdom and prudence, and an uncommon spirit of conciliation on every point not absolutely essential. For it was rightly deemed an object of primary importance to have but one general republic, instead of what would otherwise have been the case, several, if not thirteen. It was this consideration alone which led those distinguished men—those philanthropists I will call them —to concede the whole subject of slavery to the legislative control of the individual States. They were compelled to do so, or to forego the advantages of a union, and encounter all the risks or rather inevitable evils which the want of it would have occasioned. This was undoubtedly the position in which the question stood. The journal of that Convention fully proves this. And what is more, such men as Franklin, and Washington, and Wilson, and Elsworth, and other distinguished members of that Convention, as sincerely desired the abolition of slavery as any abolitionist of modern times, and were quite as good judges of what was then practicable.

This Convention has been censured for not doing more; and yet it was greatly in the advance of any similar body then to be found in the world. For to it belongs the honour of having taken the first effective measure for abolishing the infamous slave trade. Yes, my Lord, it is even so. And although that measure was prospective, and was not to go into actual operation until a period of twenty years had elapsed, that is until 1808; yet it was a step greatly in advance of what had been done by any other nation. At that period, and for years afterwards, the British government did nothing. And even after Mr. Wilberforce had begun to call the attention of Parliament to this subject, it was not until March,

1807, that the slave trade was effectually condemned by statute in Great Britain. So that it was literally twenty years after our convention had condemned that execrable trade, and less than one year before it actually ceased by the constitution formed by that Convention, that England could be brought to abolish it also. In my opinion, we fairly led the way, and did what was truly remarkable for that epoch. But if one should still say that they ought to have done more; I answer, that it is easy to say so *now*, with all the light which has been shed upon this subject; but I consider it truly wonderful that they did as much as they did. They commenced the demolition of the monstrous superstructure of slavery; they attempted all that was then practicable, and they showed their wisdom in doing so, whatever mere theorists may think, or say to the contrary.

What has been done in the United States, in relation to the subject of slavery, since the adoption of the Constitution, I will now briefly state.

I. Slavery has been abolished in the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and New York; states which embrace nearly a fourth part of the entire population of the whole union. The number of slaves in those states was not, however, great. But yet it required much argument, and many years, in the case of the last named three states, to induce them to come into this measure. This work of justice and mercy was achieved mainly by the efforts of the Anti-slavery Society of Pennsylvania, which was formed about the year 1787, by Franklin, and other excellent men of that day, and of the Manumission Society of New York, which was founded about the same time by the exertions of the late distinguished John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the United States, and others of a similar

spirit. The abolition of slavery in these states has been, by a wise provision of the law, gradual, so that at this time there are but few slaves (and they are chiefly aged and infirm persons, for whose comfortable maintenance the laws oblige their former masters to be responsible) to be found in them.

And here, perhaps, it may not be amiss to present to your Lordship's view the actual state of this question, by a brief statistical account. It is this: The six north-eastern states, commonly called the New England States, viz., Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, at present containing more than two millions of inhabitants, became freed from slavery soon after the revolutionary war. The four middle states, which I have just spoken of, viz., New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, containing a population at present of little short of four millions, have become freed from slavery since 1790. The last of them that adopted this measure was New York, about ten or twelve years since. The four north-western states, (including the territory of Michigan, which is about to enter the union as a state, and will be the twenty-fifth,) viz., Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, which do not at this time contain a population of less than two millions, are free states. These four new states have been chiefly colonized from the other ten non-slaveholding states. The result is, that there are now fourteen states, in which it may be said that slavery does not exist, and which have all either been delivered from slavery, or have been colonies from those states which have experienced that happy deliverance. These fourteen states now embrace a population exceeding *eight millions* of souls, and still increasing at a rate which is absolutely without a parallel in the history of the world.

The slaveholding states are Maryland, Virginia,

North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Missouri, and Louisiana, in all eleven. To this number we may add the two territories of Arkansas and Florida, which will soon become states, having now, it is supposed, the requisite number of inhabitants. This makes the entire number of the slaveholding states and territories thirteen. In this statement I include the little district of Columbia, in the states of Virginia and Maryland, of which it formerly made a part, and which can never become an independent state. The entire population of these thirteen slave states, and territories, does not much exceed, at this time, *six millions*, of whom 2,002,177 were, in 1830, slaves; and 166,215 free persons of colour.

For your Lordship's satisfaction I submit the following tabular view of the states and territories, with their population in 1830, as derived from the census taken by order of the general government. This census was made, however, five years ago. In the general statement which I have just given, I have estimated, on undoubted data, the *present* population of the several grand divisions spoken of.

FREE STATES, WITH THEIR POPULATION IN 1830.

	White Persons.	Free Coloured Persons.	Slaves.	Total Population.
Maine	398,263	1,192	none	399,955
New Hampshire	268,721	607	none	269,328
Vermont	279,771	681	none	280,652
Massachusetts	603,359	7,048	none	610,408
Rhode Island	93,621	3,578	none	97,199
Connecticut	289,603	8,072	none	297,675
New York	1,868,061	44,870	75	1,918,608
New Jersey	300,266	18,303	2,254	320,823
Pennsylvania	1,309,900	37,930	403	1,348,233
Delaware	57,601	15,855	3,292	76,748
Ohio	928,329	9,574	none	937,903
Indiana	339,399	3,632	none	343,031
Illinois	155,061	2,384	none	157,445
Michigan	31,346	293	none	31,639
Total	6,923,301	154,020	6,024	7,187,647

SLAVEHOLDING STATES, WITH THEIR POPULATION IN 1830.

	White Persons.	Free Coloured Persons.	Slaves.	Total Population.
Maryland.....	291,108	52,938	102,994	447,040
Virginia	694,300	47,348	469,557	1,211,405
North Carolina	472,843	19,543	245,601	737,987
South Carolina	257,863	7,921	315,401	581,185
Georgia	296,806	2,486	217,531	516,823
Alabama	190,406	1,572	117,549	309,527
Mississippi ...	70,443	519	65,659	136,821
Louisiana	89,231	16,710	109,588	215,739
Tennessee ...	535,746	4,555	141,603	681,904
Kentucky	517,787	4,917	165,213	687,917
Missouri	114,795	569	25,091	140,455
Arkansas.....	25,671	141	4,570	30,388
Florida	18,385	844	15,501	34,730
Dis. of Columbia	27,563	6,152	6,119	39,834
Total ...	3,602,947	166,215	2,002,177*	5,781,555

These statements, my Lord, show that the preponderance is greatly on the side of the non-slaveholding states. But another circumstance is to be added, which renders the prospect still brighter. It is, that the States of Maryland and Kentucky, containing a population of more than one million one hundred thousand souls, of whom nearly two hundred and seventy thousand are slaves, will soon join the ranks of the non-slaveholding states. Of this I do not entertain a doubt. A few years will witness this transition. And further, I have as little doubt that Virginia, Tennessee, and Missouri will, before many years pass away, adopt the same measure. Upon the occurrence of the abolition of slavery in Kentucky and Maryland, the number of the non-slaveholding states will be sixteen, whilst that of the slaveholding will be reduced to eleven, including Arkansas and Florida. And when Virginia, Tennessee, and Missouri become freed from slavery, or

* The above statement of the number of slaves differs from that given in the census, which is 2,009,049, and includes the slaves in ten free states, as they are called, and also some persons in Connecticut, &c. who are not slaves.

have commenced this blessed work, the number will stand nineteen to eight.

Your Lordship will perceive that I take it for granted that no new territories will hereafter be created, in which slavery will be allowed to enter. This is my decided opinion. There is indeed a vast extent of country, claimed by the United States government, and lying westward and northward of the remotest western states and territories; but by an act adopted by our Congress, when Missouri had permission to form her constitution, preparatory to becoming a member of the union, slavery cannot extend northward beyond the degree of latitude which forms the northern boundary of that state. Of course it is excluded from the immense regions of the Upper Mississippi. The country immediately westward of Arkansas territory has been assigned to the Indian tribes, which were formerly within the limits of the states and territories. There they are collecting, and it is believed that there they may become civilized, and eventually form a constituent portion, as a territory of the United States. There, at any rate, the experiment may be made, and under circumstances widely different from those which existed when they lived within the bounds of organized states, and where their oppressions were occasioned in almost every instance by the charters granted originally by the British Crown. They will now be assembled on a sufficiently extensive country, beyond the claims of any state, and it is hoped that they will not be disturbed. This leaves but little room for new territories to be formed westward of the present states, into which slavery can enter, unless the government should buy Texas from Mexico, an event not unlikely. But even if that purchase should be made, I am very confident that there is a feeling existing at present in the

United States which will prevent it or any other district of country from being organized as a territory with slavery existing in it. Indeed it is possible that the territories of Arkansas and Florida may not be received into the union as states, until they abolish slavery. But this I do not expect. It is too late for the government to take that stand, after having allowed these territories to be organized, as such, with the existence of slavery in them. The proper course for the general government to pursue is, to prevent the introduction of slavery into every territory when it is organized as such, and long before it is sufficiently populous to become a state. This the general government has power to do; and of this course none, or at any rate but few, could have a right to complain. Those who choose to emigrate to such a territory would know what to expect, and could not afterwards complain that the government had taken advantage of them.

You will learn, my Lord, from the preceding statements, that it cannot be said that the people of the United States have been indifferent to the evils of slavery. When we entered into the struggle for our independence, slavery pervaded the land; now fourteen states are free from it, and the prospect is encouraging in regard to several others. Let it be remembered too, that for more than thirty years after our independence, the attention of our people was absorbed by internal difficulties,—Indian wars, embargoes, and finally by a war with Great Britain. I am far, however, from saying that we have done all that we should have done. That there has been an increasing interest felt on this subject, of late years, may be inferred from the formation of the American Colonization Society. This society has been in existence some sixteen or eighteen years;

and although it has been denounced, in the most violent manner, I am persuaded that the object of its founders was benevolent, and that the plan, if properly carried out, is calculated to promote the abolition of slavery to a considerable extent. I have always been an advocate of the colonization scheme for three reasons.

1. It gives those slave-holders who are desirous of setting their slaves free, but who are prevented by the laws of the states in which they reside from doing it, (unless they send them out of those states,) the opportunity of sending them to colonies in which there is a prospect of their doing well.

2. It leads incidentally to a discussion of the evils of slavery among the slave-holding states, and so does good.

3. It promises to be of incalculable benefit to Africa by planting colonies, from which I am persuaded that the lights of Christianity and civilization will shine forth to bless large portions of that benighted continent. For I firmly believe that although many difficulties have been encountered, from perhaps not selecting the best sites for these colonies, &c., yet they may all be overcome, and those colonies so organized as to do great good to Africa, and to the world. I am free to confess, however, that much as I love the colonization cause, I think that it has not been well managed. The society has been far from acting with that vigour and wisdom which ought to have animated it, and which so great and good a cause demanded. I fear, too, that it has been too frequently held up, by indiscreet advocates, as the grand means of delivering the country from the existence and evils of slavery, and that it has, by such advocacy, ministered to the erroneous but wide-spread opinion that the slaves cannot become free and remain in the United States.

This position I deem wrong and injurious, and wholly unnecessary to the cause. Colonization can be defended on other and better grounds. That the society has done much good I do firmly believe; but it is due to candour to state that it is possible that many good men in the slave-holding states have, for some years, been depending too much upon it, and whilst doing so have not looked at more efficient and direct ways of getting rid of slavery.

Still further.—Many who began to think that the colonization scheme was inefficient, and who were stimulated by the success of the efforts of your Anti-slavery Societies in England, have, within a few years, determined to form similar associations in the United States. This has led to the formation of the American Anti-slavery Society, with the avowed and direct purpose of attacking slavery and urging its immediate abolition. This society has formed many affiliated associations throughout the free states, and by discourses, by public debates, and by a large number of periodical and other publications, it has commenced a violent assault upon the object of its attack;—the discussion has become animated and bold, and truly exciting; it is now agitating the whole country, and has assumed an aspect somewhat portentous. Great opposition is made to this society, not only by the southern states, but by vast numbers in the non-slave-holding states;—it would, indeed, seem that the integrity of the union is seriously endangered.

I am disposed to think, my Lord, that my fellow citizens who formed the American Anti-slavery Society, and all who sustain its proceedings, have not sufficiently considered the widely different circumstances of Great Britain and the United States. Certainly the cases of the two countries cannot be

deemed analogous. Parliament and the Crown have with you entire and undisputed control over slavery, whether existing in your island or in any other portion of the British dominions. All that is requisite, in order to effect its abolition, with you, is, by discussion, so to enlighten the people that they shall, by a decided majority, demand of parliament that slavery shall end. With us the case is wholly different. By our constitution the subject of slavery is reserved to the individual states in which it exists; they alone can legislate over it,—each state for itself. They alone have a right to say when slavery shall cease within their respective limits. Our congress has no manner of control over it. The fourteen states which are free from it, although they have a large majority of the entire population, can do nothing on this subject except prevent, through congress, its spread into new territories, and abolish it (by their majority of votes in congress) in the district of Columbia. Now this being the case, your Lordship must see that Anti-slavery Societies formed in the free states can do nothing *directly* to secure the abolition of slavery in the southern states. They may, possibly, if rightly conducted, do something indirectly. But it is manifest that it is only the people of the slave-holding states themselves who can do any thing effectual in this work,—to them it undoubtedly belongs. The formation of Anti-slavery Societies in the free states, for any purpose beyond that of inducing congress to do what alone belongs to it—the prevention of the extension of slavery into new territories and its abolition in the district of Columbia—is not likely to have a very good effect. It alarms and irritates those who have exclusive power over the subject.

I have not a doubt, my Lord, that the gentlemen

who are the leading members of the American Anti-slavery Society are actuated by the purest motives. They have, indeed, been denounced, I am sorry to say, as the worst of men,—as fanatics, as aiming at the ruin of the country, &c. Almost every opprobrious epithet has been heaped upon them. But it would require much more than I have yet seen or heard, to cause me for a moment to distrust the integrity and benevolence of purpose of Mr. Arthur Tappan and many others who are engaged in that society. They feel deeply for the condition of the slave, and for the honour of the country; and they sincerely desire to do their duty. They are not infallible, nor do they claim to be so; yet I have no doubt that they have aimed at doing what cannot be done by the people of the free states. All the excitement which they can create on this subject in the free states cannot reach the case. It belongs to the people in the slave-holding states to do any thing effectual. Nor have I a doubt that some of the coadjutors of these good men have done irreparable injury to the cause which they have advocated, by their dreadful violence. Surely it does no good, but much injury, to call men by such names as have often been applied to the slave-holders. Nor is it just. As I have not seen any of the late publications of the Anti-slavery Society, nor of those who labour independently of it, in the same cause, I do not know what is the ground for the charge which has been brought against them of aiming at exciting insurrection among the slaves; I firmly believe that this charge is not true. Yet I can also easily believe that there has not been a proper degree of prudence on this point. Much as we may desire the abolition of slavery in the United States, and no one can desire

it more sincerely than I do, yet it will not do for a moment to think of effecting it through violence. No, my Lord, that must be opposed at the very threshold: and I am sure it will be by every good man in the United States. That course is too horrible to be spoken of, and the man deserves everlasting infamy who dares to suggest it.

I have said, my Lord, that our congress—in other words, our general government—has no control over slavery as it exists in the organized states. And I have also said that it is not likely that they will exert the power which they have over it in the two territories of Florida and Arkansas—which, however, can never, for physical reasons, have a large population. But you will ask, "May not your constitution be so altered as to allow congress that power?" I answer that it *might* be so changed; but it is not likely that this will be done. There are two ways by which our constitution may be amended according to its expressed provisions, as your Lordship will perceive from the following extract from it. "The congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution; or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by congress." You will see from this statement that it is wholly improbable that an attempt to amend our constitution, on this subject, could be successful. Nor is it likely that such an attempt will be made.

I have said, my Lord, that there is at this time very great excitement throughout the United States, occasioned by the proceedings of the Anti-slavery Society; the newspapers are full of it;—to judge from their tone, one would be almost disposed to think that the country is on the eve of a grand revolution. Much deplorable violence has been displayed. Such being the case, your Lordship, and many others in England and throughout Europe, are most solicitous to know what will be the issue of these things. My Lord, I make no pretensions to the prophetic power, but I have no hesitation in answering, as one who has had good opportunities of knowing every portion of the United States within the last few years, and has seen much of the very best men, of all parties, in that country, that there will be no such revolution. Nor will there be, I believe, a separation of our happy union. There will be much discussion of the right of the free states to interfere on the subject of slavery. And this discussion will do good. It will settle principles. Such discussions have always done us good. We cannot do without them. And the result of *this* discussion will be that the people of the free states—in an overwhelming majority—will say to their brethren of the slave-holding states, "We deplore the existence of slavery among you; we abhor its injustice; but we respect your rights; we deeply sympathize with you; we will do nothing to interfere with the right of controlling the subject of slavery which the constitution has vested in you, nor will we do any thing to endanger your safety; we stand ready to aid you, if our aid can be of any avail; we leave to your wisdom to devise and your hands to execute some safe and practicable plan for the extinction of slavery, in which you shall have

our co-operation, if you should need it; but we do hope, (and you will allow us to say it,) that some such plan may be speedily devised." This, my Lord, is the language of the overwhelming majority of the people of the north. What then will be the result? It will be that after some legislation has been adopted by the southern states to prevent the circulation of dangerous publications, (or such as they may deem to be so,) and perhaps some action of the general government, the country will settle down into a state of quietude—not, however, of *indifference* to the evils of slavery. Meanwhile the southern states themselves will think more intensely on the subject, and some of them will act too, before many years will pass away. Time will of course be required, and time will work wonders on this as well as on every other subject.

Another means of promoting emancipation—gradual, but sure and safe in its influence—is the religious instruction which is generally given from the pulpit, in almost all parts of the slave-holding states. For it must be said to the honour of my country, that no legislature of any state has ever attempted to place any hinderance in the way of preaching the gospel to the slaves; for I do not view in that light the laws which have been adopted in two or three states, to guard against dangerous or incompetent persons who attempt to preach. That the influence of the gospel, when faithfully preached, is not only calculated to make masters treat their slaves with greater kindness, but also to think of giving them their liberty, and to prepare both the slave and the master for that state of things when slavery shall cease, cannot for a moment be doubted. In four of the slave-holding states there is no law forbidding the instruction of the slaves in reading and

writing, and in those states there are many who attend the Sunday-schools, and some few are taught in other schools. I am far from saying that all is doing which ought to be done for their instruction, even in those states. In one or two others, the consent of the master is required before the law allows the slave to attend even a Sunday-school. Whilst in five states, and two territories, I am sorry to say laws have been made forbidding the instruction of slaves in reading and writing. And even two or three have gone so far as to forbid, as in Louisiana and North Carolina, the instruction, in schools, of even the free people of colour. I condemn these enactments as much as any man. They are condemned by many of the best men in those states; and they will, I am persuaded, soon be repealed and become obsolete, if the present excitement should disappear. They were passed a few years ago, upon the appearance of a pamphlet, published at Boston, by an infamous wretch who attempted, by it, to excite the slaves to rise against their masters. I know that such laws expose us to severe animadversions abroad, where nothing is known scarcely of the peculiar forms of our government. But, however just such censures may be when directed against those states to which they are applicable, they are wholly unjust when applied to the entire people of the United States, who in their national capacity have no control over the subject.

Other causes are also in operation, which (in conjunction with those of a moral character which I have just mentioned) will expedite the destruction of slavery. Such, for instance, as the fact that the south-western states are rapidly becoming settled and cultivated. The result will be that the new states will be densely populated, and all the cotton and sugar

lands will be soon reduced to a state of cultivation. When this shall have been the case, the immense market which exists in those states for slaves, and which causes the iniquitous internal slave trade, by which slaves from Maryland and Virginia are carried to Alabama, and Mississippi, and Louisiana, and sold at enormous prices, will be supplied and overstocked. The consequence of this will be a reduction of the price of them, until those who own them, and who now feel such an interest in this species of property, (I am sorry to apply this word to such a use,) will find it unprofitable, and of course become more reconciled to giving it up. I only mention this fact to show that there are physical causes at work which combine with those of a moral sort to overthrow slavery. And the influence of the cause just mentioned is not so distant as some suppose.

The fact, too, of the great numbers of the slaves in some portions of the slave-holding states, and their rapid increase, will not be without an influence upon prudent men, who will not be insensible to its probable future consequences.

To all other influences must be added, my Lord, that of the experiment which the British nation is now making in their West India Islands. If that experiment should succeed, it will have a great influence upon the question in the United States. We wait for the complete developement of that experiment with great interest. If it should appear that the slaves when set free in masses do well, are industrious, quiet, fond of knowledge, and capable of discharging the duties of citizens so far as to become, with safety, a constituent part of the free population, that fact will have a great effect in reconciling our southern people to the idea of giving liberty to their slaves.

But, as I have already stated, this is a work which will require many years. Prejudices, numerous and long cherished, must be overcome. Those who have never owned slaves, and who have not grown up in the midst of them, can have no correct idea of either the nature or the strength of these prejudices. That those who have held slaves and governed them all their lives, and who have been influenced by prejudices, which have descended from generation to generation, should at once become reconciled to the idea of not only setting their slaves free, and thus losing what they consider their property—perhaps their all—but also of seeing these same slaves become entitled to every privilege of freedom which they themselves enjoy, however desirable, is yet the most improbable of all moral or political changes. My Lord, this great work must be gradually done. Precipitate measures will not advance it; they will retard it. I know, indeed, that this view of the subject will not suit the *fiat-justitia* men. They must attempt to act out the most plausible but yet the most specious and dangerous opinion (for it is not worthy of being called a *principle*) that ever was advanced,—*that whatever ought to be done can be done.* Such men are too apt to disregard the manner of doing good, and to attempt it *per fas aut nefas.* But no great and good changes of a political or social character have yet taken place in our world which did not require much time. Even those grand religious and moral ameliorations which, more than any other changes, have been effected by the direct interposition of a Divine agency, have been brought about gradually. Why is this? Because God does not choose to deal with men as blocks of stone, but as rational beings, and therefore employs a system of influences which will overcome their prejudices,

enlighten their understandings, and rightly move their affections and wills. And I am the more reconciled—not to slavery itself—but to a gradual destruction of it, by the firm belief which I have, that the condition of the slaves is steadily becoming ameliorated. Without doubt there are cases of infamous cruelty and oppression. But as a general thing, I believe that slavery is becoming every year mitigated in its rigours. Vast numbers of the slaves are members of our churches, especially of the Methodist and Baptist churches, which greatly predominate in the slave states over the other denominations, and are exerting a salutary influence. The African negroes, who are generally much more ignorant than the natives, are of course disappearing, as there are no more importations, and the whole slave population is gradually and perceptibly rising in intelligence and fitness for freedom. Is there not something here that is hopeful? I am bound to say here, however, that whatever may be the ameliorations of the condition of the slaves, I am far from agreeing with those who, without knowledge, assert that their condition is better than that of the free negroes in the free states. With the exception of some worthless coloured people about our large cities, I believe that their condition in our free states is greatly preferable to that of the slaves generally. That the condition of the slaves is more comfortable than that of the free coloured people in the slave states I can readily believe, and for reasons which are too obvious to need to be stated here.

Much has been said in Europe, my Lord, by way of ridicule, respecting the apparent inconsistency between the grand political principles which we profess to hold and the existence of slavery among us. I firmly believe, my Lord, and it is the boast

of Americans, that the great principles of human right were more thoroughly discussed and established, and more luminously exhibited to the world by our fathers of the revolution,—that is to say, in the quarter of a century which elapsed from 1765 to 1790,—than they ever had been in all preceding time. And I believe that the true principles of human government were then more fully discovered and developed than in all preceding ages. We, as Americans, believe these principles to be true. We do believe that "all men are born free, and equal." Does the existence of slavery among us prove that we do not? Not at all.* It only proves that we have not yet carried our principles fully into effect. We have, indeed, done so as it regards foreign political dominion. But by reason of many difficulties we have not carried these principles fully into operation in relation to slavery. Still I hesitate not to affirm that there is not an intelligent and virtuous man among us who does not firmly believe the great principle, cited above, to be a correct one. There is not one such man among us who does not believe slavery to be wrong; and there is not one intelligent and virtuous man among us who either desires or expects that slavery will be perpetual. But then the carrying of these principles into effect, in regard to our slaves, will demand time. For my part I rejoice that our principles are what they are. They are indeed in advance of our

* It is, in reality, the belief of the principle referred to that creates the greatest obstacle to the emancipation of the slaves amongst us. We cannot emancipate them without soon admitting them to all the rights of citizens. For this they are not prepared; and to this the prejudices of the slaveholder are greatly opposed. We cannot do as the British government does with the slaves of the West India Islands—set them free, but give them after all but few of the dearest privileges of freemen. Our republican principles forbid this. With us every freeman, whether rich or poor, white or black, must enjoy all the advantages of citizenship, including the right to vote, and eligibility to office.

practice; but they will yet bring up our practice into a delightful conformity.

Such I am persuaded are the opinions of our slaveholders themselves. But what I have long deeply deplored, in regard to them, is that they do not themselves attempt to bring forward some measure for getting rid of slavery, instead of sitting down in despondency, and saying that nothing can be done.* I believe very differently. I believe that if gradual abolition were commenced in each southern state, (as was done in Pennsylvania,) in the course of time the evil would be removed. Let the coloured people, as they become free, be hired; let them have the opportunity of acquiring property; let them, under proper restrictions, become entitled to all the privileges of citizens, as is the case in almost all the free states. The result would be, in time, that they would form a large part of the constituent free population, and in the parts where their numbers are very great, become owners of the soil,—the whites selling out to them, and retiring to the other portions of those states, or to other states. That this course is practicable, I have not a doubt; nor have I a doubt that it will eventually be adopted. Certainly no better presents itself, unless it is to transport them in mass, which I always have believed to be impracticable, on account of many obstacles—the least of which is the want of money. I know that this plan will not be received with approbation, at present. Much time will be required

* It is proper to remark, that it is the opinion of many excellent men in the southern states that the time has not yet arrived for attempting this work. They say, and with much reason, that the causes which are now in operation will, in time, prepare the minds of the slaveholders for this happy change; and that until they are more fully influenced by those causes, and prepared to act, it is useless, or rather injurious to urge the subject upon them. *This*, rather than despondency or apathy, is the true cause why southern philanthropists have not come forward with some plan for abolishing slavery amongst them.

to overcome prejudice. I need hardly add, however, that this plan has nothing to do with the ridiculous doctrine of *amalgamation.* That doctrine has no necessary connexion with this plan, and forms no part of my theory.

But, my Lord, we do not despair. This is a great work—the greatest work, I will say, of the kind which the world has ever witnessed. It was a small affair for you to abolish slavery in your distant colonies, in which but few, comparatively, of your citizens were personally or directly interested, and many of them residing in those colonies, and, of course, having neither a vote nor a direct influence in your elections. It would have been another sort of thing if slavery had existed amongst you in Great Britain and Ireland; if, for instance, nearly one half of your citizens had held slaves, and which constituted the greater portion of their wealth; and if, above all, your form of government were such that none but the slaveholding portion of the population had any right, by your charter, to legislate over the subject, or even to touch it. Had this been the case, you would not have been half-way towards the abolition of slavery. Indeed I wonder that you were so long in doing what you have done, or rather commenced. It is well that you have done what you have. But you do not deserve a great deal of praise for it. We have done more. Although our general government has no direct control over the subject; yet, since our independence, eight of the original thirteen states have become free from slavery, and now fourteen in all are in the same condition, and the prospect is good with regard to several others.

Had our general government direct control over the subject of slavery, I am very confident that this greatest of evils would soon come to an end. But

by our constitution all interference in this subject is forbidden to the general government, and its control is placed in the hands of the individual states. And we cannot think of breaking down our constitution in order to get rid of slavery. We shall, my Lord, pursue a better course. We shall adhere to the constitution,—and when the time comes that we can change our constitution, in a *constitutional* manner, to effect this great work, then such a change will be made, if necessary, with perfect safety. And here I would remark that it is not a valid argument against what I have just said, to urge the existence of slavery in the district of Columbia; for many reasons (growing out of the continuance of slavery in Maryland and Virginia, which states surround the district) have led the congress to delay any action on that subject until those states, which would be so much affected by that step themselves, begin to move towards the abolition of slavery within their limits. I do not say that these reasons have been sufficient, but I mention the fact to show, that there *are* special reasons which have influenced that body to pursue the course which it has done. Perhaps it will be seen in the end that this course has not been so unwise as some have supposed. As to the *internal slave trade,* as it is called, and which has been so often denounced, I believe that it is a subject over which congress has no control. My Lord, no man knows better than your Lordship the force of inveterate prejudice. It will require time for the Americans to overcome it, in regard to slavery. But I will venture to assure your Lordship that it will not require more time to do away the remainder of slavery in the United States than it has done to enable the advocates of reform in Great Britain to make even the small degree of progress which they have made. How long, my Lord, have

your Lordship and others been engaged in endeavouring to effect a reform in the *penal code* of your country? And yet after the lapse of more than half a century—I might say, of a whole century—since noble attempts began to be made to amend that code, there remain in it until this day, and are likely to remain in it for many a year to come, not a few statutes against crimes so wholly disproportionate to the offences which they are intended to punish, that they ought to be a disgrace to any civilized nation under the heavens! I know that your Lordship has so viewed them, and that you have made the most unremitting efforts to have them repealed or modified. Others did the same before your Lordship's day; but how slow the progress which has been made! The reason for this progress being so slow is to be found in the fact that the abuses to be reformed existed *among* you in Great Britain—they were not in distant colonies. And as to the prejudice of our white people against the blacks, I doubt whether it is much greater than is that of the highest and wealthiest classes in England against the poor. I have seen hundreds of coloured children and adults in our Sunday-schools occupying as good a part of the room as the white scholars. I have seen thousands of them in our churches, occupying the galleries, or a part of the church below. And I have been present in our churches when the coloured members took their turns in coming to the communion table, or were commingled with the other members. Is there any greater equality than this between the higher and lower classes in England? I believe that there is not. I am not finding fault, however; I am only stating facts. I am no advocate for amalgamation of the rich and the poor, or the white and the

black. Nor do I suppose that entire equality of intercourse between them is possible, or conducive to their mutual happiness. The good sense of people, all the world over, when left to itself, will seek equality in marriage as well as in all the intercourse of life.

In the foregoing part of this letter I have given you, my Lord, a brief but true account, as I believe, of what has been done in my country to abolish slavery, and of the prospects of the final achievement of this noble object. Give us your sympathy, your encouragement, your commendation when we deserve it,—and even your censure, in the gentlemanly and proper way in which I know that your Lordship will always give it, if you give it at all. Correspond, if you think proper, with our leading men. They will receive it well. But above all, conduct well the example which you are setting us in your West India experiment. Do not give us your money, nor offer to do it. We do not need it for any purpose. I should blush to ask a shilling from an Englishman to promote any object in the United States; and I am always ashamed when I hear of any one else doing so. I have strong hopes that our general government will take up the subject of buying out the slavery which still exists amongst us. Free from debt, it is fully able to do it.

My Lord, the subject of slavery as it exists among us in the United States, is a domestic one, and can be best managed by our own citizens. This remark coincides fully with what was uttered by your Lordship at the Anti-slavery meeting, to which I referred at the commencement of this letter. It will certainly be far from profitable for you to send men to lecture us on this subject. I consider it a real

calamity to the cause that any thing of this kind has been done. I do not doubt the good intention of the measure, but its wisdom.

> Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
> Tempus eget.

No man has a *right* to come to us on any such errand. No foreigner has a right, as I understand the matter, to go into another land and interfere with the political arrangements which exist there. He may do so, but he has no *right* to do so. A minister of the gospel has the right, by divine command, to go into any part of the world, to proclaim salvation to men, to call men to repentance towards God, and faith towards the Lord Jesus Christ. And so long as he confines himself to the great object of his mission, no government on earth has a right to hinder him. His great object is to reconcile men to God, and prepare them for heaven, though the indirect influence of his preaching will undoubtedly undermine many of the political and social evils which may exist. Yet his great object is to preach the gospel, and so long as he imitates his blessed Master and the apostles, in this respect, he keeps within the divine warrant. But when he travels out of it to attack political arrangements, he ceases to stand on the ground upon which his divine commission places him. If fifty or one hundred ministers of the gospel in England choose to go to the United States to preach the gospel, they have a right to do so, and if good men, they will be well received. But if they go to preach a crusade against slavery, they cannot go upon their divine commission as ministers of the gospel, and cannot claim any special *right* to do so. Such aid we do not need. There is talent enough, energy enough, money enough, and I trust, with God's blessing,

wisdom enough in the United States, to do all that man can do to accomplish this great work.

If, my Lord, we were to send agents from the United States, where I have not found one man, within the last ten years, (and where I believe there are very few such men,) advocating a union of church and state, or who does not think that such a union is exceedingly injurious to the interests of religion, and that by making a deviation from the faith of the state in some sort a political offence, it has been the real cause of all the religious persecution in the world—to deliver lectures all over England against the union of church and state which exists among you, and to take part with those who are labouring to destroy your established church, —what would your Lordship think of such a procedure? They might be ministers of the gospel, and claim that they had a right to do so, and that they were preaching within the divine warrant of their office when they preached against the oppressions of the established church. Would your Lordship believe that they had any such right? Did their Master or his apostles set them such an example? What would you think of such a course? You would pronounce it to be an *impertinent interference.*

I claim for my country, my Lord, the honour of having passed the first law to abolish the slave trade. It was also the first to denounce the punishment of death against any of its citizens who might be found engaged in that trade, and placed that crime upon the same footing with that of piracy. I regret, however, that the government of the United States has not yet become willing to yield to the request of the British government, and enter into an arrangement by which suspected vessels of either nation might, under certain circumstances,

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be searched, in order to break up more effectually the existing slave trade. I am not without hope that this point may yet be yielded by the American government. The *right of search* is, however, a point on which the Americans are more sensitive than any other. They will be reluctant to concede it for any purpose. That they will never submit to its *enforcement* by any other nation, I am entirely confident. That day, my Lord, has gone by for ever!

My Lord, it is possible that my country may be called to pass through many and severe trials, as a punishment for our sins as a people. We certainly merit them from a holy and just God. But my hope is that He who conducted our fathers to that wilderness, and has thus far watched over us and granted us great prosperity, will still deign to guide us by his wisdom and holy providence. A foreigner who reads our party newspapers would often be ready to expect the speedy dissolution of our union. But let him go amongst us; let him witness the cheerful and prompt submission of our people to the results of the ballot-box; let him contemplate our admirable system of public schools, continually spreading into new states,—our hundreds of academies,—our seventy or eighty colleges,—our numerous theological, medical, and law schools,—our twelve hundred newspapers,—eight or ten thousand temperance societies, with a million and a half of members,—our 15,000 or 20,000 Sunday-schools, with their libraries, and a million of scholars, and taught by 120,000 of the best men and women among us,—an evangelical ministry of not less than eleven thousand preachers of the gospel,—the Bible placed in almost every family,—and all our other benevolent operations,—and he will then see much to encourage him. Still our reliance must be on God and

his blessing, and I think that this is the steady and growing conviction of Christians amongst us.

The greatest source of danger to our *union* is unquestionably the existence of slavery amongst us. Another is the rapid increase of our population, which is now fifteen millions, and which in twenty-five years more will probably be thirty millions! What gigantic efforts must be made by the friends of religion and education to increase the means of religious and literary instruction as rapidly as the increase of population. But I believe that it will be done. A third source of danger to us is the immense emigration to our shores from Europe, which is pouring into our country annually thousands of ignorant, and poor corrupt foreigners. The greater portion of our paupers, drunkards, and criminals, are from foreign lands. But we hope, with God's blessing, to stem the dreadful torrent.

And here, my Lord, I will say a word respecting the instances of riot and disorder which have recently occurred in the United States. It is this—whilst I am ready to admit that a spirit of insubordination, which by a sort of sympathy has spread over the country, does certainly exist, yet I must assert that the accounts of it have been grossly exaggerated. The special courts which have been held for punishing those who were engaged in the insurrections of the slaves, in one or two states, are according to the laws of those states. The proceedings against the gamblers, in a few instances, have been violent and illegal, as have been the summary punishments inflicted on those who were engaged in disseminating seditious publications, as they have been called. These proceedings are deplorable. But they have been far less extensive and serious than many have supposed from reading the accounts in the newspapers. And I am satisfied, from ex-

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tensive knowledge of my country, that these excitements and petty tumults will soon pass away. The good sense of the people will every where frown down all these things speedily. Indeed, whilst writing this letter, I have received information that these things are fast disappearing. Amongst a people who are not governed by soldiers and bayonets, such things may be expected occasionally. But they will be only temporary, and the laws will soon recover their proper sway.

A better acquaintance with the peculiar but simple structure of the general government of the United States, as well as the powers of the state governments; of the subjects over which the former may legislate, and of those which are reserved to the legislation of the latter, would enable foreigners to understand why it is that the American nation, as such, ought not to be blamed for the existence of slavery in some of the states. I was astonished, my Lord, upon my first visiting England, at the great ignorance, even among very well-informed people, of American affairs, which I found to exist. Almost nothing seems to be understood—neither geography, history, manners, laws, nor structure of government. I have often been asked what language is spoken there! And this question has not been asked with regard to the aborigines, but to the present inhabitants of that land. But I suppose that I ought not to have been astonished. Much, indeed, has been written by Englishmen respecting America, and a good deal by visitants from the continent of Europe. But with the solitary exception of the "*Democratic en Amerique*," by M. Tocqueville, nothing, absolutely, has been written by a foreigner which approaches to an accurate delineation of our political organization. Many of these writers have very confidently thought that

they understood it perfectly. But they were mistaken. They have all said much that is true of manners, &c., so far as they saw them in the circles in which they revolved, and much that is erroneous when employed for general description. This is the character of what has been written by Messrs. Fearon, De Roos, Stuart, Fidler, M'Gregor, Ouseley, Hall, Hamilton, &c. &c., and by such ladies as Frances Wright, Mrs. Butler, and Mrs. Trollope. Some of these works are written with considerable talent, and some in a good spirit; but they all so abound in errors that they wrongly inform about as much and as often as they inform correctly. Col. Hamilton's is by far the best as it regards our political institutions. The recent work of Drs. Reed and Matheson, though not free from mistakes, is by far the best work that has appeared in Europe, in regard to the religious, moral, and literary state and prospects of that country. It neither gives, nor professes to give, any information deserving of mention respecting the physical resources of the country, or its political organization.

My Lord, could Mr. O'Connell have understood our political organization when he denounced, as he did at the Anti-slavery meeting, and as he has done on some subsequent occasions, the Americans *en masse*, as "liars, hypocrites, traitors to honour? &c. &c. I was astonished, my Lord, to hear such language from Mr. O'Connell, whose talents I have always greatly respected, and who I little thought could descend to the use of such ungentlemanly epithets, to say the least of them. I confess, indeed, that I was too much amused with the perfectly ridiculous rant and violence of the learned gentleman to be *angry* at his denunciations. Besides, I thought them too little worthy of regard to be viewed with any other feeling than that of regret

at the injury which they would do to the cause of abolition in the United States. But I understand that Mr. O'Connell is only an *eleventh-hour* man in the Anti-slavery cause, and I suppose that he feels that it is incumbent on him to establish his sincerity and zeal by an uncommon amount of violence. As to the proclamation which he seemed to issue to his Irish subjects in America, to renounce slavery instantly and join the Anti-slavery Society upon the pain of his great displeasure, it is to be hoped that they will pay reverent heed to it, and render prompt obedience. With regard to his pronouncing the Americans unworthy of being received into equal society in Europe, and especially his expression of a determination not to admit them to his house except they are non-slave-holders, and members of the Anti-slavery Society, I do not know what to say. It surely must be considered by them all a sad calamity to be thus put beyond the pale of good society, and especially to be debarred from *his* hospitality. And how they will be able to survive it, I will not undertake to predict.

But seriously, my Lord, what good can Mr. O'Connell expect to accomplish by such unjust speeches? They cannot be defended but upon the infernal principle that the "end justifies the means," —a principle not unknown to St. Ignatius Loyola, but which was invented by another personage, long before his day. Mr. O'Connell, I understand, has complained that his speech was not correctly reported. But I have seen no report of it which was at all equal in scurrility to what he actually said. But I must take leave of the learned member for Dublin, and in doing so, cannot forbear suggesting to him that a little more accurate knowledge of the political organization of the United States might enable him to speak more correctly about that

country; and that if he has not leisure to read any large tomes on the subject, I hope he will allow me to recommend to his perusal a little work of great celebrity among our children—Peter Parley's Geography of the United States—from which he will be able to learn at least the number and the names of our states.

My Lord, I am deeply pained at the language of taunt with reference to slavery in my country, which I have noticed in some of the public meetings, as well as in some of the publications in England. "Let America follow our good example as she has followed our bad," is flippantly said. I hope that we shall do it. But if I were disposed to indulge in retort, I might say, that reproach and abuse for the existence of slavery amongst us do not come with good grace from *Englishmen*, who were the authors of it. I might say that it is quite too soon for England to abuse other nations for the existence of slavery whilst she has yet scarcely washed from her forehead the deep and bloody stain of her own oppressions of the African race. I would say that my own country will one day, I am confident, be able to reply to England, "The serpent which you placed in our cradle, and, heedless of our infant cries, taught to twine itself around our limbs, and strike its poison into our veins, has at length been strangled, and the young Hercules who has thus triumphed over your wicked device, rejoicing in victory, will ever henceforth take the lead of you, and the world, in every path of great and glorious achievement." I would ask also the author of "Spiritual Despotism," who tauntingly speaks of our political institutions as the *Republicanism* which "endures slavery," how long it is since monarchy ceased to endure it? I would tell him that slavery was banished from fourteen republican states in my

own country, and from eight other republics on the American continent, before a single monarchy on the whole earth could be induced to raise the standard of freedom. I would tell him that mankind have had to see the spectacle of the republics of the New World rising up to free themselves from the slavery with which the monarchies of the Old World cursed them, before a single monarchy could be persuaded to take a step in this humane enterprise.

But no, my Lord, I will not indulge in rancorous feelings. I cannot do it. And if I could, *England* would be the last country on the earth against which I would say a word, unless it were unavoidable in the defence of my own. No: I honour England, and I bless God for what he has done for England: the land of my fathers: the land of the great and the good: the land of Bibles, and of a pure religion, and of associations to diffuse them through the wide world. I cannot speak lightly of England—long the sole depository of civil and religious liberty in the world. In arts and science and religion the benefactor of mankind, as she has often been the defender of their rights. I cannot abuse England. Sooner "let my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."

With regard to my own country, I say from the bottom of my heart, "With all thy faults I love thee still;" and with my last, parting breath, I hope to pray, *Esto perpetua!* My Lord, why should not England and America cherish the kindest feelings towards each other, and, leaving the domestic affairs of each to its own management, seek to do each other good, and not injury? Let there be no other rivalry than that of each striving to do the most good. The two nations are but one people, speaking the same language, possessing the same

religion, having governments similar in fundamental principles, and are only *separated* by an ocean. Whilst you exert your influence throughout the Eastern World, we are spreading your language and whatever good we have derived from you over the half of the New. Both are raised up by Providence to stand together as a barrier against infidelity and superstition in the religious world, and despotism in the political. Let every tongue and every hand be employed to render our continued influence, great, good, glorious!

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's humble Servant,

AN AMERICAN.

W. Tyler, Printer, Bolt Court, Fleet Street.

RIGHT AND WRONG

AMONG THE

ABOLITIONISTS OF THE UNITED STATES:

OR THE

OBJECTS, PRINCIPLES, AND MEASURES

OF THE

ORIGINAL AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

UNCHANGED:

BEING A DEFENCE AGAINST
THE ASSAULTS OF THE RECENTLY FORMED
MASSACHUSETT'S ABOLITION, AND THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES: EMBODYING A STATEMENT OF FACTS, FROM OFFICIAL
AND OTHER DOCUMENTS, WITH RESPECT TO THE ORIGIN AND
PROGRESS OF THE DIVISION AMONG THE
ABOLITIONISTS OF AMERICA.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY LETTER BY

MISS MARTINEAU,

AUTHOR OF "THE MARTYR AGE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,"

And an Appendix.

BY JOHN A. COLLINS,

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

"Let us meet
And question this most shameful piece of work,
To know it further. Fears and scruples shake us:
In the great hand of God I stand: and, thence
Against the undivulged pretence, I fight,
Of treasonous malice." SHAKSPEARE.

AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM.

Magna est veritas et prevalebit.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE following Letter, to one of the most devoted among the Abolitionists in Great Britain, from MISS MARTINEAU, the well-known and talented authoress of "*The Martyr Age of the United States of America*," contains sentiments so admirable, and gives such a clear exposition of the Causes of the Division among American Abolitionists, that it is inserted here, as an Introduction to this pamphlet:—

TYNEMOUTH, NORTHUMBERLAND, 27*th Feb.*, 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have read the Statements in "*Right and Wrong* among the Abolitionists of the United States," with respect to the Differences between the two Anti-Slavery Societies in America, with a strong and painful interest. I wish I could adequately express my sense of the duty of every one interested in the cause of the Negro,—of Human Freedom at large,—to read and deeply meditate this piece of history. I am not more firmly persuaded of any thing, than that those who, on the present occasion, listen to one side only, or refuse to hear either, are doing the deepest injury in their power to the Anti-Slavery cause, and sowing the seeds of a bitter future repentance.

I am aware how distasteful are the details of a strife. I know but too well, from my own experience, how natural it is to turn away, with a faint and sickening heart, from the exposure of the enmities of those whose first friendship sprang up in the field of benevolent labours. I fully understand the feelings of offended delicacy which would close the ears and seal the lips of those who have been fellow-workers with both the parties now alienated. Among all these causes of recoil, I see how it is but too probable that the Anti-Slavery parties on the other side of the Atlantic may be left by many of their British brethren to "settle their own affairs," to "fight their own battles." But if I had a voice which would penetrate wherever I wished, I would ask in the depths of every heart that feels for the Slave whether it should be so;—whether such indifference and recoil may not be as criminal in us as dissension in them; —whether, in declining to do justice to the true friends of the Slave, (on whichever side they may appear to be) we may not be guilty of treachery as fatal as compromising with his enemies.

Those who devote themselves to the redemption of an oppressed class or race do, by their act of self-devotion, pledge themselves to the discharge of the lowest and most irksome offices of protection, as much as to that of the most cordial and animating. We are bound, not only to fight against foes whom we never saw, and upon whom our sympathies never rested;—not only to work for millions of poor creatures, so grateful for our care, that they are ready to kiss the hem of our garments. This kind of

service, however lavish it may require us to be of our labour, our time, our money, is easy enough in comparison with one which is equally binding upon us. It is also our duty to withdraw our sympathy and countenance from our fellow-labourers, (however great their former merits and our love,) when they compromise the cause. It is our duty to expose their guilt when, by their act of compromise, they oppress and betray those brethren whose nobleness is a rebuke to themselves. This painful duty may every friend of the Negro in this country now find himself called upon to discharge, if he gives due attention to the state of Anti-Slavery affairs in America. If he does *not* give this attention, it would be better for him that he never named the Negro and his cause; for it is surely better to stand aloof from a philanthropic enterprise than to mix up injustice with it.

The first movers in the Anti-Slavery cause in America, those who have stood firm through the fierce persecutions of many years, who have maintained their broad platform of catholic principles, who have guarded their original Constitution from innovation and circumscription,—Garrison, and his corps of devout, devoted, and catholic fellow-labourers, with the Bible in their heart of hearts, and its spirit in all their ways, are now in a condition in which they need our support. They have been oppressed, betrayed, pillaged, and slandered. Not they, but their foes, are the innovators, the bigots, the unscrupulous proselyters, the preachers of a new doctrine, modified to propitiate the pro-Slavery spirit of the country in which they live. No one will call my words too strong, my accusations exaggerated, who will read the evidence relating to the transfer of the *Emancipator*, (for one instance) or, casting an eye upon the statement of accounts of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will perceive who voted into their own pockets the money by which the *Emancipator* might have been sustained, under whose commission the assailants of the Old Organization crossed the Atlantic, and at whose expense they travelled throughout our country, sowing calumnies against Garrison and his faithful companions through the length and breadth of our land. When the friends of the Slave here are told of treachery, pillage, and slander, will they hazard being a party to the guilt, for want of enquiry, even though the London Anti-Slavery Committee, and their organ, the *Reporter*, at present appear to stand in that predicament? If they would avoid such a liability, let them read and consider the Statement by which the case is placed fully before them.

No one is more ready than I to make allowance for lapse in the friends of the Negro in America. I have seen too much of the suffering (not conceivable here) consequent upon a profession of Anti-Slavery principles, to wonder that there are but few who can endure, from year to year, the infliction from without, the probing of the soul within, which visits the apostles of freedom in a land which maintains Slavery on its soil. From my heart I pity those who, having gone into the enterprize, find that they have not strength for it, and that they are drawn by their weakness into acts of injustice towards such as are stronger than themselves;—for those who are not with the thorough-going are necessarily against them. We must regard with even respectful compassion the first misgivings, before they have become lapse. But what then must we feel,—what ought we to do—for those who *have* strength,—for those who *can* suffer to the end, —for those who are, after the pelting of a ten years' pitiless storm, as firm, as resolved, as full of vital warmth as ever,—as prepared still to abide the tempest, till the deluge of universal conviction shall sweep away

the iniquity of Slavery from the earth? Shall we refuse to hear the tale of their injuries, of their justification, because others have refused, or because the story is painful? May we dare to call ourselves workers in the Anti-Slavery cause while thus deserting the chief of its apostles now living in the world?

All believe that the truth will finally prevail; and you and I, dear friend, have a firm faith that therefore the Old Organization, with Garrison at its head, will prevail, at length, over the base enmity of the seceders. But we ought not to be satisfied with their prevailing *at length*, till we see whether they cannot be enabled to stand their ground *now*. Not a moment is to be lost. Not for a moment should their noble hearts be left uncheered;—not for a moment should the Slave-holder be permitted to fan his embers of hope;—not for a moment should the American Slave be compelled to tremble at the adversity of his earliest and staunchest friends, if we can, by any effort, obtain a hearing for the cause. Let us urge and rouse all who are about us,—not to receive our mere assertions, —not to take our convictions upon trust,—but to read, search out, and weigh the evidence, and judge for themselves.

This is all that is needed; for I believe there is not a friend of the Slave, in any part of the world, who, knowing the facts, would not make haste to offer his right hand to Garrison and his company, and his voice and purse to their cause.

I am, yours very truly,

HARRIET MARTINEAU.

PREFACE.

It is a fact which cannot be disguised, and which ought, *in its causes*, to be well understood, that there is an unhappy division among the Abolitionists of America—that they are divided into two parties, both professedly holding the same principles, and adopting the same measures, to procure the Immediate Abolition of Slavery; yet, strange to say, one party exercises the most bitter and unrelenting hostility against the other—*strange*, because it would seem natural to suppose, that if they were united on this subject, *in principle*, they would not be hostile to each other in action.

A minority has seceded from the Original American Anti-Slavery Society, and formed a rival Association, the object of which, interpreted by its official organ, agents, and auxiliaries, appears to be the entire annihilation of the Society from which it has seceded.

This opposition is based upon the alleged ground, that the American Anti-Slavery Society makes Woman's Rights, Non-Resistance, and other extraneous questions, a necessary part of the Anti-Slavery principles:—that prominent and leading Abolitionists were constantly disturbing the harmony of the Anti-Slavery meetings, by forcing upon them their peculiar religious and political views; and that the objectors were compelled to secede, and form a new society, for the sake of peace and the interests of the Slave.

Such are the charges. To them all, the American Anti-Slavery Society pleads, NOT GUILTY. It denies (and its official proceedings will corroborate the truth of the denial,) ever having entertained, *as a Society*, any other views than that Slavery was a sin against God, and ought immediately to be abolished.—By its constitution, it can proscribe no person on account of his religion, country, sex, complexion, sect or caste, but is bound to welcome all as fellow-labourers, who will co-operate for Immediate and Unconditional Emancipation. It silences no person who feels moved to plead for all such as are under oppression. Its platform is on the most broad and catholic principles; and while it establishes no religious or political test of membership, but is common to all persons, it denies, at the same time, the right of any one, to make *his* peculiar religious or political opinions binding on his associates, as Abolitionists. Such is the reply of the American Anti-Slavery Society to the charges brought against it.

The design of the following pages is to prove, that the American Anti-Slavery Society has, from its origin to the present time, pursued one uniform and consistent course of action. That its principles and measures are the same now, as at its formation in 1833,—the same as at the time of the "American Union" in 1835, when a most artful attempt was

made by a body of clergymen, under the plea of love for the Slave, to propitiate the pro-Slavery spirit of the prejudiced multitude, by withdrawing from the enterprize the life-giving energy of its principles; —the same as at the time of the "Clerical Appeal" of 1837, when another subtle and crafty movement was made by some Anti-Slavery clergymen, to deliver over the enterprize into the hands of the Clergy, by destroying the Anti-Slavery principle, through the destruction of its essential measures.—That the charges preferred against the Society at the periods alluded to, were very nearly the same in kind and degree as those now urged against it.—That now, as then, the division is *the act and the fault of the seceders*, who, unable longer to endure the odium consequent upon an uncompromising adherence to the principles and measures of the original American Anti-Slavery Society, prefer a compromise of the cause to the spirit of proscription. Unwilling to yield up the cause of the Slave altogether, they have descended a few steps from their former lofty position, and erected a half-way-house between Liberty and Slavery. The seceders, in justification of their policy, have brought the most cruel charges against the original Society, for refusing now, as formerly, to introduce any *new test*, or to become the *tool* of any SECT or PARTY.

The reader is not required to credit the truth of the above statements upon mere assertion. The strongest evidence will be adduced from the official and other documents issued by those who, once the bold defenders of the constitution, principles, and measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society, are now actively engaged in efforts for its destruction.

The question may arise in the minds of some, Why force this matter, which relates to America, and which might be left for the Abolitionists of that country to settle among themselves, upon the friends of the Negro in Great Britain, and thus disturb the harmony of the cause in this country?

It may be answered, *First*, That all associations seeking the Abolition of Slavery must, necessarily, share the sympathy of every British philanthropist, in proportion to their integrity, zeal, and efficiency in promoting this great cause; and hence the investigation of their respective merits is obligatory, and, in the language of James G. Birney, "the Abolitionists of Britain, on all the principles of justice and fair dealing, are entitled to be informed, and that in the most distinct and ingenuous manner, what are the aims of those who seek their co-operation."

Second, That THE ONLY TWO BODIES IN AMERICA, favourable to the Immediate Emancipation of American Slaves, are the original *American* Anti-Slavery Society, which has been known, for the last eight years, as the uncompromising and faithful advocate of the oppressed Slave, and has commanded the respect and admiration of the Abolitionists of this country—and the New Society, the "American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," called into existence within the last ten months.

Third, That the seceders claim to be the *only* true friends of the Slave, and have constituted themselves the "American and *Foreign* Anti-Slavery Society," and, under this name, present themselves emphatically as THE Anti-Slavery Society of America. Thus acting, they have preferred charges against the original Society which, if true, should not only alienate the confidence of every friend of the Slave, but would justify every possible effort for its destruction, as the Slave's worst enemy. The Society, however, is to be presumed innocent, till proved guilty. Hence, in order to form a right judgment, the question should be *candidly*, *fully*, and *devoutly* examined; and if, after impartial investigation, it shall appear that

the charges have no foundation in *fact*, but that this Society is opposed and calumniated by Slave-holders on the one hand, and by compromising brother professors on the other, for its unwavering integrity, then it must, ought, and will have an additional claim upon all the friends of the Negro, for their contributions, their sympathy, and their prayers.

Fourth, That the subject of this division is already before the British people, who have, through the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of London, already taken sides against the American Anti-Slavery Society. It is painful to be compelled to state, that this Committee have not given the British people an opportunity of judging for themselves upon this question; as they have uniformly published in the *Reporter*, their official organ, statements tending to destroy all confidence in the American Anti-Slavery Society, and have refused to publish documents refuting false statements and calumnies.

Fifth, That, above all other considerations, justice to the oppressed Millions in the United States, demands of British philanthropists an early investigation of this question; for so long as this division exists, in which one party is undermining the character, standing, and influence of the other, it must be evident that the power of action of both upon the great cause for which they were established, must be, in a very great degree, neutralized, and the Abolition of Slavery necessarily deferred to an indefinite period.

The testimony adduced (*though but a tithe of what might be brought forward, did the limits of this pamphlet permit*) will, we trust, be sufficient to prove conclusively, to every one who will take the pains to give the subject a thorough investigation, that those who have *seceded from* the ORIGINAL AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, HAVE INTRODUCED A NEW SYSTEM OF THINGS—things which they had, till of late, uniformly "*repudiated*" "AS VIRTUAL ENMITY TO THE GREAT CAUSE," and "CALCULATED TO DISTRACT ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES." Having introduced these new tests, they now demand assent to them, and proscribe every society and individual who will not join them in their crusade against principles on which, to use their own language, *they, as Abolitionists*, "HAVE NO AUTHORITY TO SIT IN JUDGMENT." It will also, it is believed, appear evident, that the general questions of "*Woman's Rights*" and "*Non-Resistance*," the ONLY grounds openly and officially assigned for their secession, are not *the true reasons;* for when these fail in any place to destroy confidence in the Society, other objections are urged, adapted to the various prejudices of those whose co-operation and influence they aim to secure. To sustain and perpetuate their position, the sectarian feelings of the religious are appealed to. They do not scruple to heap upon those who will not follow them the charge of Unitarianism, Infidelity, and, in fact, every unpopular and obnoxious epithet, which, to those unacquainted with the question, may supply the place of facts and arguments. This being the case, the objections will not be anticipated which those may prefer, who are resolved upon the annihilation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Cunning and sophistry may, by their thousand turnings,

"Make the worse appear the better cause"—

yet the reader may, from the facts embodied in the following documentary evidence, perceive the *animus* of the Seceders, and be prepared to appreciate their arguments, and form a correct judgment, after a full, serious, and prayerful investigation of the whole question.

It is to be hoped, that the reader will not let the Appendix pass unnoticed, particularly that part of it which relates to an individual who is intimately connected with the cause in the United States,* and who has, in this country, been secretly, and by the tongue of slander, most cruelly misrepresented and calumniated. There is now no hope, on the part of the Seceders, of effecting the downfall of those thorough Anti-Slavery principles, which disturb the inglorious quiet of the Apologists for Slavery, while he and his coadjutors

> "Upon the nation's naked heart,
> Scatter the living coals of truth."

The oppressed and the oppressor alike perceive, as it were, by instinct, the policy which has in itself an adaptedness to promote their respective interests. The voice of disapprobation invariably given by the free coloured people † against "New Organization," on the one hand, and the approving tone of the pro-Slavery press ‡ towards it, on the other hand, is as strong testimony as can be given in favour of the integrity of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and therefore, it is hoped that that part of the Appendix relating to the views of each will not be passed by unread.

In exposing the opposition the Anti-Slavery cause has received from the clergy, no disrespect is intended to be cast on the office of the ministry. No one has a higher regard than the writer, for a clergyman who is faithful to the duties of his calling. The history of the Emancipation Enterprize, in the United States, cannot however, be given, without frequent allusion to the obstructive influence of the clergy, and the bare revelation of facts, with respect to their course, without note or comment, cannot but place them in an unenviable position, before the Christians of Great Britain.

That the reader may be better qualified to judge of the rise, progress, nature, and influence of the present division in America, it is necessary that a brief sketch of the Anti-Slavery cause, from its origin to the present time, should be given; that he may perceive the various instrumentalities, assuming different aspects, which have been used with a view to destroy this great enterprize.

J. A. C.

6, Queen Street Place, Southwark Bridge, London.

* See Appendix A. † See Appendix B. ‡ See Appendix C.

CHAPTER I.

THE ASSAULT.

"Tyrants! in vain ye trace the wizard ring,
In vain ye limit mind's unwearied spring.
What! can ye lull the winged winds asleep,
Arrest the rolling world, or chain the deep?"

CAMPBELL.

PREVIOUS to 1829, the hopes of the Slaves and free people of Colour in the United States were involved in thick darkness. The free States, by their ecclesiastical, political, and other relations to the Slave-holding States, were deeply though unconsciously interested in the continuance of the vicious and wretched system of Slavery. Every body was opposed to it, and yet felt exonerated from all responsibility for its continuance.

The American Colonization Society, at this time, was in the full enjoyment of popular favour. As it neither attacked Slavery nor the inhuman prejudice against the people of colour, but connived at and apologized for both, it received no opposition in its course, but carried in its channel the whole current of human sympathy as the Slave's best and only friend.

Under these circumstances, Mr Garrison, a young man without wealth, title, or influence, charged upon the entire country the responsibility of sustaining this atrocious system. The doctrines which he put forth were, that it was *a sin* against God to brutalize and enslave His image, and that the immediate and unconditional abolition of the system was *a duty*. This assault upon Slavery proved to be an attack upon the Colonization Society, which towered up like a mountain between the truth and the Slave-holder, and received the shafts designed for his conscience.—This led to an investigation of the principles and measures of that Association, and to the subsequent exposition, on the part of Mr Garrison, of its rottenness and inhumanity. This Society, embracing as it did all the ecclesiastical and political influence of the country, constituted the principal opponent to the Anti-Slavery enterprize.

The principles of the Abolitionists, which were at first treated as wild, visionary, unconstitutional, and unchristian, spread to such an extent, that, in 1833, delegates from most of the free States convened in Philadelphia, and instituted the American Anti-Slavery Society. This Association, through the greatest opposition, calumny, and ridicule, so increased, both in numbers and influence, that, in 1835, the friends of Slavery, perceiving that their "*peculiar institutions*" were fast falling into disrepute, leagued with Colonizationists, to check, by acts of violence, the onward and rapid march of Anti-Slavery principles. Their proceedings, in relation to the various mobs of this year, cast new light upon the true nature and influence of Colonization; and those who had previously stood with one foot upon this Society, and the other upon the Anti-Slavery Society, deprecating their opposition, and desiring their amalgamation, now withdrew their countenance from the one which would not stand the proof.

From this time, colonization lost its hold upon the affections of the Anti-Slavery people of New England, and retired to its proper place, further south. Yet its spirit still survived in the North, and assumed a new appearance, to delude the Abolitionists, and divert their minds from the great, and then unpopular question of "*Immediatism.*" The new Associa-

tion which hence arose, took the name of "THE AMERICAN UNION, *for the Relief and Improvement of the Coloured Race.*" It was constituted chiefly by a body of clergymen, known as inimical to the Abolitionists, while they professed to be the only true and consistent friends of the Slave. They were all "*Abolitionists in the abstract,*" and professed to be in favour of Emancipation, but could not endure the test-word—"*Immediatism.*" They were all "opposed to Slavery as much as anybody," but were shocked at the idea of declaring it to be "*always sinful.*" These two phrases, "*Immediate Emancipation,*" and "*Slavery always sinful,*" constituted the only cause of separation between the Abolitionists and the friends of "*American Union.*" To those unacquainted with the genius of Slavery and the subtlety of its abettors, this appears to be a very small matter for division; nevertheless, the sentiments of the parties upon Slavery were as opposite as the poles. The differences between them were these:—

The one Society apologized for, and connived at Slavery, while it made the strongest professions of pity for the poor Slave: the other boldly declared its intention of labouring for its overthrow.

The one was loud in declaiming against the evils consequent upon the system of Slavery, but condemned all expressions which would appear to censure good, pious Slave-holders, or those devoted clergymen who did not feel it to be their duty to talk, preach, or pray upon the subject: the other considered silence or neutrality upon this question as apologizing for Slavery, and that those ministers of the gospel who would condemn oppression in Greece or Poland, and sympathize with the poor, ignorant, and degraded heathen in Asia or Africa, and yet remain silent upon greater oppression and abominations at their very doors, were recreant to the high trust to which God had appointed them.

The one was grieved that the cause of the *poor Slave* should be made to suffer from the "improper action of females:" the other rejoiced to receive the co-operation of all in abolishing sin and misery.

"The American Union," deprecating all harsh and unchristian measures —(*i. e.* all declarations that Slavery is a sin against God, and that it is the duty of all to lift up their voices against its continuance,) at first found favour with many Anti-Slavery friends, and those who would be Abolitionists, were it not for the odium attached to their principles. However, as it embraced no great moral truths, but was governed by the ever-shifting principle of expediency, it lived but to see one anniversary, and is now only remembered as an institution that once existed to oppose the progress of Emancipation.

To show the *animus* of this Society, the following anecdote (from among a great number which might be introduced, did space permit), will be sufficient:—

"Mr C. Tappan requested Mr Homer, an editor of one of the pro-Slavery papers, to publish the proceedings of the convention which organized the '*American Union.*' Mr Homer refused—giving, as a reason, that he was opposed to all the movements of the Abolitionists; to which Mr Tappan replied, *that the object was to put down Garrison.*"

CHAPTER II.

THE STRUGGLE.

> "Pilate and Herod, friends!
> Chief priests and rulers as of old, combine!
> Just God and holy!—is that Church which lends
> Strength to the spoiler, Thine?"
>
> WHITTIER.

MR GARRISON has made himself, from the commencement of the Anti-Slavery struggle, peculiarly obnoxious to the clergy, from the ability and faithfulness which he has evinced, in exposing the hypocrisy and cruelty of the American Colonization Society, with which almost the whole body of the clergy were connected. His exposure of the time-serving policy of the American Union, and of its destructive influence upon the cause of Emancipation, did not add to his popularity. He was constantly assailed with reproach. The newspaper, called the *Liberator*, the pioneer in the cause —his own private property—was attacked as a dangerous publication, and irreligious in its tendency. So far as the general influence of the clergy extended, its character and influence was destroyed. It exercised too much freedom for their purpose. It spoke with too much plainness on the duties and responsibilities of ministers. While the infuriated legislature of Georgia, a Slave State, was offering a reward of 5000 dollars for the apprehension of Mr Garrison, and the Northern mob, composed of "gentlemen of property and standing," was leading him about the street, with a halter on his shoulders, the Northern pulpit and religious press were laying upon him the responsibility—charging upon him the guilt of these outbursts of popular prejudice and wrath.

The following, from the CHRISTIAN WATCHMAN, in speaking of the mob alluded to above, illustrates the general feeling of the religious press:—

> "While we have no apology to offer for a riot, under any circumstances, we hold *as being equally culpable* those who persist in a course that is calculated to excite such proceedings."

The active and efficient labours of Women, in circulating petitions, raising funds, occasionally pleading for the bondman, and in doing what their hands found to do, to aid and encourage their brethren in their unequal conflict with oppression, greatly distressed those whose lips were sealed against that system which drives nearly a million of innocent women into the cotton fields, rice swamps, and sugar plantations, to toil, naked and exposed to the scorchings of a tropical sun, under the lash of a task-master. The following extract from "THE CHRISTIAN REGISTER" of August, 1835, (edited by a clergyman,) at the time the meeting of the "Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society" was broken up by a gentlemanly mob of 5000, will exhibit the general state of feeling of the *religious press* on this subject:—

> "But when we come to the grave subjects of political reform, embracing complicated national interests, it might be wiser in the gentler sex to seek information at home, and lend their influence in a more private way."

The leading members of the *Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society* were instrumental in procuring the liberty of two female Slaves, (who had been brought into Massachusetts,) by *securing a decision* of the Court of

that State, that every Slave brought within its jurisdiction was, by its laws, declared to be instantly free. The following brief extract, from the *Boston Recorder*, a pro-Slavery paper, the organ of the Congregationalists, the largest and most influential body of Christians in New England, and edited by several clergymen, will illustrate the spirit of the religious press. To destroy the influence of the Women in this philanthropic work, the enemies of the cause endeavoured to identify their movements with "*Woman's Rights*," or some other *obnoxious* question. Its dignity of style for a religious newspaper, and its refinement of the satire is, in connexion with this topic, particularly to be observed:—

"Women have rights, too, and must not be browbeaten out of them by public opinion. One of their legal and constitutional rights is, to get married, if they can. If any unmarried woman can think of any man, whose duty it is to marry her, she has an undoubted legal and constitutional right to go to him and tell him so, and argue the case with him, if he will listen, and convince him, if she be able."

To encourage foreigners, coloured people, and the Women to labour more zealously, and to answer the repeated assertions of the pro-Slavery party; that it was improper and unchristian for Women to meddle with the Anti-Slavery question; that GEO. THOMPSON, and other *foreigners*, had no right to interfere with their "*peculiar institutions*;" and that coloured people ought not to be allowed to associate with their white brethren in their incendiary crusade against the rights of the Slave-holder; the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, at its Annual Meeting in 1836, passed a resolution unanimously declaring:—

"That we consider the Anti-Slavery cause the cause of philanthropy, with regard to which *all human beings*, white men and coloured men, citizens and foreigners, MEN and WOMEN, *have the same duties and the same rights*."

Several individuals were at this meeting who have since left the same Society, on the ground that Women are not excluded from the Society. *Who has changed?*

Nothing occurred to disturb the harmony of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, beyond the constant reiteration of the old objections of the impropriety of female action, harsh language, unconstitutional and unchristian proceedings—the ordinary opposition from the clergy and from political partizans, with an occasional outburst of popular indignation, tending to foster a growing interest for the cause, till the summer of 1837. Angelina E., and Sarah M. Grimke, two highly-educated women, natives of a Slave-holding State, and formerly Slave-holders, members of the Society of Friends, and fully conversant with the nature and influence of Slavery, appeared at that time in Massachusetts as public lecturers; and by their efficient labours and powerful appeals, mightily stirred up all that was sympathetic, humane, and religious, in favour of the immediate annihilation of this soul-destroying system.

The clergy, who denied the right of an advocate of the Anti-Slavery cause to enter within their respective parochial limits, in order to agitate "*the perplexing question*" without their consent, and who were particularly shocked at the less conspicuous activity which the Women had, with but few exceptions, before exercised in the Anti-Slavery cause, could not, for a moment, tolerate the idea that women, and Quaker women too, holding, as they did, peculiar and dangerous views, regarding the Sabbath, the church, the ordinances, and the priesthood, should be allowed to itinerate as public lecturers. The audience of three days, which the legislature of Massachusetts afforded to these women, was a standing rebuke to those ministers who professed to be mouths for the dumb. It is unnecessary to

add, that the influence of these women upon the legislature was very powerful.

The religious pro-Slavery party now endeavoured to direct the public mind from the great question of Immediate Emancipation, (which, in consequence of the *effective labours of the Grimke's, was commanding an unusual interest,*) to the improprieties and indelicacies of "woman's bearing an active part in matters of religious reform," &c.

The pro-Slavery pulpit now gave forth its doctrines and its censures against what were termed "*Woman's rights.*" The "General Association of Massachusetts," a notoriously pro-Slavery body, was immediately convened, and issued a letter to the churches under their care. The following brief extracts from the "*Pastoral Letter*" alluded to above, (issued in 1837,) will give an idea of the interest and spirit of the production :—

"The first topic upon which we would speak, has respect to the perplexed and agitating subjects which are now common amongst us is—that they [i. e. *the abolition principles*] should not be FORCED upon any church, as matters for debate *at the hazard of alienation and division.* Once it would have seemed strange, even to hint that members of churches could wish to FORCE a subject for debate upon their pastor and their brethren of the same church. But we are compelled to mourn over the loss, in a degree, of that deference to the pastoral office."

"We would call your attention to the importance of maintaining that respect and deference to the *pastoral office,* which is enjoined in Scripture, and which is essential to the best influence of the ministry on you and your children." * * * "One way in which this respect has been in some cases violated, is in encouraging lecturers or preachers on certain topics of reform to present their subjects *within the parochial limits of settled pastors without their consent.*" * * * * "If there are certain topics upon which he does not preach with the frequency or in the manner that would please you, it is a violation of sacred and important rights to encourage a stranger to present them. *Deference* and *subordination* are essential to the happiness of society, and peculiarly so in the relation of a *people* to their *pastor.*" * * * *

"We invite your attention to the dangers which at present seem to threaten the *female character* with wide-spread and permanent injury." * * * *

"We appreciate the unostentatious prayers and efforts of woman in advancing the cause of religion at home and abroad; in Sabbath-schools, in *leading religious enquirers to the pastor for instruction,* and in all such associated efforts as become the modesty of her sex; and earnestly hope that she may abound more and more in the labours of piety and love. But when she assumes the place and tone of man as a public reformer, our care and protection of her seem unnecessary, we put ourselves in self-defence against her, she yields the power which God has given her for protection, and her character becomes unnatural." * * *

"We cannot, therefore, but regret the mistaken conduct of those who encourage females to bear an obtrusive and ostentatious part in measures of reform, and countenance any of that sex who so far forget themselves as to itinerate in the character of public lecturers and teachers."

Well might the poet give utterance to the following, after perusing this production :—

> "So this is all—the utmost reach
> Of priestly power the mind to fetter!
> When laymen *think*—when women *preach*—
> A war of words—a '*Pastoral Letter!*'"

The following limited extracts from a few of the many sermons preached at this time, and printed and widely circulated over the country, by the most notorious enemies of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, will give an idea of the general spirit and opposition of the pulpit :—

"It is made the duty of woman so far as religious assemblies are concerned, to learn and not to teach—to learn in silence. And then a reason is given for it; *i. e.* that it would be an unseemly usurping of authority, for one who should bear the marks of subjection.

"Not only were women not permitted to harangue a christian audience, but

they were not permitted to ask a question in public. If they met any thing in the public instructions which they could not understand or consent to, they must confer with their husbands at home respecting it. It is treated not only as wrong, but '*a shame*,' *a scandalous offence* against propriety and decency. 'It is a shame for a woman to speak in the church!'"

"We do not evade the rule on the ground that the word *church* is used, and therefore it does not apply to all religious assemblies. This is an evasion which is good only to English ears. The word here translated *church*, means assemblies of any character or description. It is equally descriptive of the small social meeting of men and women, and the great congregation of religious or secular meetings, where one stands forth to harangue an assembly. It is parallel with the word assembly, or meeting, and the prohibition is as broad as if *meeting* had been the word, and as if the Apostle had said, it is a shame for a woman to speak in public meetings!"—*Rev. Parson Cook's Sermon.*

"The legitimate effect of being converted to the popular measures of the Abolitionists, (popular, I mean, among a certain class—not with the great mass of the people—God forbid,) is a neglect of some of the appropriate duties of woman. Her time, she is apt to think, can be better employed than to devote it to her own peculiar household concerns; and therefore, she becomes a sort of travelling agent for those who make it a business to lead captive 'silly women.'" —*Rev. Mr Folsom's Sermon.*

"When, forsaking the domestic hearth, her delicate voice is heard from house to house, or in social assemblies, rising in harsh unnatural tones of denunciation against civil laws and rulers, against measures involving political and State affairs, of which she is nearly as ignorant as the child she left at home in the cradle; against churches and ministers, perhaps her own pastor, and certainly all who dissent from her views; expecting to reform politics and churches, and to put down every real and supposed evil in them, by the right arm of female power, and clamorous for the organization of female societies, for this specific object; not slow to anathematize all who do not submit to her dictation, in the stereotype phraseology of certain modern charity, as 'time-serving men,' and 'canting hypocrites.'"—*Rev. Mr Winslow's Sermon.*

Thus these hirelings of Slavery—

> "Choke down at once each breathing thing
> That whispers of the rights of man."

And all

> "But force the Spirit of Grace itself, to bind
> His consort, Liberty."

CHAPTER III.

THE REVOLT, OR CLERICAL APPEAL.

> "Ah! 'tis often thus. When a righteous cause
> Is struggling 'gainst its hydra-headed foes,
> And seems to quiver for the equipoise;
> Some nobly brave the storm a certain length,
> Recede, and leave the battle to be fought
> And won, by hearts *temper'd* for the conflict."

Those clergymen who had identified themselves with the Abolitionists, and had entered their ranks in good faith, now found themselves very unpleasantly situated. Their fidelity to the cause of the Slave made them exceedingly obnoxious to their pro-Slavery brethren, who professed to be much grieved that there were those among them, who should countenance the movement, then in full operation, not only to destroy ministerial influence, and engender disrespect for pastoral rights and usages, but that any sanction should be given to an unholy crusade against the peace of the Northern as well as Southern Churches. The advocating of the Slave's right to his freedom by one party, was a standing rebuke to the other, for their time-serving policy. Hence those among the clergy who

were faithful to the truth, to the Slave, and to their God, were held responsible for all the views entertained by Abolitionists, which were not in harmony with the "*prevailing voice of the brotherhood.*" All so-called heresies were laid at their door.

They were in a most trying position. It required much faith in God to remain faithful to the cause they had espoused; as it would necessarily attract towards them an additional visitation of ridicule and proscription from their clerical associates, who had it in their power to destroy their ministerial character and influence. They stood between two fires. On the one hand, they felt unwilling to yield up the cause of the Slave altogether; and on the other, they were disinclined to stand in opposition to their pious pro-Slavery brethren, which they must do, if they maintained Anti-Slavery fellowship with Mr Garrison, who had, by his ability, fidelity, and sagacity, detected and exposed the arts by which the true Anti-Slavery principles were to be rendered powerless, if arts could avail for that purpose. The temptation was too great, and the tempted fell. About two months after the appearance of the famous "*Pastoral Letter,*" five Anti-Slavery clergymen of Boston and its vicinity, headed by the Rev. Charles Fitch, pastor of one of the Boston churches, and for years one of the most active and efficient labourers with Mr Garrison, issued without any previous remonstrance or intimation, a public document, which its authors styled "*Clerical Appeal,*" but which might be more properly entitled Sequel to the "*Pastoral Letter,*" in which they adopted the stereotyped objections of the opponents of the Abolitionists, condemning them as rash and denunciatory; preferring serious charges against the *Liberator*, and Mr Garrison, its Editor,—deprecating all interference with pastoral rights and usages,—arraigning the Society, and individual members of it, for their heterodoxy—condemning the public action of women; and finally reaching the conclusion that the Society was so heretical, that peace, religion, and the poor Slave, required the formation of an Association on principles more "evangelical," and to which none should be admitted who would not subscribe to a certain creed. This movement was immediately seconded by thirty-nine candidates for the clerical office at Andover, who preferred some additional charges, one of which was, that Abolitionists made "statements prejudicial to the cause of Foreign Missions, and to the character of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions." The reader can judge for himself, how much occasion Abolitionists had for withdrawing their confidence from this great Society, which was then receiving and disbursing more money than any two other benevolent associations in the United States—when he shall learn that this Society, with Boston for its head-quarters, not only smothered appeals made by foreign missionaries to the American churches, but the Society itself was actually holding human beings as articles of merchandize. It was against the inconsistency and wickedness of this practice, that the attacks of the Abolitionists were directed. This association, designed to evangelize the world, was actually bartering away one set of heathen, and appropriating the proceeds to enlighten another.

The following extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr Armstrong, Secretary of this Society, in answer to an inquiry made by D. S. Ingraham, now a missionary in the West Indies, whether the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was the owner of Slaves? will show that there was cause of complaint on the part of Abolitionists:—

"In some cases they (the Slaves) have been hired by the month, or year; in other cases they have been purchased, of those who had a legal right to their services, with the funds of the Board."

There was no giving up, on the part of these clergymen, of the doctrines of Immediate Emancipation; no war upon the Anti-Slavery principles; but an insidious attack upon its measures—measures which impart to these principles, strength, life, and energy. The document was so mild —breathed such a gentle spirit, appealing to, rather than attacking prejudice, that it mightily pleased, not only open enemies, but timid friends.

> "So smooth he daubed his vice with show of virtue,
> That his apparent open guilt omitted."

For a specimen of the general feeling manifested by the religious journals, the mouth-pieces of the various denominations, edited by clergymen, and open opponents to the Anti-Slavery movements, we give the following:—

"The following Appeal is so excellent and so well-timed, that we insert it entire, although of considerable length. It manifests so good a spirit, so much in accordance with christian propriety, that we feel confident it will find a response from many hearts not now enlisted in the Abolition enterprize."—*N. H. Observer.*

"We have been exceedingly refreshed by the following document, which appeared in the last *New England Spectator.* Its noble, independent tone—its courtesy towards opponents, its regard for their rights, conceding all its demands —its recognition of correct principles of action and intercourse, in language plain and easy to be understood;—all this is so different from anything which we have seen from 'that side of the house,' that we give the whole with the sincerest pleasure. We have marvelled for a long time how Anti-Slavery ministers, at least such as we know some of them to be, could keep silence, while a tyranny was creeping in, more to be dreaded than any other now in existence among us."—*Christian Mirror.*

A Gratifying Document.—"Here is an approach to what we have so often argued to be the duty of Christian members of Anti-Slavery Societies. We admire the honest and christian spirit of this document. Mr Fitch is pastor of the Free Church, which professes to be founded on 'Anti-Slavery principles,' and has frequently spoken at Anti-Slavery Meetings. Mr Towne is pastor of the Salem Street Church, and was one of the 'seventy agents,' commissioned last year by the American Anti-Slavery Society. Mr Sanford, and the other signers, have long been known as active members of the Anti-Slavery Society.—We publish their appeal with great pleasure."—*Vermont Chronicle.*

Taking Right Ground.—"Several Clerical Abolitionists in Boston and vicinity have been obliged to express their public disapprobation of some of the Garrisonisms of that region. We give a few extracts from their public appeal, as published in the *New England Spectator.* Let Abolitionists generally come out, and put down the spirit and practice of denunciation and abuse, and show a better example by speaking the truth in love, and converts to their cause will be multiplied."—*Religious Intelligencer.*

The *objectors* were daily encouraged from all quarters, by those who might be expected to be gratified by such movements. They claimed to have nine-tenths of the Abolitionists with them. They were mistaken in considering clergymen the representatives of the cause. Those Abolitionists who had been its standard-bearers, and who were fully acquainted with the variety of influences that Slavery would bring to bear against its antagonist, saw in this scheme, only another attempt like the "American Union" to suit the enterprize to the level of public prejudice and taste.

But, it was asked, can such a man as Mr Fitch, who has laboured so faithfully, and sacrificed so much, and his associates, who still adhere to the principles of Immediate and Unconditional Emancipation, and still

make the strongest professions of devotion to the Slave, be considered capable of compromising the Anti-Slavery cause with its enemies?

Be it remembered, that all who, at that time, participated in this movement with the Rev. Mr Fitch, together with the thirty-nine clergymen then at Andover, now settled in different parts of the country, have either RETIRED *from the Anti-Slavery Cause altogether*, or *are united* with others in the present attempt to CRIPPLE and to DESTROY *the original American Anti-Slavery Society.*

That the reader may understand the motives which actuated the leader of this unhappy division, Mr Fitch's own testimony will here be given. The following letter, written more than two years after the memorable transaction, and soon after another similar attempt was made to destroy the efficiency of the Anti-Slavery principles, speaks for itself; and therefore comment upon it is unnecessary. The admiration with which every Christian heart must be touched by the humble and devout conscientiousness which dictated such an avowal as this, is more deeply felt than it can be easily expressed. There may perhaps be no leader of a noble cause, however devout and firm, who may not take a lesson from the contrition of the brother who here acknowledges his lapse:—

"NEWARK, *January 9th*, 1840.

"Mr W. L. GARRISON:—Dear Sir,—Herewith I attempt the discharge of a duty, to which I doubt not that I am led by the dictates of an enlightened conscience, and by the influences of the Spirit of God. I have been led, of late, to look over my past life, and to inquire what I would think of past feelings and actions, were I to behold JESUS CHRIST in the clouds of heaven, coming to judge the world, and to establish His reign of holiness and righteousness, and blessedness, over the pure in heart. From such an examination of my past life, I find very much, even in what I have regarded as my best actions, deeply to deplore; but especially do I find occasion for shame, and self-loathing, and deep humiliation before God and man, when I see in what multiplied instances the ruling motive of my conduct has been a desire to please men, for the sake of their good opinion. In seeking the promotion of good objects, I have often acted with this in view; but I feel bound in duty to say to you, Sir, that to gain the good will of man was the only object I had in view, in every thing which I did relative to certain writings called 'Clerical Appeal.' I cannot say that I was conscious at the time, certainly not as fully as I am now, that this was the motive by which I was actuated; but as I now look back upon it, in the light in which it has of late been spread before my own mind, as I doubt not by the Spirit of God, I can clearly see that, in all that matter, I had no true regard for the glory of God, or the good of man. I can see nothing better in it, than a selfish and most wicked desire to gain thereby the good opinion of such men as I supposed would be pleased by such movements; while I can clearly see, that I did not consult the will of God, or the good of my fellow-men, in the least, and did indulge toward yourself and others, and toward principles which I now see to be according to truth, feelings which both my conscience and my heart now condemn; which I know a holy God never can approve; and which I *rejoice* to think He never will approve.

"I send you this communication, because my conscience and my heart lead me to do it; because I think the truth and the Spirit of God approve it, and influence me to do it; and not because I expect or wish thereby to secure the applause of man, or even to regain any good will of man which I may have lost, by actions which I now wholly disapprove. I trust I have learned higher principles of actions; at least, I know I must learn them, or be in fearful circumstances in that day when 'every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit must be hewn down, and cast into the fire.'

"The acknowledgment which I now make, I expect to approve when I appear before God with my final account; and this is reason enough to induce me to

make it. I believe it is according to the will of God, and that will I fully approve.

"You are at liberty, Sir, to do with it what you please. If God can be honoured, and good done thereby, I would like that the confession I make be as public as the sin I committed. I believe that I should do what I now have done, if I knew I should be despised for it by the whole world. There is one by me who searches my heart, and there is a judgment-seat before me, where I must stand. There is, also, a despised, cast-out, and crucified Saviour, who was none other than 'God manifest in the flesh,' whom I wish to please and honour. If you can make any use of this communication, that you think will be an honour to Him, or a service to the cause of truth, dispose of it at your pleasure.—The Lord strengthen you to do His will.

"CHARLES FITCH."

The proceedings of Mr Fitch and his clerical associates, threw the Anti-Slavery ranks into great confusion. The entire body of Abolitionists were apparently divided. The Slave-holders exulted, and the opposition rejoiced that Garrison was no longer to share the sympathies of the Abolitionists. This movement was so fully exposed by the Rev. Amos A. Phelps, by Mr Garrison, by Oliver Johnson, and by all the Anti-Slavery papers, with but one or two exceptions, that after the feverish excitement of several months had passed away, it was gradually forgotten.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TESTIMONY.

"He that is first in his own cause, seemeth just, but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him."—SOLOMON.

"Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee."—LUKE xix. 22.

THE clergy, thus defeated, now resolved to render the Anti-Slavery cause odious, by charging upon it the responsibility of disseminating unpopular views entertained by some of its leading members. At this time, H. C. Wright was an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and accompanied the Misses Grimke in their travels as lecturers. He held, in common with Mr Garrison and a few other Abolitionists, the non-resistance or ultra-peace views. This was laid hold of, as well as the Woman and Sabbath questions, to make it appear that the American Anti-Slavery Society was practically and actively opposed to the rightful existence of all human government.

It should be kept in mind, that Messrs. Arthur and Lewis Tappan, E. Wright, jun., and Amos A. Phelps, were the leading and prominent managers of the American Anti-Slavery Society; but are now the leading and prominent members of the new Society, called the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

To rebut the charges preferred against the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, by the authors of the "*Clerical Appeal*," and the open opponents to the Abolitionists, of being opposed to the existence of government and good order, *(because the committee would not make an attack upon those members and agents of the Society, who held to the ultra-peace or non-resistance principles,)* the EMANCIPATOR, the

ORGAN of the Society, then under the supervision of the above named gentlemen, and edited by E. Wright, jun., its *Secretary*, in speaking upon this subject, said—

"*With the abstract question of the rightfulness of human governments, as an editor of the Anti-Slavery Society, we have nothing to do; neither will our publications cudgel any man for his sentiments on this question.*"—*August*, 1837.

The same paper, in August, 1837, in disclaiming all responsibility as respects the woman question, in relation to the Misses Grimke, published the following:—

"THE MISSES GRIMKE.

"We understand that these ladies addressed an audience a few evenings since, at Lowell, of 1500 persons—a large proportion, but by no means all, of whom were females. They were heard, as they have been elsewhere, with the *greatest attention and manifest effect.*

"Yet, in spite of this success, there are not wanting those, even among Abolitionists, who doubt the propriety of their addressing promiscuous assemblies.—These ladies do not go out as agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, nor in any way connected with it: yet, for ourself, we could fully justify the Society in sending them to do just what they are doing. It must be remembered, that the American Anti-Slavery Society is not a sectarian institution, but is made up of all sects, and appeals to all to plead the cause of the Slave, each in its own way. In employing females of the Society of Friends to lecture, it would be guilty of no innovation. We do not see how members of other sects could object to it any more justly than to admitting Friends as members. * * * *

"It ought to be observed also, that the Misses Grimke have not only the sanction of the religious body to which they belong, but they have actually been obliged, by the importunity of the men of Massachusetts, to admit them to their lectures, which they designed to confine to their own sex. Who *will lay a straw* in *the way* of *their able* and *effective advocacy* of the rights of the poor victims of our own Christian oppression?"

The following official document, issued by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1837, of whom Messrs. Tappan, Phelps, Wright, and others, were members, to disprove the objections urged by the *clerical appellants* and others, will give an idea of the broad and catholic platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society at that time, and what were then the views of those who *now* are the leaders in the attack upon that noble edifice which they *then* so stoutly defended:—

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society have heretofore candidly and explicitly stated the doctrines maintained by that association, and they are now induced to caution their fellow-citizens not to confound their doctrines with such as individual members may occasionally advance.

"The Constitution, after setting forth the principles of the Society, declares that whoever consents to these principles, not being a Slave-holder, may, on making a pecuniary contribution, become a member. Hence, good faith obviously requires not only that those who enter the Society should sincerely embrace its avowed principles, but also that THE SOCIETY SHOULD ABSTAIN FROM ALL INTERFERENCE WITH SUCH OTHER PRINCIPLES AS MAY BE HELD BY ITS MEMBERS. *Of course, no member is required, by his connexion with the Society, to refrain from expressing (on his own responsibility) his individual opinions on any subject whatsoever. We believe there is, among the Abolitionists, a most cordial and unanimous assent to the great moral truths proclaimed in our constitution, while, on many other and important topics, they maintain very opposite and irreconcilable sentiments.*

"Some of these sentiments, (Non-Resistance, &c.) being promulgated in Anti-Slavery papers, (the *Liberator)* and advocated by one or more Abolitionists, *(the Misses Grimke, Garrison, and others,)* have been used to prejudice the Anti-Slavery cause. ON THE SENTIMENTS ALLUDED TO, THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HAVE NO AUTHORITY TO SIT IN JUDGMENT: *but, whether true or false, they receive no sanction from the Society, and every member is at liberty to assail or defend them!*

"While the Committee assume no control over the private opinions of their agents, *(referring to H. C. Wright, then agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and a Non-Resistant,)* and much less over the course which independent friends of the cause think fit to pursue, *(Garrison, Grimke, and others,)* they cheerfully acknowledge their obligation not to permit the funds of the Society to be used for the promotion of any principles or objects whatever except those specified in the constitution; and it will ever be, as it ever has been, their determination, both in regard to the agents they employ and the publications they issue, to avoid any just censure in this respect.

"The great diversity of sentiments entertained by Abolitionists on political and religious subjects, instead of being, as our enemies vainly imagine, an indication of our weakness, is a demonstration of our strength, and an omen of our ultimate triumph. That cause cannot belong to a sect or a party which is espoused by men of all sects and all parties. The rights for which we are contending, are the rights of our common nature, and their advocacy cannot safely be *committed* to ANY *sect* or *party*, nor can *any* sect or party be exempted from rebuke which takes the attitude of hostility to these rights.

"In behalf of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society,

"E. WRIGHT, Jun., *Secretary.*

"AUGUST *7th*, 1837."

It should be strongly impressed upon the mind of the reader, that Messrs. A. and L. Tappan, Phelps, Wright, and all the others, who composed the Committee of the *American Anti-Slavery Society* in 1837, with but few exceptions, are now the most active and efficient leaders of the party which has separated from the original Society, on the ground that its members would not TRAMPLE *upon* the *Society's constitution*, by invidiously casting out a portion of its most effective labourers. That there may be no doubt in his mind as to which party has undergone the most thorough change upon this question, the gentlemen referred to above may speak for themselves.

The following is an extract from the *Annual Report* of the COMMITTEE of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in 1837, to their constituents, and which, at a large meeting of delegates from most of the Free States, was unanimously adopted:—

"The Committee cannot omit to mention, with heartfelt thanks to God, the important aid the cause has received from two sisters, from Charleston, S. C., once the holders of Slaves. They have, without reserve, laid themselves on the altar of the cause, at the expense of becoming aliens and outcasts from their native city, and from a large circle of Slave-holding relatives and friends. For their constant toil they have declined receiving any pecuniary compensation. Their *touching* 'APPEALS,' both *written* and *oral*, have, we doubt not, *kindled a genuine Abolition flame in* MANY THOUSANDS OF HEARTS. Let them hold on their course till UNIVERSAL WOMANHOOD *is rallied* in behalf of the bleeding victims of wrong."

"Shall tongues be mute, when deeds are wrought
Which well might shame extremest hell?
Shall freemen lock th' indignant thought?
Shall Mercy's bosom cease to swell?
Shall Honour bleed?—Shall Truth succumb?
Shall Pen, and Press, and *Soul* be dumb?—
By all above—around—below—
Be ours th' indignant answer—NO!"

It did not occur to the American Abolitionists that this Committee, in receiving and acknowledging in their Report, "*with heartfelt thanks to God*," the co-operation and powerful aid of these eloquent and efficient women, or the American Anti-Slavery Society, in adopting it, were giving any opinion as respects the propriety or impropriety of females taking an active part in other departments of religious or political reform. The honour of this discovery belongs to the opponents of the Anti-Slavery enterprize. It was for those *conservators* of *the public weal*, who would neither labour themselves for the bondman's redemption, nor let others do so who felt disposed, to find out that it was "*contrary to reason, Scripture, and the usages of civilized society*," for women to labour, in their own way, as their own consciences might direct, in this holy cause. Those engaged in other benevolent enterprizes, and who ought to have been first and foremost in this glorious work, opposed it. The Abolitionists were united in one grand object—the Abolition of Slavery. To accomplish this work, they welcomed, "*with heartfelt thanks to God*," every one who would aid them in breaking the oppressor's yoke. If women did not appear as conspicuous at the commencement of the enterprise as they now do, it certainly was not the fault of the Abolitionists, who, *prior* to any division in their ranks, used every variety of influence to call them into action, and eulogised them for all their movements in the cause, whether of a public or private character. Their action, on this question, like that of men, has been progressive. Their power and efficiency has, from time to time, been developed, as circumstances have called them forth. This perfectly harmonizes with the history of female co-operation in this country. The genius of the American Anti-Slavery enterprize is such as to forbid any obstacles being thrown in the way of any one who labours for Immediate and Unconditional Emancipation.

Here the Committee declare, that many thousands have been, through the private and public labours of these women, called into the Abolition ranks; and such being their success, can it be thought strange, that those who desired the Immediate Abolition of Slavery, should recommend them to "hold on till UNIVERSAL WOMANHOOD" should be rallied around the standard of freedom? The present Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society fully sympathize on this point with their predecessors of 1837, and while they *will not entertain for a moment*, as Abolitionists, the general question of "*Woman's Rights*," they, nevertheless, acknowledge, "*with heartfelt thanks to God*," the co-operation of all, of every class, who come to the rescue of the enslaved millions of America.

It is but just to state, that the Report, from which the above is an extract, was written previous to the lectures of the Grimke's in Massachusetts.

It may not be amiss, in this place, to summon before us, a few of the leading members of the party who have seceded from the American Anti-Slavery Society, on the ground that Women were not thrust out of it. In order that the British public may form a correct opinion on this subject, these gentlemen may be allowed to speak for themselves. Did space permit, more of the seceders would be introduced.

In 1836, LEWIS TAPPAN called a meeting in the city of New York, for pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery discussion. Three times he went to MRS CHILD, and insisted upon her speaking. She refused, on the ground that she "had never spoken in public, and should feel much embarrassed." He replied: —"You will doubtless recover from your embarrassment in a few moments, and

you really *ought* to make an effort to overcome your reluctance, when you reflect how *much good* you can do, and how much the audience will be *interested*, IF YOU ALLOW ME TO ANNOUNCE *that* MRS CHILD, *of Boston*, IS ABOUT TO ADDRESS THEM."—*Mrs Child's Reminiscences.*

In the Spring of 1837, the Abolitionists of the large commonwealth of Ohio held a State Convention. A great portion of the delegates to it were women. At this time, JAMES G. BIRNEY was editor of an Anti-Slavery newspaper in that State, and was present at the meeting, and participated in its proceedings. On being interrogated as to whether their admission was accidental or owing to the great interest the Abolitionists of that State took in the Anti-Slavery question,—Mr Birney replied:—"Purely accidental, I presume. It never occurred to me there was anything *strange* in such a measure. It seemed so *natural* and *proper*, that THE ABOLITION OF THE WOMEN *should be* REPRESENTED as well as that of the men."—*Mrs Child's Reminiscences.*

In America, by the term "Woman's Rights," it is understood that females are entitled to equal religious, civil and political privileges with men. Those who have seceded from the original American Anti-Slavery Society, *are resolved* to identify it with *this* question, on the ground that women, who have been constitutionally admitted as members, are not cast out. This Society has in view, simply, the extinction of the Slavery system. It appeals to those of all sects and parties to labour in their own way for its accomplishment. An assent to the principles of Immediate Unconditional Emancipation, is the *only test and bond of union.* This is the only standard around which Abolitionists rally. All who ascend upon this platform are bound to leave their peculiar sectarian views behind them. By this simple principle, minds the most heterogeneous and opposite on other questions, harmonize. It tolerates the views of all, without giving any opinion upon any question, which distracts the religious or political world. Here Protestant, Catholic, and Jew, make common cause against this great enemy of God and man; and their souls,

"Like kindred drops, are mingled into one."

The various religious denominations differ widely, as respects the propriety of Women participating publicly in matters of religion. One sect conferring on them equal rights and privileges with the men,—another allowing them to pray and exhort in promiscuous assemblies, while a third deprecates all such public action as indelicate and unscriptural. This being a question peculiar to sects, the individual who refuses to co-operate with a society, because it refuses to take any cognizance of the appropriate sphere of women, might with the same propriety withdraw, on the ground that it would not condemn or approve of Unitarianism, Methodism, or the principles of the Established Church: the former being equally as peculiar to sects as the latter. If one sect secedes, because women are admitted,—another may with equal justice and propriety, leave on account of their rejection. If the Society is allowed to entertain this, then it may entertain any other sectarian question, and hence the Anti-Slavery platform would necessarily become the arena of sectarian strife and contention, until those of different sects and parties should retire, and the noble edifice, erected for the bondman's redemption, becomes vacated and desolate. The American Anti-Slavery Society soars above all the contending elements which separates man from his brother, and cannot, without a breach of faith, and a violation of its constitution, sit in judgment upon any other question, than the Immediate Emancipation of those in bonds. Who has withdrawn from this government, because a female sits

upon the throne, or because women are allowed to vote for directors who virtually govern 120,000,000 of British subjects in India—or because they are permitted, equally with men, to vote for governors and directors in the Bank of England, which regulates the fiscal and commercial interests of this vast empire? Who has refused to purchase or consume fish, because women, with heavy burdens upon their backs, publicly and in the presence of thousands, cry them for sale? Who would secede from a church, which should receive one of these women into its embrace?

Notwithstanding the great distress and confusion occasioned in the Anti-Slavery ranks by this unhappy movement of the Clerical Appellants, the Abolitionists this year (1837) succeeded in preventing the admission of Texas as a Slave-State into the Federal Union.

The death of E. P. Lovejoy, who was martyred at Alton by a mob, for publishing an Anti-Slavery paper, gave a fresh stimulus to the Abolition movements.

The Abolitionists, fearing that another effort might be made to disturb the harmony of their operations, and desiring to discourage all attempts to divide their forces, like that of the "*American Union*" of 1835, or the "*Clerical Appeal*" of 1837, at a full annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in Jan., 1838, unanimously passed the following Resolution, which was introduced by the Rev. A. St. Clair, now a member of the new Association, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society:—

"Resolved:—That Abolitionists have in view a *single* object—the Abolition of Slavery: that to accomplish this great end, we all meet on *equal* and *common* ground: that we will require of no man a RELIGIOUS or POLITICAL TEST, but hail every friend of Immediate Emancipation as a brother, and extend to him the right hand of Anti-Slavery fellowship: that we not only *reject*, but will REPUDIATE every attempt at *organization* on *sectarian* ground, and FROWN on any attempt to divide our ranks, as *virtual enmity* to the great cause—as calculated to *distract Anti-Slavery* Societies, and to turn their efforts against each other, instead of Slavery."

In May, 1838, at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in order to prevent any division among Abolitionists on political or sectarian grounds, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

"RESOLVED:—That it is the *glory* of the Anti-Slavery cause, that its *principles* are of such *fundamental* importance to the welfare of the whole human family, that men who *differ widely* from each other on *political and theological* subjects can labour *harmoniously* together for its promotion, and that no political party or religious denomination, which is not in *itself corrupt*, has nything to fear from its progress or final triumph.

Resolved:—That while we hail with joy the efforts of our brethren of any religious denomination in which Slavery exists, to purify their own church from the sin of Slavery, we should *deprecate* the formation of any Anti-Slavery Society, which imposes a *religious* or *political* test for the purpose of rendering the Anti-Slavery cause *subservient* to the interests of a *sect* or *party*, or of OPPOSING *existing organizations*."

Public sentiment had now become so changed in Massachusetts by an Abolition warfare of eight years, that those clergymen who pursued an openly pro-Slavery course were nearly as liable to public censure as those who advocated the principles of freedom; hence the repeated declaration on their part, that they were "as much opposed to Slavery as any one." Though they had not, as a body, undergone any change, yet they saw that, in order to check the progress of Emancipation, every movement should be made with great care, as the public, thus divided in opinion,

was not easily managed; hence they hid their opposition beneath the profession of a deep solicitude for the poor Slave, while, at the same time, they condemned the movements of the Abolitionists.

The exposure of the devices of the "*Clerical Appellants*," and their consequent defeat, did not add in the least to the popularity of Mr Garrison, or of his newspaper, the *Liberator*. He has a style peculiar to himself, by which he destroys at a blow what another would hew down by piecemeal. He continues to be the great object of offence. The modification of public opinion upon the Emancipation question was now so great, that clergymen felt called upon to make some apology for standing aloof from it. All their former subterfuges had been swept away in succession. The peculiar notions of Garrison now constituted the great objection. "Have you got rid of Garrison yet?" says one. "Discountenance his course, and I will join you," said another. "I cannot labour with Garrison," said a third. These objections, by dint of constant repetition, led those who often urged them, and those who heard them, to think that there was something about Mr Garrison that would chill to ice the very Anti-Slavery feelings within them. Not so, thought those who witnessed his oneness of purpose—his constant devotion—his great sacrifices—his faithfulness and tried integrity—his Christian and heavenly demeanour—his unwavering reliance on God to bless and crown with success all human efforts for truth and the salvation of men;—not so, thought those whose souls had been interested in behalf of their oppressed countrymen, by his powerful appeals;—not so, thought those who perceived from whom came all their opposition. They well knew it was his uncompromising adherence to the cause of the Slave which made him so obnoxious to the Slave-holder and his apologists;—they knew that it was because he left no loop-hole for them to pass through as ministers, and yet remain dumb on the subject of Slavery. It was not the views which he entertained on other subjects, but his rectitude on that of Slavery, which alienated them. They, like the infuriated Slave-holding legislature of Georgia, which offered a reward of 5000 dollars for his apprehension, thought that by displacing him, the principles would cease to disturb their inglorious quiet. False conclusion! The Anti-Slavery principles are from above, and therefore will prevail; for the Lord hath declared it.

The authors of the "*Clerical Appeal*," and those Abolition ministers who had sympathized with their movements, were, to a very great extent, reinstated in the affection and confidence of their pro-Slavery brethren, whose pastoral rights and ministerial usages had been so ably defended. This victory on the part of the clergy in conquering a part of the Anti-Slavery ministry, made them determine craftily to subdue the remainder. They had learned by experience that the open hostility of the "Colonization Society" towards this enterprize—the affected neutrality of the "American Union," and the insidious attack upon ITS MEASURES by the "Clerical Appeal," had all proved ineffectual. They could not effect their object while Mr Garrison* stood upon the watch-tower of Freedom, surveying the whole ground, watching the enemies movements, and sounding through the columns of the *Liberator* the note of alarm when an attack was likely to be made.

* See Appendix D.

CHAPTER V.

THE PLOT.

"And Joab said to Amasa, Art thou in health, my brother? And Joab took Amasa by the beard with the right hand to kiss him. But Amasa took no heed to the sword which was in Joab's hand, so he smote him therewith in the fifth rib."—SAMUEL.

"But we do hope to find out all your tricks,
Your plots, and packings, worse than those of Trent."

SHAKSPEARE.

DURING the summer and autumn of 1838, a new effort was made on the part of a few clergymen, some of whom sympathized with the "Clerical Appeal" conspiracy, while others had most strenuously opposed it, among whom were Rev. A. A. Phelps, Rev. A. St. Clair, and Rev. Daniel Wise, three salaried agents of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. The object of this secret attempt was to subvert the *Liberator*, and hence the power of Mr Garrison, by influencing the Society to issue a cheap weekly paper, the expense of which should be but about one-third the price of the *Liberator*. It was not at first to exhibit any signs of hostility, but was, on the contrary, recommended as admirably adapted to aid in extending its circulation, as it could gain access, on account of its cheapness, into many places where the *Liberator* could not, and might thus serve to introduce it.

The first intimation of this movement (for it was cleverly managed, and kept within the breasts of its originators, except when revealed to a confidant) was from a confidential letter received by P. C. Pettibone, a candidate for the ministry at Andover, from the Rev. Charles T. Torrey, a sympathizer with the division in 1837.

Mr Torrey had previously employed Mr Pettibone as an agent, and therefore felt that he had secured his confidence. The letter dwelt on the *great influence of Mr Garrison*, and thence argued that it would not be *safe to attack him*, or the *Liberator*, *openly*—on the great need there was of *a new paper*, which he (Mr Torrey) had ascertained by "*sounding* the *clergy throughout the State; and they were for it to a man.*" "Now, Brother Pettibone," he wrote, "have on a full delegation at the annual meeting, at ten o'clock in the morning, prepared to stay two days. Have them pledged for the new paper, &c., and we will show them how it is done." "What can this letter mean?" thought this licentiate. His mind dwelt upon its leading features:—"*Great influence of Mr Garrison.*" "*It wont do to attack him or the Liberator openly.*" "*Must have a new paper;*" and "*all the clergy are for it.*" He immediately resolved to acquaint a few friends with its contents. They saw in it the marks of its predecessors, the "Union" and "Appeal,"—they saw in it another insidious attempt of professed friends to neutralize the Anti-Slavery principles, by listening and yielding to the demands of Slavery, and to sacrifice upon its shrine, as a peace-offering, one of freedom's first and most devoted champions.

This letter revealed the plot which many were suspicious was in progress, but which had been managed so adroitly as to defeat all attempts at detection.

Two other letters were written, adapted to their various prejudices.

Circulars were addressed to Societies and individuals, calling upon them to have full delegations at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, to be held in Boston, Jan., 1839, pledged for the new paper. In the meanwhile, the three agents of the Society referred to; Revs. Messrs. Phelps, Wise, and St. Clair, were secretly using their influence to accomplish the same object. In due time, this plot was exposed by Mr Garrison; the note of alarm was raised, and the Abolitionists were warned to prepare themselves for the great conflict which was again about to mar the harmony of the Anti-Slavery cause. It was their design to have established this paper without creating any jealousy or opposition; and, when it should acquire a circulation and influence sufficient to justify the movement, *then* it was to bring its readers gradually and almost imperceptibly to their views, and thus, by stratagem, to get possession of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. But this revelation of their movements led them, in justification of their manœuvrings, to declare that the *Liberator* (its editor being a non-resistant) could not advocate political action. The Anti-Slavery question had, with them, suddenly changed its character from a moral to a political enterprise;—the *Liberator* had become too tame on the question of politics for these men, who had rather have a noise around the polls than the pulpit—though it had ever, consistently and with great effect, urged as a duty that political men should exercise their political influence for the Abolition of Slavery.

It is proper to state, in this connexion, that the *Liberator* is Mr Garrison's individual private property, and that no man or body of men—no one but its editor—is responsible for the sentiments it may contain on any subject; and also, that, at times of great pecuniary distress, Mr Garrison has refused most liberal offers to have it made the organ of the Society, having invariably refused to be trammelled by a committee, as the *Liberator* was designed to be a FREE journal. Its columns were then open to the admission, without expense, of any documents the Society might see fit to publish officially; thus giving the Society the advantage of an organ, without its expense or responsibility.

Nothing now would answer the purpose but a paper which would advocate voting at the polls as a Christian duty. That part of the constitution which relates to the object and measures of the Society says:—"The object of this Society shall be to endeavour, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity, and religion, to effect the Abolition of Slavery in the United States."* This declaration was negative, rather than positive. It answered an objection of the Slave-holders at the time it was written. It meant that the Society would not infringe upon the principles of "law, humanity, or religion," in prosecuting its enterprise, but would act in conformity to the principles of each; thus leaving each man to be his own judge as to its requisitions, otherwise there could be no understanding—no constitution—no Society. Those who vote at the polls to affect the State—those who operate upon their respective churches—and those who exercise what power they possess for the Slave, independent of political or ecclesiastical organizations, are all covered by the broad ægis of the constitution, as faithful members. "LAW!" Well; to these plotters for division, "*law*" could mean nothing in this connexion but the Christian duty of every man, his conscientious scruples to the contrary notwithstanding, to vote at the polls. Well, the "*Law*" "SANCTIONS" my expending all my property in purchasing Slaves, to give them their liberty; but, as my religion forbids the act, shall I be ejected from the Society?

* See Appendix E.

"*Law*" "SANCTIONS" my becoming a member of every ecclesiastical organization in the country, and thereby exercising an influence upon them for the Abolition of Slavery; but because my conscience will not permit, shall I be branded as a recreant to the cause of the Slave? It was evident, to every "*looker on in Venice*," what was their design. Mr Garrison could not, on account of his religious opinions, vote at the polls; and, as a clergyman remarked, we must press this voting question, as it is the only thing that will rid us of Garrison and the non-resistants.

The day of the annual meeting arrived. It was a day of anxiety to the friends of freedom. They did not know but that the combination of the clergy was so great that they would flock to this meeting, and take the cause into their hand, as it were, by storm.

But as this movement appeared likely to prove a failure, those who had privately encouraged it shrank from an identification with it, until they saw what was to be its fate, and, as the sequel will show, left the few foremost to manage the defeat the best way they could.

The Rev. Mr Torrey introduced a resolution that the Society should immediately issue a newspaper. To this it was replied, that there had been no expression given by the Abolitionists that another Anti-Slavery paper in the State was needed—that, notwithstanding all the private plottings for months, only half-a-dozen hands at one meeting had been raised in its favour, and by those, too, who did not understand its object. While the fate of this paper project was pending, the Rev. Mr Phelps and the Rev. Mr St. Clair raised a doubt, for the first time, as to the right of women to vote on its decision.

This was hardly a debateable question for a Society which had (1st) welcomed *all persons* as fellow-labourers, by its constitution;—(2d) had made women life-members by the payment of FIFTEEN dollars;*—and (3d) had, years previously, declared, that in this cause of philanthropy, as ABOLITIONISTS, "MEN and WOMEN have *the same rights and the same duties.*" This question was left to the President, Francis Jackson, Esq., to decide. It was not for the man who had opened the doors of his house, at the risk of its destruction, to the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, after it had been broken up, and its members insulted by a mob of 5000 "gentlemen of property and standing," and every public place refused them,—it was not for *him* to decide that the constitution of the Society should be trampled upon by ejecting its members. He ruled that "it was in order for women to vote," and, from this decision, no appeal was taken. The whole subject of the new Anti-Slavery paper was indefinitely postponed, by a vote of 183 to 24.

Defeated in this movement, the next step was to force upon the Society the new political theory of the party. The following resolution, in Mr H. B. Stanton's hand-writing, submitted to the Business-Committee, to be presented to the meeting for adoption, will reveal their design:—

"Resolved,—That every minister of the gospel is bound to preach against Slavery; that every member of a christian church is bound to have no fellowship with this unfruitful work of darkness; that every ecclesiastical body is bound to purify itself of these abominations; and that every person entitled to the elective franchise, is bound not only to refrain from voting for persons as national and state officers, who are unwilling to use all their authority for the immediate abolition of Slavery, but is *bound at every election, to repair to the polls*, and cast his vote for such men as will go to the verge of their official authority for its instant annihilation; *and that every member of an Anti-Slavery Society who refuses*, UNDER ANY PRETEXT, *thus to act morally or* POLITICALLY, *or*

* See Appendix F.

counsels others to such a course, is guilty of GROSS INCONSISTENCY, *and widely departs from the original and fundamental principles of the Anti-Slavery enterprise.*"

The Rev. Mr St. Clair offered one in its stead, less proscriptive: and the following was introduced by Mr Garrison as a substitute, which was in perfect conformity with the uniform usage of the Society, and the principles of its constitution. It was passed by a vote of 183 to 24:—

"Resolved,—That those Abolitionists who feel themselves called upon, by a sense of duty, to go to the polls, and yet purposely absent themselves from the polls whenever an opportunity is presented to vote for a friend of the Slave—or who, when there, follow their party predilections to the abandonment of their Abolition principles, are recreant to their high professions and unworthy of the name they assume."

The Society, for passing this resolution, refusing to admit a new test, has been branded as a no-human-government Society, by the Members and friends of the New Organization, now called the "American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society." The resolution will speak for itself. It refuses to interfere with the private opinions of any of its members, on any subject foreign from the question of Emancipation. The Society, in the language of Messrs. Tappan, Wright, Phelps, and the other members of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in 1837, felt that "*on these sentiments it had no authority to sit in judgment*"—and that "with the abstract question of the *rightfulness of human government it had nothing to do.*"

Notwithstanding the public seal of disapprobation, which the Abolitionists of Massachusetts had set to this newspaper project, a few individuals, secretly encouraged by the leading members of the Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, *(which received from Massachusetts, in* 1838, 10,000 *dollars, to carry on the national operations,)* bent on the work of division, issued the paper, called the *Massachusetts Abolitionist;* and Mr H. B. Stanton, the salaried Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, was sent into Massachusetts, took the editorial charge of it, and canvassed the State, for the extension of its circulation. Thus the Abolitionists of Massachusetts were delivering money into the National Treasury; while Messrs. Tappan, Birney, Wright, Stanton, and the other members of the Committee were expending it for their annihilation! All hostility to the *Liberator* was disclaimed, while they repudiated the reflection, that another rival State Society would be soon organized. A frank declaration of their intention would have completely defeated their object; and hence, honesty in the case was not their best policy.

It was painful to behold a body of men, who had stood storm-proof against many an assault,—who had found strength to *snap asunder their* SECTARIAN TIES, rather than *abandon* the Slave, and who had laboured and sacrificed much in the cause, now beginning, little by little, to yield, to propitiate the enemy. But during a ten years' warfare, the minds of the Abolitionists had been prepared for such manifestations. They recollected that the Rev. Mr Hall, who first started with Mr Garrison; the Rev. Dr. Cox, whose furniture was burnt in the streets of New-York by a mob; the Rev. Mr Kirk, once the bold and eloquent advocate; the Rev. Mr Parker, and a long catalogue of others, whose names might be enumerated, had gone back to the "beggarly elements" of pro-Slavery, and openly opposed the Abolition movements. The manœuvrings of 1837 they had not

forgotten: and all these prepared their minds for any new revelations of change. Mr Birney now felt, that Non-resistant-Abolitionists could not consistently remain members of the Anti-Slavery Society. Mr Tappan now thought a New Society in Massachusetts was desirable. Such were the new manifestations.

At the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1839, an attempt was made, for the first time, to exclude persons from acting as members on account of their SEX. The Rev. Nathaniel Colver, at the head of a considerable number of clergymen, moved that none but *men* should have their names placed upon the roll. His motion was so amended that none of its members or delegates in attendance should be excluded, and, in accordance with the language of the constitution,* inviting *all persons* according to previous usage, &c.

It was argued, (1) that this was not a question of admission, but of exclusion—(2) that the Society had no constitutional right to exclude any description of persons but Slave-holders—(3) that it admitted *all persons*, and unless it could be proved that women were not persons, they could not be excluded—(4) that, as many Auxiliary Societies have women office-bearers, they were *ex officio* members of the Society, and entitled to seats—(5) that each local Society had a constitutional right to send up such delegates to represent them in the great American Society as they saw fit; and that the Society was bound to receive them—(6) that refusing to eject the women would not commit the Society to the abstract question of Woman's Rights, more than refusing to reject Baptists would commit it to the doctrines of baptism, or Quakers, would commit it to the peculiar doctrines and practices of the Friends—(7) that as this question of the appropriate duties of women was one on which there was a great diversity of opinions, and was, in America, common to different sects, the Society had no right to entertain the question—(8) that it was customary among the majority of the different sects for women to pray and exhort in promiscuous assemblies—(9) that the uniform usage of the American Anti-Slavery Society was opposed to the rejection of its female members and delegates—

Because (1) women in 1833, at its formation, made speeches; and that the Society passed a vote of thanks for their zeal and interest—(2) that the Society had always encouraged women to labour—(3) because the Society had never discouraged women's becoming officers of country and town Societies—(4) because the Society, in 1835, wished to delegate Mrs Child to visit England on the Anti-Slavery question; and also, in 1837, endeavoured to secure her as a travelling-agent, to give public lectures on Slavery—(5) because the Society, the same year, offered the Misses Grimke a commission to go out as lecturers, and, in their annual report of the same year, highly approved of their public labours, and (6)—that the American Society, had never made any opposition to their large and influential State Auxiliaries for receiving women as delegates, years previous.

In the course of the debate, Gerrit Smith, Esq., the president, (a gentleman who had at one time contributed to the American Anti-Slavery Society 10,000 dollars,) said:—

"Brother Leavitt (editor of the *Emancipator*) is right. *You can exclude no description of persons from the Society.* As many women as are officers of Aux-

* See Appendix G.

iliary Societies, they are *ex officio* entitled to seats here.* Common usage in this matter has been brought forward. I never before last evening heard usage quoted to overthrow the plain letter of a constitution. Religious scruples, also, have been brought forward. It has been well said in reply, there is also a conscience on the other side.—I have been grieved at the threats of secession thrown out. I hope those who have made them will think better of it. I was slow, too slow, to withdraw from the Colonization Society. *I shall be very slow to withdraw from this Society.* You must be guilty of *palpable gross* IMMORALITY, *and must show a disposition to continue in it,* before I shall do so. Brother Birney thinks we should propose an amendment to the constitution. He gets the saddle on the wrong horse. The constitution suits us as it is. One word more. If some Auxiliary Societies prefer to send UP HERE, as their delegates, your [Mrs] Chapmans, your [Miss] Kelleys, and your [Mrs] Barneys, have we the right to object? If a woman can do my work best, I wish to be at liberty to select a woman."

The Society refused to reject the women, by an overwhelming majority; and, to prevent the impression, that the Society, by this act of placing women upon committees, was in favour of Woman's Rights, &c., this same committee, of whom Messrs. Tappan, Birney, and Stanton were leading members, immediately issued an address to the public, from which the following sentiment is extracted, which will show in what light this act was viewed by them in May, 1839:—

"The vote of the Society, being grounded on the phraseology of its constitution, cannot be justly regarded as committing the Society in favour of any controverted principle, respecting the equal rights of women to participate in the management of public affairs."

They even allowed the *Emancipator*, their organ to declare, that—

"A contrary decision, unsupported by the constitution, [*i.e.* a decision to exclude the women,] *would have been taking sides* on a question respecting which the Society was bound to entire neutrality."

This is the precise feeling and position of the original American Anti-Slavery Society, up to this hour, on this subject. It refuses to entertain this or any other extraneous question. The Society now harmonizes with the sentiments of Messrs. A. & L. Tappan, Leavitt, Wright, Phelps, and all of the Committee of this same Society in 1837, and in their language, declare that, on this question, "it has NO AUTHORITY to *sit in judgment.*"

CHAPTER VI.

A NEW PRETENCE.

"A mere disguise in which a devil lurks,
Who yet betrays his secret by his works."
COWPER.

ELIZUR WRIGHT, Jun., the once-loved Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, yet now unfortunately drawn into the meshes of clerical influence, resigned his office in the American Society, and filled Mr Stanton's post as editor of the new paper, which now began to exercise the most unrelenting hostility towards the *Liberator*, Mr Garrison, and the Society which refused to exclude him.

* See Appendix H.

Five months had hardly been added to the existence of this new paper, before a body of clergymen, with a few laymen, met in convention, in Boston, without any public call, or intimation of such a movement, and formed a new State Society, called the Massachusetts Abolition Society, declaring that the original society had adopted questions, which to the "*cause had become a mill-stone to sink to the depths of a bottomless ocean, the hopes of enslaved millions.*"

At the meeting at which this Society was formed, the reasons assigned for the necessity for such a step, were as various as the speakers. Its Committee finally issued a public manifesto, assigning the reasons which led the seceders to withdraw from the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. These were:—

1st. The adoption of the Woman's-Right question!

2d. It had lost its political efficiency!

3d. Its adoption of the no-human-government theory!

These extraordinary assertions will need no argument to disprove them, since the reader has been permitted to view the machinery, which had been previously set in motion, to lower the cause, by tampering with its principles. The defeat of the movers to get possession of the Society, led to this open warfare.

This New Association, now using every possible means for the *destruction* of the *Old Society*, had not existed five months, when a SPECIAL MEETING of the *American* Anti-Slavery Society was summoned to meet in Ohio, by its Committee, of whom Messrs. Birney, Tappan, and Stanton, were leading members, and in full fellowship with the few seceders in Massachusetts. This act of the Committee, without precedent in the history of the American Society, in calling a Special Meeting at that time and place, the distance *(about* 600 *miles from its usual place of meeting)* being too great to admit of many of the New England Abolitionists being present, led them to fear that there was some ulterior object to be secured by this Meeting, and the following revelations will show that their fears were not without foundation.

The following extracts from a CONFIDENTIAL LETTER from E. WRIGHT, Jun.,* formerly Secretary of the American Society, *and at this time* SECRETARY *of the* NEW ASSOCIATION *in Massachusetts*, proves conclusively, that the Woman and Political questions were only pretences to hide the main question, and by means of which, to destroy the influence of the uncompromising individuals and societies, who would not adopt the new theories unrecognized by the Constitution.

It should be kept in mind, that the value of this letter consists in the fact, that it was for private, and not for public use. Here the *animus* of the plot was revealed.

"DEAR STANTON,—Saw only a *streak* of you as you passed here. So I *must* say a word in scrawl, which I should have said vocally. It is this:—as you are a man and no mouse, urge the American Society at Cleveland, to take a decided

* This having been a *confidential* letter, much surprise has been expressed at its being made public. Its history may be given in few words. H. B. Stanton, being one of the Committee of arrangement of the Meeting in Ohio, above referred to, and to whom letters on the object of the meeting were addressed, in handing these over to the Business Committee, *unintentionally*, it is presumed, included this Letter from Mr Wright. One of the Committee, on reading it, immediately informed Mr Garrison of its existence and contents, who, apprehensive that it might be a *hoax*, enquired of Mr Wright, through the columns of the *Liberator*, as to its authenticity. The following week, Mr Wright answered Mr Garrison, by publishing the Letter entire, in the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*, from which it was transferred into the columns of the *Liberator*.

step towards *Presidential Candidates*. While we are about it, let's have *good stuff*. I am satisfied, the best we have will do. Let a candidate take well in his own State, and he can be made popular any where else. If* —— is the thing in ——, he will certainly do elsewhere. ——, if he has not gone over the non-resistance dam, would do well —— *perhaps it might save him.*

"There are men enough, if they will only stand, and they must be made to stand. If the thing is done judiciously, and deliberately, there will be no difficulty. Provided we get *good stuff*, not much will depend upon the previous fame of our candidates—we can manufacture their notoriety as we go along. * *

"One thing I *know*, unless you do take such a step OUR NEW ORGANIZATION HERE IS A GONE CASE. It has been, *inter nos*, SHOCKINGLY MISMANAGED. Every thing has been made to turn upon the *woman question*. The political has been left to fall out of sight.

"It wont do for *us* to start the national politics. But if the *Parent Society* does so, and not by *our* movements, then we can take hold with *all our might;* the Non-resistants will have to be out upon us, under the true flag, and the confounded woman question will be forgotten—and we shall take a living position. You certainly see this. Take my solemn assurance THAT IT IS LIFE AND DEATH WITH US. Make the move, and *we will follow and live.*

"E. WRIGHT, JUN."

"DORCHESTER, *October* 10*th*, 1839."

Here Mr Wright declares, that the "Woman question" does not answer the purpose for which it was designed, that "the political" question has failed; and that there must be a *new issue*, or else "IT IS A GONE CASE" with their NEW ORGANIZATION.

In proof of Mr Wright's assertion, that "the political had been left to fall out of sight," one or two facts, from a great multitude, must answer the present purpose. By reference to the petitions of the Massachusetts Senate, &c., it will be found, that the whole number of petitioners, whose names were sent up to the Massachusetts Legislature, in 1840, with respect to the admission of Florida as a Slave State, into the union, was 39,056—of this number, 1,727 were sent up by the New Organization, (the seceders:) and 37,329 were sent up by the Old Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. One fact more. The Chairmen of the Committees on Slavery, in both the LOWER HOUSE and *Senate*, were both Vice-presidents of this "no-human-government Society," as Mr Wright and others call it. Abolitionists are indebted to the faithfulness of these two men, Hon. G. T. Davis, and George Bradburn Esq., for their very able reports and strong resolutions, introduced by them and passed by both Houses, which *condemned Slavery* in the strongest terms, and indorsing, in full, the doctrines of Immediate and Unconditional Emancipation.

It had been, even up to this time, the policy of the American Abolitionists to act politically, without forming a distinct political party, which would, necessarily, be hostile to the existing great political parties; and to vote for such men only, irrespective of their party politics, as were opposed to Slavery, and would exercise their constitutional power for its immediate Abolition; thus, after the English mode in the West India Emancipation struggle, throwing the balance of power into the hands of the party most favourable to this grand object. By this means they strove to make it the interest of both parties, to nominate men favourable to Abolition, and in this mode of action they have been most successful.

The Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society had, up to the time this letter of Mr Wright was written, uniformly condemned the

* Gerrit Smith, Esq.

organization of a new political party, as adapted to produce the greatest possible injury to the Anti-Slavery cause. The following extracts from official documents, issued by the Committee of the Society from year to year, will fully substantiate the truth of this proposition.

From the Committee's Annual Report of 1836, the following is extracted :—

"This Society has *no rewards to bestow* but those of a good conscience. *We have opened,* AND SHALL OPEN, NO ROAD TO POLITICAL PREFERMENT."

The following is from the Report of the Committee of the American Society, and which was unanimously adopted by the Abolitionists in 1837 :—

"It is to be expected, that some *political wolves* will put on the *clothing of Abolitionism,* and SEEK TO ELEVATE THEMSELVES, and manage the Anti-Slavery Organization to suit their own purposes. But *they ought to be met on the threshhold and stripped of their disguise.*—The best safeguard against their entrance is for Abolitionists, while they firmly refuse to vote for a man who will not support Abolition measures, TO AVOID SETTING UP CANDIDATES OF THEIR OWN."

At the same meeting the following resolution was adopted :—

"*Resolved,*—As the sense of this Society, that while Abolitionists OUGHT NEITHER TO ORGANIZE A DISTINCT POLITICAL PARTY, nor as Abolitionists to attach themselves to any existing party, the people of all parties are solemnly bound, by the principles of our civil and religious institutions, to refuse to support any man for office, who will not sustain the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of petition, and the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-Trade in the District of Columbia and the territories, and who will not oppose the introduction of any new Slave State into the Union."

In the same year it was declared—

"That Abolitionists from the first, have resolved to act upon Slavery politically; NOT BY ORGANIZING A NEW POLITICAL PARTY, *but by making it the interest of both parties already existing,* to act upon Abolition principles."

The Committee, in their Report to their constituents, the American Abolitionists, in 1838, in speaking on *this subject,* make use of the following language :—

"He is not worthy the name of an Abolitionist, who does not put the Anti-Slavery qualification above any and all others, in selecting the candidate to receive his vote. The principle of using our suffrage in favour of Emancipation, WHILE WE NEITHER ORGANIZE A DISTINCT PARTY, nor attach ourselves to any already existing, is vital to our cause."

The Committee, in July, 1838, fearing that some few political Abolitionists would make an attempt to organize an Anti-Slavery political party, and thus jeopardize its safety and success, issued an address to the Abolitionists of the United States expressly upon this question. The following paragraphs are extracted from a circular, which was lithographed and sent to the leading abolitionists in the country. The Committee say that—

"At the last annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the following resolution was adopted :—

"Resolved,—That WE DEPRECATE THE ORGANIZATION OF ANY ABOLITION POLITICAL PARTY; but that we recommend to Abolitionists throughout the country to interrogate candidates for office, with reference to their opinions on subjects connected with the abolition of Slavery;

and to vote, irrespective of party, for those only who will advocate the principles of universal liberty.

"Resolutions embodying the same idea have been passed by the New England Anti-Slavery Convention; and, we believe, *by nearly all, if not all, the State Anti-Slavery Societies.*

"The undersigned think the time has come, when the friends of the Slave, throughout the Free States, *should act fully up to the* LETTER *and* SPIRIT *of these resolutions.* * * * * * * * * *

"All the resolutions above referred to, *deprecate the formation of a distinct Anti-Slavery political party.* We hope our friends in your region WILL DISCOUNTENANCE ANY SUCH ATTEMPT, or any effort to unite our interests with any existing party. Such a course would surely neutralize our influence, if it did not produce distraction and ruin. Our strength, yea, our invincibility will be found to consist, in first sacrificing our partizan predilections on the altar of humanity, and then holding ourselves entirely aloof from both the political parties. Our motto should be, '*Form alliances with no political party, but enstamp our* PRINCIPLES *upon all.* Thus acting and thus rallying, *as one man,* to their support, we must be felt.

"It is possible, that, in some cases, neither party will put in nomination men for whom you can consistently vote; for no *profession* of our principles ought to be regarded, when it is unattended with a good moral deportment. In that case, *Abolitionists should either not vote at all,* or scatter their votes as circumstances may render advisable. Where a majority of all the votes is required to an election, the latter course may be found wise. In the language of one of the most distinguished statesmen of the country, '*Such a party will assuredly cause itself to be respected.*'

"By order of the Executive Committee,

"JAMES G. BIRNEY,
E. WRIGHT, Jr.,
HENRY B. STANTON, } *Corresponding Secs.*" *

The Committee, in May, 1839, in their address to the Abolitionists of the United States, with respect to their political elections, again condemn a New Political Organization, in the following expressive language, making it equally as fallacious and uncalled for as the formation of a National Anti-Slavery Church, which would necessarily set all sects and parties at war against the Anti-Slavery cause:—

"Abolitionists are associated for a single object:—to change the civil, social, and moral condition of the coloured people. We believe this can be brought about, WITHOUT DESTROYING EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS IN THE STATE OR IN THE CHURCH. There is no statesman of any political creed,—no religionist of any sect,—who may not consistently give us his aid."

By the above extracts it will be seen, that the Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, whose duty it was to watch over the interests of the cause, and to sound the alarm when the Citadel of Freedom was likely to be assailed by foes without, or to be endangered by revolt within, faithful to their trust in 1836, 1837, 1838, and even up to May 1839, only five months previous to the appearance of this extraordinay letter of MR WRIGHT, condemned in their reports and official addresses, in the strongest manner possible, the formation of a new political party, as pregnant with the greatest evils, and adapted to corrupt, alienate, and destroy all Anti-Slavery Organizations. But in October, 1839, when, according to MR WRIGHT'S own language, a political party was the only expedient for the salvation of the seceding party in Massachusetts,

* Now the three most active leaders for that policy which they then condemned. Mr Birney recently allowed himself to be run as a candidate for President of the United States, and received about 6,000 votes, out of the 2,500,000 votes which were polled.

with which the American Committee were actively implicated, not a note of warning is raised against it, even though nine-tenths of the Abolitionists of the entire country were seriously and actively opposed to it. The Committee not only remained silent as to condemning this new movement, but even went farther, and allowed the *Emancipator*, their mouth-piece, to advocate the very scheme which they had uniformly, and but a few months previously, condemned. As the "New Organizationists" were unable to succeed in their work of division, by their cry against "*Woman's Rights*," "*Non-Resistance*," and other unpopular questions, they have endeavoured, and in many cases have succeeded, in changing the issue from these to the THIRD POLITICAL PARTY QUESTION.

This third political party movement had not only been stoutly condemned by the American Society up to 1839, but by all the editors of Anti-Slavery newspapers. E. Wright, Jun., in 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, and even up to August, 1839, only two months previous to the writing of this letter, condemned *(as will be seen by the extracts below)* what he now declares to be necessary for the *salvation* of the seceding party.

"LOOK ON THIS PICTURE, AND ON THIS."

E. WRIGHT, Jun., *versus* E. WRIGHT, Jun.

"GOOD ADVICE.—We [ELIZUR WRIGHT, Jun.,] take the liberty to publish the following [extract of a letter,] and *commend it to the attention of our readers*:—"LET ABOLITIONISTS REMAIN WITH THE POLITICAL PARTIES TO WHICH THEY BELONG, but let them be more active. I hope the new organization will, in their zeal for political action, be careful not to *favour* either of the great political parties, or *oppose* them, as such. *Cast the leaven into both*—WORK WITH BOTH—PURIFY BOTH—that, in the end, both may aid and unite for the overthrow of Slavery in our land."—*E. Wright, Jun.* AUGUST, 1839.

"The principle of using our suffrage in favour of Emancipation, *while we neither organize a distinct party*, nor attach ourselves to any already existing, is vital to our cause."—*Idem.* 1838.

Similar sentiments were written by him in 1836 and 1837.

"One thing *I know*. Unless you do take such a step, [*form a human-right's party*,] OUR NEW ORGANIZATION HERE IS A GONE CASE. It has been, *inter nos*, SHOCKINGLY MISMANAGED."—*E. Wright, Jun. Oct.* 1839.

"Between *no-government* and a *human-right's* [third political] party, we think we have demonstrated there is no middle ground, on more occasions than one."—*E. Wright, Jun. Nov.* 1839.

"We must have a human-right's [third political] party, and that soon, or the problem of liberty is again to be worked out in blood." — *E. Wright, Jun. Dec.* 1839.

"In all sincerity, we ask those editors who oppose such a course, why they may not as well become Non-Resistants, and done with it?"—*E. Wright, Jun.* 1840.

The extracts given above from the writings of Mr Wright, one of the prime leaders of the division, will clearly prove that it is *not* the American Anti-Slavery Society which has changed, but himself and coadjutors. Were it not that this pamphlet is already swelled to twice the size it was originally designed, the same change in all the principal leaders of the division could be made manifest from their own writings. But sufficient has been given to make this point appear abundantly plain, and therefore more proof is entirely unnecessary.

From that time, the formation of a new, distinct political party has been the question which, to this hour, has been advocated by the Seceders with a zeal worthy of a better cause. *Now*, they are bold to declare, that those who do not advocate a "third political party are no-government

men"—that "a political party is the only position worthy of free and independent minds." Quotations, to an indefinite extent, might be adduced, to show the entire change which has taken place on the part of those who advocate division. The THEN Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, having failed to carry over the Abolitionists to their views as a body, resolved to drive the ploughshare of division through the entire Anti-Slavery field. They have been unable, however, to carry but a small portion with them; but their opposition tends greatly to paralyze the zeal of Abolitionists not thoroughly imbued with genuine Anti-Slavery principles.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SECESSION.

"'Tis Slander,
Whose edge is sharper than the sword; whose tongue
Out-venoms all the worms of Nile: whose breath
Rides on the posting winds, and doth belie
All corners of the world."

SHAKSPEARE.

WHILE the experiment of this division was being tried in Massachusetts, this restless Committee had been actively engaged in setting machinery in operation, preparatory to the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which was due in May, 1840; and at which time the Seceders withdrew, and constituted themselves the "American and *Foreign* Anti-Slavery Society." Previous to which time every possible effort was made by the seceding party, (the friends of Messrs. Birney, Tappan, Stanton, and others) to press upon their friends, in every part of the country, the importance of attending the anniversary of the American Society, to outvote the no-human-government and Woman's-Right's party, as they are pleased to term all those who refuse to adopt their new theories. The following extracts are from a circular, (and others of a similar character might be introduced, did space permit,) which was issued and sent over the country, broadcast, by the officers of the New Seceding Society in Massachusetts, and signed by the Chairman and Secretary:—

"DEAR BROTHER,—The Executive Committee of the Mass. Abolition Society have appointed you their delegate to attend the approaching annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be held in the city of New York, on Tuesday, the twelfth day of May next. In transmitting this certificate of your appointment, we feel ourselves called upon, by all the love we have for the Slave, to urge you to let nothing short of an interposition of Providence prevent your being present on that occasion. We need not inform you of the efforts which have been made to engraft non-resistance!! and certain other extraneous matters, into the Abolition cause!! * * * Brother, *you* must come up to the rescue. * * * We can prevent it, if our friends will turn out and be at their posts; and we must do it, or suffer a defeat. * * * Fail not, as you love the Slave, as you value correct principles, and as you feel your responsibility to God, the oppressed, your country, and the world; and if error triumphs on that occasion, let not the guilt rest upon your soul because you were not present to vote it down.

"J. BRACKETT, *Chairman.*

"J. W. ALDEN, *Secretary.*"

The Old Massachussetts Society made a similar effort to prevent the Association from falling into the hands of those who wished to compromise the cause, by making it subservient to sectarian or party purposes.

The day of the meeting arrived—and large numbers were in attendance. A second attempt was made, by a number of clergymen, to disfranchise a portion of the members of the Society on account of their sex. This also was defeated by a large majority; *women* of EACH PARTY voting upon the question. The minority then withdrew, and formed a rival Association, ("the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,") as has already been stated. This New Association was headed by the same men who cheered on the Misses Grimke in 1837, and who at that time, and subsequently, so ably answered the objections brought against the Society, of being a No-Government and Woman's-Right Society, and who *now*, strange as it may appear, *urge the very objections, the absurdity of which they had previously exposed.* As might be expected, the division is exerting a most disastrous influence upon all our organizations. The success of the new Society will depend upon the destruction of the old; for it is based upon the assumed principle that the old is injurious to the cause of the Slave. In proportion as the people are made to believe this, the new Society succeeds.

It should be noted, that two or three months prior to the annual meeting of the American Society in May last, the Committee (of whom were Messrs. Tappan, Birney, Stanton, &c.) saw, by the general voice of disapprobation which was sent up from all quarters of the Free States as respected the unfair, and disorganizing, and sectarian course they had pursued, that the Abolitionists of the country would set upon their conduct, at that meeting, their seal of censure, by transferring the management of the Society into the hands of a new committee, which would not abuse their power for the furtherance of political or sectarian principles. Seeing all this, the Committee (like the general who preferred destroying the city to letting it fall into the hands of his enemies) resolved to cripple, and, if possible, to destroy, the original American Anti-Slavery Society. The *Emancipator*, its organ, was made the means of proving to the Abolitionists that there was no farther use for it. Mr Birney even thought "it"—*not Slavery*, but the Society, (which had paid him about 6000 dollars, over and above his travelling expenses, for a little more than two years' services,)—unless it could be managed upon a different principle, ought to be dissolved. Again, the Committee, when they had about 14,000 dollars' worth of Anti-Slavery publications, and other property, in their possession, allowed a draft of 150 dollars to be protested. The Report of this was taken up by the pro-Slavery press, and with great satisfaction the news was circulated, that the Anti-Slavery cause was dying away, for the American Society had failed for 150 dollars.

Once more—the Committee (now the Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society) secretly, and without the least intimation to the American Abolitionists, transferred the *Emancipator*, the *original* Society's organ, into the hands of a small local hostile body, the committee of which was composed, in part, of the same men as the Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The Society had paid a bonus of more than 20,000 dollars, over and above its receipts, to keep this paper in existence; and so highly did they value it as their only medium of communication with the American Abolitionists, that no inconsiderable sum could have purchased it from them. This act was done only four weeks before the Society's annual meeting in May last, when the Committee's term of office

would expire. When called to an account for thus depriving the Society of its most valuable property—for cutting it off from all communication with the Abolitionists, at the time of its greatest need, and for transferring it into the hands of those who would use it for the destruction of the Society which brought it into existence, they alleged in excuse, that they could not meet the expense of publishing it, which, up to the time of the annual meeting, would have cost the very small sum of 300 dollars. At this very moment, the Committee held about 14,000 dollars' worth of the Society's property, as already described, in their hands; they were also paying monthly to Mr Birney the reduced salary of 187½ dollars; to Mr Leavitt 150 dollars; and to Mr Stanton 80 dollars; and for office and clerk's hire, about 200 dollars more; making a monthly outlay of 577½ dollars.

It is therefore evident, that as 300 dollars was all that was required to continue the *Emancipator* until the General Meeting, these parties could, by pledging the Society's property, reducing its expenses, or deferring the payment of their own salaries until after this period, have preserved to the American Anti-Slavery Society this paper, upon which so high a value was placed, in consequence of its great reputation and wide circulation among American Abolitionists.

But the reasons assigned for this transfer will appear still more flimsy, when the reader is informed, that this very Committee, who made THIS TRANSFER, of whom Messrs. Birney and Stanton were themselves members, at the very time, voted to Mr Stanton 500 dollars, and Mr Birney 300 dollars, (in addition to 500 dollars previously given him,) to defray their expenses in attending the General Anti-Slavery Convention in London,* and these sums were actually paid out of the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society.†

Thus appointed and thus paid, it could never be supposed for a moment, but that these gentlemen would represent, in London, the Society that delegated them, and that they would enroll their names at the Convention, as the agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Such, however, was not the case; but, on the contrary, they represented an association which had no existence, until half the voyage had been performed to this country. Thus, after having deprived the Society in America, of its property and means of defence, by the transfer of its organ into the hands of those who were intent on the ruin of the Anti-Slavery Society, under the paltry plea of not having funds to carry it on. They voted to themselves a large sum of money, to defray their expense to this country, and as a climax to this train of foul play, they not only do not represent the Society at the Convention at whose expense they came, but when in England, they travelled the length and breadth of the land, and from place to place, making and insinuating false and calumnious charges against the Society, charges that were intended to alienate the confidence of the philanthropists of this country, in the ability and integrity of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

And here, we would gladly conclude this painful subject, and leave to the discriminating and honourable reader to draw his own conclusions, as to whether a Society, thus acting, ought to be supported in place of the long-tried and uncompromising American Anti-Slavery Society. We are, however, compelled to refer to the mean course adopted by some of the members of the New Society of transmitting to this country the most base and false charges against members of the Old Society, and against

* See Appendix I. † See Appendix K.

the Society itself,* and which we regret to say are industriously circulated through the country, by the London Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; charges, that for scurrility and abuse, have seldom been equalled, as will be seen by a reference to the Appendix.† We cannot account for this suicidal act on the part of the London Committee, when we look at the number of honourable names which appear in the list, but by supposing such to have been the act of a small number of that body. We are unwilling to believe that the great men whose names adorn their list, who have spent their lives in advancing the cause of the oppressed and the enslaved, would stoop from their high moral and religious station in society, to become the medium of the foulest personal slander. We would appeal to them to avert this march of folly and injustice on the part of their brother committee-men.

It must be evident to every unbiased philanthropist, that however much he may deplore the differences that may have arisen on the other side the Atlantic, on this subject, the clear course for the London Committee to have pursued, was, either to have given the Abolitionists of this country, impartially, both sides of the controversy, or else to have sided with neither party, but to have made use of both Societies, wherever and whenever they could, to have severally forwarded the great and noble object which we should all have in view.

Had this been the course pursued by the London Committee, Englishmen would never have been troubled with the details of this painful case, but, as they have chosen to take the side of the New and small Society, against the Old and more numerous and long-tried Society, the latter had no other course than to lay its case before the British public; not so much to defend themselves against misrepresentations, because their faith is unshaken in the principle that truth will eventually triumph, but that the great cause for the advancement of which they are willing to lay down their property, their reputation, and their lives, should not be injured.

* See Appendix L. † See Appendix M.

APPENDIX.

A.—See p. 9.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

THE following eloquent passages are extracted from the first number of *Mr Garrison's* newspaper, the *Liberator*, printed in 1831, to give the reader a specimen of the bold and uncompromising spirit of the man who, ten years since, stood forth as the Slave's advocate, pennyless, alone, ridiculed and condemned, and who, by his ability and faithfulness, has been, through the divine favour, permitted to be instrumental in bringing the sinfulness of Slavery before the American people:—

"I shall not array myself as the political partizan of any man. In defending the great cause of human rights, I wish to derive the assistance of all religions and of all parties. I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our Slave population. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead."

It is painful in the extreme, that, in the Anti-Slavery cause, composed of men of all sects and all parties, there should be a necessity for vindicating the religious views or character of any faithful and uncompromising Abolitionist; but so unsparingly have the London Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society privately circulated letters to the leading friends of the Negro throughout the kingdom, written by the seceders in America, intended and adapted to create a strong prejudice against Mr Garrison, as holding and zealously propagating the most dangerous infidel sentiments, that it is but justice to the Anti-Slavery cause, with which he is intimately connected, that British minds should be disabused with respect to these wholesale calumnies. The pretended objections of the Seceders as respects "*Woman's Rights*," "*Non-Resistance*," &c., have failed to alienate the great body of Abolitionists from the American Anti-Slavery Society. They have now adopted this new expedient of charging Mr Garrison with holding infidel sentiments, and then to identify these views with the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Had the London Committee given publicity to these and other calumnies, in their organ, the *Reporter*, where they could have been met and refuted, instead of privately circulating them around by letters, it certainly would have appeared, in them, less mean, cowardly, and criminal. But time shall not be consumed upon this Committee. Their proceedings in this affair—their correspondence with the representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society—and their attempt to blast his reputation—all speak for themselves, in language plain and comprehensive. We shall be satisfied with the verdict of every unbiassed individual who will give *this* part of the subject a *thorough investigation*.

What if Mr Garrison is a Unitarian or an Infidel?—and he is neither. Is it the design of the Emancipation enterprise to favour one creed and condemn another? If an Anti-Slavery Society may take cognizance of one faith, may it not of another? The only question that can be properly asked by men as Emancipationists,—Is he a faithful and uncompromising Abolitionist? An assent to the Anti-Slavery principle is the only bond of union, and is the only test of membership; and that man, or body of men, who would insist upon an Anti-Slavery Society giving any opinion upon any of the different religious or political questions which distract and alienate mankind, is chargeable with throwing a firebrand into the Abolition enterprise, and is guilty of innovation. What can be the ob-

ject of professed Abolitionists thus to assassinate the Anti-Slavery reputation and influence of the Slave's first, ablest, and most devoted advocate, even if he were worse than his calumniators represent him? How is it that the Seceders, the Southern oppressors, and the London Committee and their friends in this country, are unitedly seeking to accomplish his downfall? Would a drowning man refuse the hand of a heretic stretched forth to save him? Would the millions of bondmen, stripped of their rights by professed Christians, refuse their freedom, because their chains were riven by men of faith, to them, unsound?

We could answer the charges brought against Mr Garrison by counter assertions, as there has not been the least attempt, on the part of any one of his enemies, to prove him to be an infidel. If we may be allowed to have any knowledge of the Christian graces, we should say that Mr Garrison possesses them in a very high degree. We have had the honour of an intimate acquaintance, and of labouring with him in the cause of the enslaved Negro, and have seen him in times of great trial and affliction, and have invariably found him crucified to the world, and the world to him. If we have ever met with a man who, by his life and conversation, appeared to rely on the divine promises,—whose life, being one of faith, was hid with Christ in God,—and who made it the entire aim and object of his life to elevate and redeem his fellow-creatures, and thus to glorify his Creator, that man is Wm. Lloyd Garrison. Did space permit, we might adduce the testimony of multitudes, entitled by their Christian life, to the highest confidence, giving the strongest proofs of his Christian character; but the evidence of one or two must suffice, as we prefer to let Mr Garrison speak for himself. He has been connected with the press as an editor for fourteen years, and it would seem that, during that time, opposed, persecuted, and calumniated as he has been by American Christians, he would have occasionally expressed an infidel sentiment had he entertained such principles. His accusers, however, have not been able to cull out a single sentence of the kind to sustain their charges.—We have before us but a very few papers and pamphlets, containing the writings of Mr Garrison; but there is hardly an article from his pen but what contains some religious sentiment, which would satisfy the reader, we think, that his infidelity is very evangelical.

The following is from the pen of *Angelina E. Grimke*, in 1837, then a member of the Society of Friends, in answer to an attack made upon the religious views of Mr Garrison, by Miss Beecher, a pro-Slavery woman of great notoriety:—

"I feel sorry that thy unkind insinuations against the Christian character of William Lloyd Garrison, have rendered it necessary for me to speak of him individually, because what I shall feel bound to say of him, may, to some *like thyself*, appear like flattery; but I must do what justice seems so clearly to call for at my hands. Thou sayest that 'though he *professes* a belief in the Christian religion, he is an avowed opponent of most of its institutions.' I presume thou art here alluding to his views of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the Sabbath. Permit me to remind thee, that in all these opinions, he coincides entirely with the Society of Friends, whose views of the Sabbath never were so ably vindicated as by his pen: and the insinuations of hypocrisy which thou hast thrown out against him, may with just as much truth be cast upon them. The Quakers think that these are not Christian institutions; but thou hast assumed it without any proof at all.

"In his character as a man and a Christian, I have the highest confidence. The assertion thou makest, 'that there is not to be found in that paper, or any thing else, any evidence of his possessing the peculiar traits of Wilberforce, (benignity, gentleness, and kind heartedness, I suppose thou meanest,) not even his warmest admirers will maintain,' is altogether new to me; and I, for one, feel ready to declare, that I have never met in any one a more lovely exhibition of these traits of character. I might relate several anecdotes in proof of this assertion; but let one suffice. A friend of mine, a member of the Society of Friends, told me that after he became interested in the Anti-Slavery cause, through the *Liberator*, he still felt so much prejudice against its editor, that, although he wished to labour in behalf of the slaves, he still felt as if he could not identify himself with a society which recognized such a leader, as he had heard William Lloyd Garrison was. He had never seen him; and after many

struggles of feeling, determined to go to Boston on purpose to see 'this man,' and judge of his character for himself. He did so; and when he entered the office of the *Liberator*, soon fell into conversation with a person he did not know, and became very much interested in him. After some time, a third person came in, and called off the attention of the stranger, whose benevolent countenance and benignant manners he had so much admired. He soon heard him addressed as Mr Garrison, which astonished him very much; for he had expected to see some coarse, uncouth, and rugged creature, instead of the perfect gentleman, he now learned, was William L. Garrison. He told me that the effect upon his mind was so great, that he sat down and wept, to think he had allowed himself to be so prejudiced against a person, who was so entirely different from what his enemies had represented him to be. He at once felt as if he could most cheerfully labour, heart and hand, with such a man, and has for the last three or four years been a faithful co-worker with him, in the holy cause of Immediate Emancipation: and his confidence in him, as a man of pure, Christian principles, has grown stronger and stronger, as time has advanced, and circumstances have developed his true character."

Sentiments, similar to the following extracts from Mr Garrison's "Thoughts on Colonization," have been frequently expressed in his writings, since its publication:—

"I appeal to those who have been *redeemed* from the bondage of sin by the *precious* blood of Christ, and with whom I hope to unite in a better world, in ascribing glory, and honour, and praise to the Great Deliverer for ever."

"If people would *pin their faith upon the* BIBLE, and not upon the sleeves of their neighbours, half of the heresies in the world would instantly disappear."

The following, from the pen of Mr Garrison in 1839, in answer to the charge made against the Non-Resistance Society,—of being an infidel association,—is inserted as a specimen of his infidelity, together with the Non-Resistance extract, also from his pen:—

"The allegation, that the sentiments of this Society are in accordance with those of infidels, or at least that they tend to infidelity, is manifestly as foolish as it is malicious. For infidels to *glory* in the *cross* of Christ—to inculcate the duty of walking in his footsteps—to insist on the forgiveness of enemies as the *condition of salvation*—is certainly a novel occurrence. For them to give utterance to the following language, extracted from the Non-Resistance Declaration of Sentiments, is also very remarkable:—

"So they treated the Messiah, whose example we are humbly striving to imitate. If we suffer with him, we know that we shall reign with him. We shall not be afraid of their terror, neither be troubled. Our confidence is in the LORD ALMIGHTY, not in man. Having withdrawn from human protection, what can sustain us but that faith which overcomes the world? We shall not think it strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try us, as though some strange thing had happened unto us, but rejoice inasmuch as we are partakers of CHRIST'S sufferings. Wherefore we commit the keeping of our souls to GOD, in well doing, as unto a faithful Creator."

The following extract is from the closing sentence of a letter to Gerrit Smith, Esq., on the subject of Peace, in 1840:—

"I feel much solicitude on your account, lest, in your present temper of mind on the subject of politics, you should *quench* the SPIRIT OF GOD, which is manifestly *striving* with you, and close your eyes to the *heavenly light* which has burst upon you, and once more ally yourself to the kingdoms of this world, which are all to be destroyed by the brightness of the coming of Christ. Let there be no delay in making up your mind. If the Lord be God, serve him; if Baal, serve him. My prayer is for your *perfect salvation*.

"Your faithful friend,

"WM. LLOYD GARRISON."

The following is the first sentence in the Report of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and written by Mr Garrison in 1839:—

"The Lord reigns! If it were not so, the friends of humanity might despair. The Lord is omnipotent! But for this, tyrants might exercise perpetual dominion. The Lord is sworn to execute judgment for all who are oppressed! Therefore, all shackles shall be broken, and every captive set free, in this, in all lands."

We beg the reader to peruse attentively the following interesting, though somewhat lengthy article, written by Mr Garrison, in December, 1840, at the close of the tenth volume of the *Liberator*:—

"Until a comparatively recent period, our accusers were the despisers and persecutors of the coloured race—southern Slave-holders and their northern allies; but now, our most bitter revilers are those who profess to be Abolitionists, and who are indebted to our humble exertions, under God, for what they see, feel, and know on the subject of Slavery. They have requited us by lifting their heels against us, and by resorting to every means in their power, however unlawful and wicked, to destroy our Anti-Slavery influence, and crush the *Liberator*. And why is this? Because they happen not to like our views on some other subjects! Their *personal enmity* is so strong, as to induce them to PROPAGATE THE MOST ATROCIOUS FALSEHOOD, and *deal* in the BLACKEST CALUMNY, to effect OUR DOWNFALL. But we have not yet fallen; and, *relying* upon THE SAME GOOD BEING who has hitherto been our stay and staff—and upon THE SAME GRACIOUS REDEEMER who has cheered and animated us by His smiles in the darkest hours of affliction—and upon THE SAME DIVINE COMFORTER who has filled our heart with a *peace* which the *world* can neither *give* nor *take away*—we still expect, having done all, TO STAND. In the deliverance of our coloured countrymen from their frightful bondage, and their elevation to all the rights and privileges of our common humanity, we feel an ever-growing interest. We espoused their cause when few were willing to support it; and it would be strange indeed if, in the days of its strength and glory, we should now abandon it. Whatever evil and designing men, *under the guise of Abolitionism*, may say to alienate their affections from us, they may rest assured that we will be faithful to them *in life* and *in death*, and do what in us lies to cause *liberty* to be proclaimed throughout *all* the land unto *all the inhabitants thereof*.

"*All other means* having FAILED TO DESTROY the *Liberator*, the latest DEVICE OF SATAN, transformed into 'an angel of light,' to effect this purpose, is to represent it as an INFIDEL publication, and OURSELVES AS HOLDING INFIDEL SENTIMENTS! Having not been dismayed by the cry of 'madman! fanatic! incendiary!' at the commencement of our Anti-Slavery career, we shall not allow our peace to be disturbed by the cry of 'infidel!' OUR INFIDELITY CONSISTS IN THIS: we do not happen to agree with the majority, in regard to certain outward forms and observances;—we have refused to connect ourselves with any religious sect, and to adopt a human creed as the standard of our faith;—we do not believe that the clergy are impeccable; nay, we have dared to affirm that, as a body, they love the fleece better than they do their flocks, as their treatment of every righteous but unpopular reform plainly indicates;—we do not believe that men can have the spirit of Christ, who hold their fellow-creatures in bondage;—we do not believe it is right or consistent for Abolitionists to support a pro-Slavery priesthood, or recognize a pro-Slavery church as a religious body;—we do not believe that it is right for Christians to imprison, hang, or butcher their enemies;—we do not believe that governments of human contrivance, upheld by military power, and administered by wicked rulers, are divine;—we do not believe in the necessity of sinning against God, or being always more or less in bondage to the Devil;—we do not believe that Christ is unable to save his people from their sins in the present life, or that the world may not be overcome, through faith, by those who dwell in it;—we do not believe in holiness of time, but in holiness of heart;—we do not believe in a worldly sanctuary and ordinances of divine service, but in the true tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and not man, and in spiritual worship and communion, without the intervention of any types or figures;—and, finally, we do not believe in making religion a thing of circumstance, time, or place—something distinct from the every-day pursuits and avocations of life—but ear-

nestly maintain with him who was ranked among the offscouring of all things, that, WHETHER WE EAT OR DRINK, OR WHATSOEVER WE DO, WE SHOULD DO ALL TO THE GLORY OF GOD. This is the head and front of our infidelity. How far it is dishonouring to God, or hostile to the temporal or eternal interests of men, we leave the reader to decide according to the light that is in him.

"We have been connected with the public press more than *fourteen years;* and, during that time, we have written no small amount, on a great variety of topics. We have prepared various pamphlets in an official and unofficial shape, which have been *published to the world.* We have delivered *many public addresses,* and participated in the proceedings of *many public meetings.* Now, why do not our accusers QUOTE CHAPTER AND VERSE from our writings to *sustain* their charge against us of *infidelity?* Simply BECAUSE THEY CANNOT—because they know that they are ACTUATED BY A MALEVOLENT SPIRIT, and that *the truth is not in them.* They stand self-convicted as revilers and false witnesses; for while, in one breath, they would fain make the people believe that we do not acknowledge *a divine revelation of the will of God,* they, in the next, (as it may happen to suit their *evil purpose,*) denounce us as holding up perfection as the standard of christian discipleship! *We are willing that the files of the Liberator should be critically examined, in regard to our religious opinions;* for though, in this age of hollow profession and pharisaical cant, we have been indisposed to make any parade of them before the public eye, (because we wish our *works,* rather than our words, to *testify* of us,) *yet* we are confident, that, IN OUR WRITINGS, *will be found* THE UTMOST REVERENCE FOR GOD, for HIS LAW, for THE SCRIPTURES OF TRUTH, and the *highest appreciation of* HIS SON as *the Redeemer of the world.* We are compelled to make these statements,—though they have no special connexion with our Anti-Slavery character,—in consequence of the manner in which we have been traduced for the purpose of hindering our usefulness in the cause of our down-trodden countrymen in particular, and of mankind in general."

The following are *extracts* of letters from the Rev. Nathaniel Colver, of Boston, to Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, and which have been, by the London Committee, privately sent to prominent Abolitionists in this country. With regard to that portion of the letter relating to ourselves personally, as having "left" America "under suspicious circumstances," &c., we have only to say, that, on the 10th of December, 1840, six days previous to their arrival, we submitted to the London Committee our credentials from the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, recommending us, in very strong terms, to the sympathy and confidence of the Abolitionists of Britain. Thus it will be seen that they were secretly circulating what they must have been aware was false,—for what purpose we will leave the enlightened reader to judge for himself. Not one of that Committee had the candour or magnanimity to acquaint us with the existence of such letters—and it was merely by accident that we learned of their circulation. We beg the reader to peruse with attention Mr Garrison's brief review of Mr Colver's extracts, given below.

(*From the Liberator of January* 29*th,* 1841, *edited by* Wm. Lloyd Garrison.)

REV. NATHANIEL COLVER.

The following extracts of letters from this individual to certain influential Abolitionists in London, have been communicated to me in a letter from a highly respectable member of the Society of Friends in England, received by the Columbia:—

"Boston, *Nov.* 30*th,* 1840.

"Garrison has just headed *an infidel Convention,* gathered from different States, to call in question the validity of the Sabbath, the church and the ministry. It was quite a gathering, and I went in, with two or three other ministers, and discussed it with them for three days."

"BOSTON, *Dec.* 1*st*, 1840.

"Wm. L. Garrison's influence is on the wane. He so identifies himself with *every infidel fanaticism* which floats, as to have lost his hold on the good. He has recently headed a Convention to inveigh against the Sabbath, the church and the ministry. It was affecting (!) to see what a company he had identified himself with—the wildest of the no-marriage Perfectionists, (!!) Transcendentalists, and Cape Cod—all in harmonious effort *against the Bible* as our standard of faith, and especially in denouncing the ministry, &c. I think the Anti-Slavery cause will ultimately shake itself from that which has been a source of great trouble.

"J. A. Collins has, a few weeks since, left for England, *under suspicious circumstances* (*!!*)—What are his objects, we know not; but we fear to *practise* some imposition upon British sympathy for our cause. *I hope you will beware of him*—HE IS NOT ENTITLED TO YOUR CONFIDENCE. Friends here feel deeply on the subject. Will you, if possible, ascertain what are his objects, and give us early notice?"

It is difficult to conceive of anything more unjust, malignant, and wicked than this attack, made (as it has been) assassin-like in the dark, though providentially brought to the light. Atrocious as it is, it does not excite any special surprise in my breast; for my acquaintance with the author, for the last two or three years, has fully satisfied me that he is a wolf in sheep's clothing—a bitter enemy of holiness—a practical unbeliever in the gospel—a stranger to the Spirit of Christ—and unworthy of confidence or respect. This opinion he knows I have long entertained of him as a man, and as a professed teacher of religion; for, having frequently brought him to the test of eternal truth, and clearly perceived the temper of his mind, I have felt it my duty to tell him, frankly and faithfully, what is my estimate of his character. My fidelity to him has greatly enraged him; and as there is no malignity like that of a corrupt priest when he finds that his mask of profession fails to conceal his moral deformity, it is perfectly natural that he should endeavour to revenge himself as opportunity may offer. My friends in England may rest assured that this pretended zeal of NATHANIEL COLVER for the institutions of religion, and this slanderous assault upon my religious views, proceed from *personal animosity* toward myself; nor would they be led astray by any false statements he might be disposed to make, if they knew him as well as he is known at home by those who are able to discriminate between the *form* of godliness and the *power* of it. How many more of such letters he may have written to England, I am yet ignorant. I know that his personal ill-will never slumbers, and that, in his private intercourse with individuals, especially with females, (for whom he entertains the most profound contempt as equal beings, especially on the Anti-Slavery platform,) he is constantly making his assaults, in various forms, upon my Christian character. These things I mention, not because they give me any uneasiness, but to disclose to my transatlantic friends the *animus* which actuates him in writing as he has done respecting the late Sabbath Convention, and my connexion with it.

Such is the pressure of my engagements the present week, that I can make only a very few hasty comments upon the extracts quoted above; but, before I do so, I must appeal to the good sense and Christian magnanimity of English Abolitionists in relation to this insidious attack. Suppose the representations contained in Mr Colver's letters were all true, (and they are *all false*,) am I, is any man, to be arraigned as a heretic before an *Anti-Slavery* tribunal? If I am a faithful, uncompromising *Abolitionist*, what more does it concern Abolitionists, either on this or on the other side of the Atlantic, to know? Is it anything better than impertinence for any of them to meddle with my religious or political opinions? In what part of the Anti-Slavery bond is it stipulated, that there must be a uniformity of faith among Abolitionists, not only on the subject of Emancipation, but also in relation to "the Sabbath, the church, and the ministry?" Is it not the strength and glory of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, that it appeals so directly to all the sympathies of the human breast, and enforces its claims so strongly above all sectarian, party, and geographical considerations, that Jew and Gentile, Russian and Turk, Protestant and Catholic, Mahometan and

Pagan, Whig and Tory, Chartist and Radical, may all harmoniously co-operate together for its extinction? Who and what are the Abolitionists of England but members of every sect and party in the land, differing heaven-wide in their peculiar religious and political sentiments, yet nobly forgetting those differences in their sympathy for the suffering and the dumb, and their zeal and devotion to the outraged cause of bleeding humanity? Do they not present a lovely and thrilling spectacle, thus united in the great work of human redemption from chains and slavery? And what must be the humanity, the religion, the *heart* of that man, who would drive them asunder by appeals to sectarian and party prejudices, and cause every Abolitionist, Ishmael-like, to raise his hand against his brother? Can he be actuated by a sincere desire to glorify God, and to have peace and good will abound among men? No. Can he be a disinterested, true-hearted Abolitionist? No. Does the Slave-speculator or tyrant-master desire anything so much as the annihilation of the Anti-Slavery organizations, as such? No.

I repeat it, therefore—whatever I may think of "the Sabbath, the church, and the ministry," it is not a matter that concerns Abolitionists, and does not come within the "appropriate sphere" of their approval or condemnation. Whoever will undertake to show that I am not an *Abolitionist,* will speak to a point that is pertinent, and not travel out of the record.

Now, what was the design of Nathaniel Colver, in writing his defamatory letters to England? Was it to preserve the *Anti-Slavery* bond of unity in the spirit of peace, or to dash it in pieces with the hammer of priestly malice and sectarian hate? To whom were they addressed? One of them, (if I am not misinformed,) was sent to a member of the London Anti-Slavery Committee —perhaps both—but this is not material. They were written to leading, influential *Abolitionists.* For what purpose? Obviously, undeniably, expressly to *ruin my character* among the Abolitionists of England, and to blast what little reputation I may have won among them for my ten years' unwearied labours to break the yokes and fetters of my enslaved countrymen! These stabs, moreover,—let it not be forgotten,—were intended to be given *in the dark;* but the hand that was raised to give them has been providentially discovered, and he to whom that hand belongs now stands forth to the public gaze with the brand of moral turpitude imprinted upon his brow.

If the Anti-Slavery brethren to whom Nathaniel Colver sent his letters should happen to see this reply, I appeal to them, by every candid and Christian consideration, to say, whether they ought not to spurn this attempt to destroy the usefulness of a fellow-labourer in the Anti-Slavery field. It gives me no mortification or uneasiness to hear that, in consequence of the innumerable slanders that have been busily circulated by the lying spirit of "new organization," my reputation and popularity are at a low ebb in England—any further than that I lament that good and excellent men should be so easily imposed upon, to the injury of that cause which is so dear to our hearts in common. Advantage is taken of their remote situation, as well as of their pious sensibilities, to excite their abhorrence of sentiments which they do not understand, because they have not been fairly presented to them, and of principles which lie at the foundation of "the glorious gospel of the blessed God."

I now turn to the *extracts.* And,

1. "Garrison has just headed *an infidel convention.*"

Every word, every syllable in this sentence is untrue. No such convention has been held. I am as strongly opposed to "infidelity," (as that term is commonly understood,) as I am to priestcraft and Slavery. My religious sentiments, (excepting as they relate to certain outward forms and observances, and respecting these I entertain the views of "Friends,") are as rigid and uncompromising as those promulgated by Christ himself. The standard which He has erected is one that I reverence and advocate. In a true estimate of the divine authority of the scriptures, no one can go beyond me. They are my text-book, and worth all other books in the universe. My trust is in God, my aim to walk in the footsteps of his Son, my rejoicing to be crucified to the world, and the world to me. So much for the charge of "infidelity."

In November last, a convention was held in Boston, in consequence of the

great and hurtful diversity of opinion which prevails in Christendom among the various sects on these subjects, to ascertain, if possible, what is the *true* Sabbath, *true* ministry, and the *true* church, as, (in the language of the call,) "they exist *in the mind of God.*" Is such a convention an evidence of a disposition to aid infidelity, or to promote Christian union? I had just as much to do with it as NATHANIEL COLVER himself—*and no more.* My name was not appended to the call. I attended the meeting in common with many others—so did he. I participated in the discussions—so did he. At first, I was apprehensive that the call was somewhat premature; but the result of the Convention led me to give thanks to God, and greatly to rejoice in spirit, because I believed that "the truth as it is in Jesus" was signally promoted by it: and if NATHANIEL COLVER felt that his side of the question was strengthened and truth benefitted by the discussion, instead of raising such a clamour about the convention, and uttering such abominable falsehoods about it, he, too, would rest satisfied in spirit, and feel rejoiced that so good an opportunity had been presented to preach the gospel of Christ. *Not an infidel spoke in the meeting,* the solemnity of which would scarcely have been at all interrupted, if it had not been for the violent and abusive language and the unchristian demeanour of the *Rev.* Nathaniel Colver and the *Rev.* E. T. Taylor,—as *all know* who were present at the meeting. All who spoke in opposition to the views of Mr Colver insisted upon the duty of an entire consecration to the service of God—of doing all things, at all times, to his service—of making all days holy, in spirit and in truth—of being obedient to all the requirements of Christianity. As for myself, I declare, once for all, that I am as "orthodox" in relation to the Sabbath as were Martin Luther and John Calvin—as "heterodox" as were Priestly and Thomas Belsham—and as "fanatical" as were Robert Barclay and George Fox.

2. "Wm. L. Garrison's influence is on the wane."—This cannot be true—else this restless accuser and the great mass of a corrupt priesthood would not be seeking to move heaven and earth for my downfall. My influence in the world will be in exact proportion to my fidelity to God and his cause; and it will not be in the power of men or devils to destroy it.

3. "He identifies himself with every infidel fanaticism which floats."—The charge is craftily indefinite, and means anything or nothing, just as men may be disposed to construe it. My "fanaticism" is, to make Christianity the enemy of all that is sinful; and my "infidelity" is to preach "Christ and him crucified."

4. "It was affecting to see what a company he had identified himself with!!" —If he means by the "company," those at the Convention who agreed with me in sentiment, then I have only to say that I believe they may safely be compared with their opponents on the score of "gentleness, goodness, and truth," and of their interest in the universal triumph of righteousness. There were *some* in the Convention whose "company" I should not desire to keep, *as a matter of choice;* but these I will not specify.

5. "The wildest of the no-marriage Perfectionists."—What this means, or to whom it applies, I do not know; and until this false accuser makes good this assertion, it is unworthy of further notice.

6. "Transcendentalists and Cape Cod."—What, pray, is the unpardonable sin of Cape Cod? As for the Transcendentalists, they may be right or wrong in their distinctive peculiarities; but why this sneer against them, because they choose to give their views on the question before the meeting?

7. "All in harmonious effort *against the Bible.*"—There is no excuse for a wholesale falsehood like this: it does not wear even the semblance of truth. At the opening of the Convention, and on various occasions during the discussion, I expressly declared that I stood upon the Bible, and the Bible alone, in regard to my views of "the Sabbath, the church, and the ministry"—and that I felt if I could not stand triumphantly on that foundation, I could stand nowhere in the universe. My arguments were all drawn from the Bible, and from no other source. This Mr Colver knew, and yet he represents me in England as rejecting the Bible!!

8. "Especially, in denouncing the ministry," &c.—Now, the fact is, I did not even allude to the ministry—for that question was not under consideration, and I was extremely desirous that the speakers should *keep to the point.* It was

only a time-serving, hireling, dumb dog ministry that were reproved by those who spoke on the subject—*and this Mr Colver knows!*

The attack upon our faithful coadjutor, JOHN A. COLLINS, is, in the worst sense, grossly libellous; but, as he is a non-resistant, Mr Colver knows that he can slander him with impunity. To say that he left for England "under suspicious circumstances," is basely untrue; for he went out under the auspices of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, having credentials from the Managers of both Societies, and with a two-fold object in view—for the restoration of his health, and to obtain aid and sympathy for our enterprise. The assertion, that he is not entitled to British confidence, is equally profligate with the other charges of Mr Colver. He has taken with him the very highest recommendations, and, it is hoped, will meet with a kind and honourable reception at the hands of English Abolitionists. Here is further testimony.—*See Resolutions of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, &c., of January 25th,* 1841, *on page* 56.

We will close this part of the subject, by inserting the lines addressed to Mr Garrison by the poet Whittier:—

TO WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

CHAMPION of those who groan beneath
  Oppression's iron hand:
In view of penury, hate, and death,
  I see thee fearless stand.
Still bearing up thy lofty brow,
  In the steadfast strength of truth,
In manhood sealing well the vow
  And promise of thy youth.

Go on!—for thou hast chosen well;
  On in the strength of God!
Long as one human heart shall swell
  Beneath the tyrant's rod.
Speak in a slumbering nation's ear,
  As thou hast ever spoken,
Until the dead in sin shall hear—
  The fetter's link be broken!

I love thee with a brother's love,
  I feel my pulses thrill,
To mark thy spirit soar above
  The cloud of human ill.
My heart hath leaped to answer thine,
  And echo back thy words,
As leaps the warriors at the shine
  And flash of kindred swords!

They tell me thou art rash and vain—
  A searcher after fame—
That thou art striving but to gain
  A long-enduring name—
That thou hast nerved the Afric's hand,
  And steeled the Afric's heart,
To shake aloft his vengeful brand,
  And rend his chain apart.

Have I not known thee well, and read
  Thy mighty purpose long!
And watched the trials which have made
  Thy human spirit strong?
And shall the *slanderer's demon breath*
  Avail with one like me,
To dim the *sunshine of my faith*,
  And earnest trust in thee?

Go on—the dagger's point may glare
  Amid thy pathway's gloom—
The fate which sternly threatens there,
  Is glorious martyrdom!
Then onward with a *martyr's zeal*—
  Press on to thy reward—
The hour when man shall only kneel,
  Before his Father—God.

B.—See page 9.

VOICE OF THE COLOURED PEOPLE.

A few, as a specimen, of the many resolutions passed by the free coloured people, in different parts of the United States, are here inserted, in which their confidence is strongly expressed in Mr Garrison and the old organization, and their unqualified condemnation of the seceding party.

At a very large adjourned meeting of the Coloured citizens of Boston, October 17th, to take into consideration the object, nature, and influence of new organization, the following resolutions were passed:—

"Resolved, That we consider it a religious duty to defend Mr Garrison against every attempt, whether of internal or external foes, to crush him.

"Resolved, That we hail with joy the fact, that unshaken confidence is reposed in our highly esteemed fellow-citizen, William Lloyd Garrison, by the coloured people in New Bedford, Worcester, Salem, and elsewhere in this commonwealth, and regard it as a further proof of their discernment and love of pure principles.

"Resolved, That we believe it is now made manifest to every coloured person, that the design of the new organization is the entire overthrow of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society: and that no artifice is left untried to effect that purpose; and therefore that it ought to be regarded with more jealousy than even the Colonization Society itself.

"Resolved, That all Coloured people who are acquainted with the present aspect of the Anti-Slavery cause in this State, and who enlist with those who seek the overthrow of Garrison and his coadjutors, are enemies to the true interest of the Slave, and ought to be treated as such; for no dependence can be placed upon them; if they will betray one man, they are very likely to do so to another.

"THOMAS HENSON, *Chairman.*

"WM. C. NELL, *Secretary.*"

At a large and respectable meeting, held by the Coloured people in New Bedford, May 25th, 1840, Solomon Peneton was called to the Chair, and J. B. Sanderson appointed Secretary. N. A. Borden and Paul C. Howard, on the part of a committee, presented the following resolutions, which after an animated discussion, were unanimously adopted:—

"Resolved, That we cannot but express our unaffected joy and gratitude to God, for the success that attended the American Anti-Slavery Society, at the last annual meeting, in its determination to adhere to original and pure Anti-Slavery principles; and we regard it as a signal triumph of liberty and truth, over intolerance, sectarianism and error.

"Resolved, That the prompt manner in which our coloured friends in this and the NEIGHBOURING STATES RESPONDED *to the call and came up to the rescue*, augurs well for their Anti-Slavery zeal; and no doubt they find a rich reward in the consciousness of having done their duty in a righteous cause.

"Resolved, That the spirit which leads to 'new organization,' because females are allowed to speak and act in a holy cause as duty dictates, is the foul spirit of prejudice; and as its tendency is to exclude a large portion of the well-tried friends of the Slave, on account of their sex, we should not be surprised if its next step is to exclude another portion on account of *colour*.

"Resolved, That the word 'FOREIGN' in the name of the New Society lately formed at New York, is a significant word, rightly expressing the principles upon which it is based, viz.: that they are as *foreign* to freedom and equality, as the Slave code of Georgia is to the Declaration of American Independence.

"S. PENETON, *Chairman.*

"J. B. SANDERSON, *Secretary.*"

The following extract from a speech of Mr Remond, the intelligent and eloquent Coloured delegate from the United States, to the General Anti-Slavery Convention in London, delivered at a large public meeting in Darlington, January 27th, 1841, will show what organization has the confidence of the coloured people of America:—

"He considered it most unjust to desert that Society longest known and most faithfully tried in the fiery ordeal of suffering and proscription, and which had for the last eight years stood storm-proof against every species of opposition. He felt that the English friends had committed themselves to what was called new organization, prematurely, and that too, from ex-parte statements. He felt free to declare, that up to that hour, the expression of the free people of colour, so far as any had been made, was in favour of the original American Anti-Slavery Society. He considered the decision of the coloured people the best thermometer to enable the meeting to form a judgment as to the rise and fall of genuine Abolition. For the undiminished regard they had for those bold, true, and fearless advocates of their cause, Wm. Lloyd Garrison and N. P. Rogers, he would refer the audience to their reception in Boston, on their return from this country a short time since, by the coloured people of that city."

Upon the return of Wm. Lloyd Garrison and N. P. Rogers to America, from England, in August, 1840, the Coloured citizens of Boston called a public meeting, at which about two thousand of every complexion were present, to give them a cordial reception, as their tried friends and the faithful advocates of "old organization" principles.

Mr Hilton, in introducing Mr Garrison, to that large assembly, made use of the following language, which expressed the feelings of his coloured brethren:—

"MY WELL-BELOVED FRIEND AND BROTHER,—

"Ten years have well nigh elapsed, since it was my happy lot, in conjunction with the chairman of this meeting, to greet your first entrance into the city of Boston, and

to give you a hearty welcome, as our organ—as an exponent of the feelings of the coloured people.

"It has become my pleasing task again to give you a most cordial welcome on the part of the same people, on your return from what is called the World's Convention; falsely so called. Your advocacy of the glorious principles of Immediate Emancipation, for which you have suffered so much, has greatly endeared you to the hearts of this people. They have come forth, as you see, to give you a cordial welcome.

"They well remember that William Lloyd Garrison, was the first who raised his voice in America, in favour of Immediate Emancipation; and it is William Lloyd Garrison whom they still find their boldest champion.

"Whilst the pulpit was dumb, you, Sir, lifted up your voice in our behalf like a man! (Applause)—and lest editors may conceive themselves slighted, I will remark that they also were dumb; while your voice was raised in a manner the most determined and persevering. They well remember your 'Thoughts on Colonization;' your predictions of what would befall you in consequence of attacking that rotten system. They remember the noble pledges that you have in past times made in their behalf; and they are here this night to testify that you have uniformly redeemed them all. (Great applause.)

"We think, on this occasion, of some who were your early companions; we look for them in vain; they walk no more with you. It would have been our pleasure to have given them also a tribute of respect. But you are still surrounded by a brilliant constellation of faithful spirits, who have never flinched from your side. I behold one who is here sharing with you the pleasures of return. I mean your own beloved Rogers: dear to us also, for his faithfulness in supporting the same principles. * *

"We congratulate you and ourselves upon your safe return to your dear native country—to this city—to the soil which gave you birth—to the society of your beloved family, and to the dear friends that surround you;—to the coloured man whose cause you have advocated. And in expression of our fellowship and grateful sense of your devotedness to it, I now give you, in behalf of this meeting, my right hand, (great applause)—with it goes my heart! (overwhelming applause,) and the hearts of my brethren unitedly. Sir, (Amen, amen, from the meeting,) I present hearts before you that your enemies have not been able to change or conquer: hearts that could no more be bribed or stolen from you, than your heart can be from us. (Applause.) And now, Sir, in behalf of this assemblage, I invoke the blessing of high heaven upon your head! (Repeated and enthusiastic expressions.)"

C.—See page 9.

VOICE OF THE PRO-SLAVERY PRESS.

The *Christian Panoply*, a Journal notoriously hostile to the Anti-Slavery enterprise, makes use of the following language with respect to "New Organization," and did space permit, sentiments of a similar character, from a great number of other papers might be introduced, but this, with a few other extracts, will be sufficient to lead the thinking to examine for themselves, and to discern its perfect harmony with the spirit of the New Organization Journals:—

"It has been alleged that those of us who would not fall into the Garrison ranks, were the friends and advocates of Slavery. Now, we are utterly opposed to Slavery; this, we know, is the general feeling at the North!! and our brethren who charge us with favouring Slavery, have borne wrong testimony against us. They do us and the cause an injury; they think to drive us into their ranks, or else to induce us to become the advocates of this moral evil. But we have done neither. We have protested against the outrageous course which Garrison has pursued, in breathing out rage and madness against the Slave-holders. And now, some of our brethren, who once followed him, have opened their eyes to his errors, and have seceded from his ranks. A division has taken place; a separation, with no prospects of a re-union.

"We very much doubt whether Mr Garrison is a real friend to the Coloured man!!

* * * * * * * *

He has designs to accomplish; and in his aim at his main purpose, he presses in every thing that can be used for it. Now, non-resistance:—now, the woman question;—and now, tee-totalism. He hopes in this way to draw in many whom he could not otherwise reach. * * * Those who give, would do well to inquire what becomes of their money; is it applied so as to accomplish what the donors wish? Many church-members contribute to them, and their money is used to pay for the services of agents for railing against the church and its servants.

"They will find that in reality they are not struggling for the highest good of the black man, but against the ministry, who are the servants of the church; and thus in

reality warring against the church of Christ. Whether even some of the leading men in the Garrison ranks are aware of it, we doubt. Time has been, when we saw this state of things, but could not speak fully about it, because so many of the ministers were in those ranks; and their being there was an argument that no evil design was entertained. But they have seen their position; they have come out, refusing any longer to 'touch the unclean thing'—and now we can say, fearlessly, that Garrison is a bitter, uncompromising enemy of the church of Christ. Its institutions he hates; its Sabbaths he tramples down, and so eventually will his followers. Destroy the sacredness of the Sabbath, and you give the right hand of fellowship to infidelity. * * * * To destroy the cause of Christ, you have only to overthrow the ministry, and make the Sabbath like other days, and your work is half done—yea, done. * * TRUE, WE HAVE NOT ENLISTED UNDER THE BANNER OF NEW ORGANIZATION; mainly, because we cannot relinquish our BELIEF THAT COLONIZATION AT LIBERIA, is a benevolent enterprise; effecting more visible good than any *other measure yet adopted.* Its object and mode of government is vastly *preferable to any English plan yet adopted.*"

The *Washington Globe,* a most malignant and ferocious journal against every thing in the form of genuine Anti-Slavery, after ridiculing the American Anti-Slavery Society, as being a "Woman's-Rights," "No-human-government Society," shows its sympathy with the seceding party, as follows:—

"These ultras had a majority in the late Anti-Slavery Convention at New York, and permitted women to vote, and be appointed on Committees.* The consequence was, the secession of the minority, who did not relish this 'petticoat government,' and the formation of a new society, styling itself 'The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.'"

The *New York Herald,* of infamous notoriety, and especially distinguished for its pro-Slavery virulence, complimented the seceders as men who had a true sense of "self-respect," and added,—

"Garrison and his coadjutors, anxious only for notoriety, and reckless of the means of obtaining it, have stimulated the more inconsiderate of their followers to ultra and odious measures, in the hope of driving off all sober men of discretion, (!) and thus gaining undisputed control of the means and influence of the Society."

D.—See page 25.

As I am unable, at this time, to lay my hands upon the anecdotes designed for this Appendix, illustrating the foresight and integrity of Mr Garrison, I will supply their place with other useful information, though not so particularly relating to Mr Garrison.

At the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, on the 27th January, 1841, and the most numerous meeting of the Society ever held, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

"Whereas, from the fact that our beloved brother William Lloyd Garrison has been, under God, the mighty agent for arousing this country to a sense of her inexpressible blood-guiltiness; and whereas, from the power of truth with which he is clothed, he is now, as he has been from the commencement, more dreaded, by the Slaveocracy of the country than any other man, and consequently no devices have been spared to destroy this influence, by the basest insinuations and most barefaced falsehoods, thereby making him the great stumbling-stone and rock of offence to the progress of the cause; and whereas, calls are heard from all parts of the State for visits from our brother, the conviction being felt that at his presence the foes would be subdued, and for these and other reasons, more could be accomplished for the cause by his public speaking, than by the united labours of many men; therefore,

"Resolved, That he be urgently invited to engage, as much as possible, in lecturing in the several towns in the Commonwealth, during the present season.

"Resolved, That while we have no conflict with the church or ministry, as such, but while we highly admire and commend such churches and ministers as remember those in bonds as bound with them, and preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of the prison doors to such as are bound; still we do most solemnly denounce the churches and ministers who refuse to bear an open and consistent testimony against Slavery, as against the separate crimes of which it is made up, as the most dangerous, because the most insidious, enemies of freedom; as the most strenuous opposers of the spread of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and the most earnest promoters of cruelty, vice, and irreligion in the land."

* Just as they did in 1839. Was this introducing any thing new?

The following extract, from the Ninth Annual Report of January, 1841, of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, one of the twelve of the State Auxiliaries of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will give some idea of its efficiency, notwithstanding the efforts of the Seceders to destroy it:—

"In consequence of the divisions which have taken place in this Commonwealth—the extraordinary and exhausting efforts which were made to redeem the pledge of ten thousand dollars to the National Society in 1839—and the suspicion and distrust which have been so widely excited against this Society—it has not been possible for the Board to carry on the operations of the Society during the past year, so efficiently or vigorously as they could have desired. But, though they have been unable to 'make bricks without straw,' they have endeavoured to make the best use of the means in their possession for the promotion of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. Since the last Annual Meeting, the receipts into the treasury have amounted to upwards of nine thousand dollars, and the expenditures to nearly the same amount. Of the expenditures, a considerable portion has been paid to the agents in the employment of the Society, for the past and preceding year. Among those agents have been Philo C. Pettibone, W. R. Chapman, Sumner Lincoln, Ezra C. Smith, Philemon R. Russell, J. S. Brown, James C. Jackson, N. H. Whiting, George Foster, Richard Hood, George Bradburn, T. P. Ryder, W. L. Garrison, John Jones, J. P. Bishop, C. M. Burleigh, J. D. Herrick, J. G. Duryee, S. S. Foster, Parker Pillsbury, Edwin Thompson, all of whom have laboured with zeal and fidelity during the period of their engagement."

The following sentence is extracted from the Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, (1841), showing the relation the cause sustains to Mr Garrison's peculiar views :—

"It is due to Mr Garrison to say, that no one has laboured more assiduously than himself to keep the Anti-Slavery enterprise distinct from every other, (question), and to avoid the introduction of 'extraneous' matters. Whatever may be his religious opinions, or his notions of the existing governments of the world, the Society has never been called upon to give them its approval."

E.—See page 27.

The object of the Society shall be to endeavour, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity, and religion, to effect the Abolition of Slavery in the United States; to improve the character and condition of the free people of colour, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and to obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.—*Constitution of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society*, Art. 2.

F.—See page 28.

Any person, by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer fifteen dollars as a life subscription, or one dollar annually, shall be considered a member of the Society, and entitled to a copy of all its official publications.—*Constitution of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society*, Art. 3.

Any Anti-Slavery Society, or *any association* founded on kindred principles, may become auxiliary to this Society, by contributing to its funds, and may communicate with us by *letter*, or *delegation*.—*Ibid*, Art. 11.

G.—See page 30.

Any person who consents to the principles of this Constitution, who contributes to the funds of this Society, and is not a Slave-holder, *may be a member of this Society*, AND SHALL BE ENTITLED TO VOTE AT ITS MEETINGS.—*Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society*, Art. 4.

H.—See page 31.

Any Anti-Slavery Society, or association, founded on the same principles, may become auxiliary to this Society. *The Officers* of each Auxiliary Society, shall be *ex-officio members* of the Parent Institution, and *shall be entitled to deliberate and vote* in the transaction of its concerns.—*Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society,* Art. 9.

I.—See page 39.

THE WORLD'S CONVENTION.

The refusal on the part of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, and other delegates from the American Anti-Slavery Society, to participate in the proceedings of the *General Anti-Slavery Convention,* held in London, last June, has been much used to prejudice the minds of British Philanthropists against those gentlemen, and the Society which delegated them, as being committed to what is technically called the "*Woman's-Rights Question.*"

To form a right judgment with respect to the proceedings of these gentlemen, in relation to the *rejection of the Women,* delegated by the largest body of Abolitionists in America; it is necessary that the circumstances connected with this subject should be well understood. When this is done, the whole matter will appear in quite a different light to that in which it has generally been viewed. Space will not permit a full presentation of the subject in this connexion. A few of the leading facts must suffice.

In the summer of 1839, the EMANCIPATOR, the official organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, threw out a suggestion, that a *World's Convention* ought to be held, to devise ways and means for the immediate extinction of Slavery and the Slave trade from the globe. In accordance with this suggestion, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, issued a call for such a convention, requesting that delegates from the various parts of the civilized world, might be appointed to convene in London, in June 1840, for the objects specified above.

From the terms of the call it was understood, (1) that each Anti-Slavery Society was considered competent, by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to select their own representatives; (2) that persons properly delegated by regularly constituted Anti-Slavery Societies, would be received; (3) that the convention would not *entertain any subject foreign* to the Universal Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade.

In answer to this call, the American Anti-Slavery Society, desirous of having the various classes of Abolitionists represented in this convention, delegated Messrs Garrison and Rogers to represent one class; Mr Remond, a coloured gentleman, to represent the people of colour, and Mrs Mott to represent the women, agreeably to the usages of American Abolitionists. Other Societies in America did the same.

The convention was in Session several days previous to the arrival of Messrs Garrison, Rogers, Remond, and Adams, who found the anticipated World's Convention, fashioned into a conference with the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, (which in fact prescribed its rules and regulations,) and, that in consequence of previous correspondence with the Seceders in the United States, the *women delegates from America* were excluded, in addition to other narrow and proscriptive acts of the Committee. These gentlemen refused to enter the convention, not because the women *as such* had been rejected, but because regularly constituted delegates, some of whom bore credentials from the same society as themselves, had been refused admission, and because the convention had stepped out of its "*appropriate sphere*" to determine the INAPPROPRIATE DUTIES OF WOMEN. A refusal to join the convention, on the part of these men,

had delegates been refused admission on account of their religious or political creed, caste, height, or complexion, would have created no sensation whatever; on the contrary, such a testimony against such a glaring act of injustice, would have secured the admiration of millions. MR GARRISON and his coadjutors viewed in the same light, the rejection of those NOBLE WOMEN from America—who had left their home and friends, with hearts full of love and pity for enslaved millions, and crossed the broad Atlantic, with throbbing bosoms, to mingle their prayers and their sympathies with a WORLD'S PHILANTHROPY. Allowing that these men refused to enter because women, *as women*, were excluded, an objection to such a course comes with an ill grace from those who have seceded, or who justify such a secession from an Anti-Slavery Society, on the ground that women are not rejected.

K.—See page 39.

The following Resolutions were passed at the same Meeting of Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as that at which the transfer of the *Emancipator* took place, on the pretended ground of the insufficiency of funds, as will be seen by the Protest below:—

"*In the Executive Committee, April* 16, 1840.

"Resolved, That as the sum of five hundred dollars has been contributed by the friends of James G. Birney, towards defraying his expenses to the London Convention, the sum of three hundred dollars additional be appropriated to enable him to fulfil his mission.

"Resolved, That so much as is necessary to pay the three hundred dollars to Mr Birney, be appropriated of the subscriptions made at the Cleveland Meeting, and the pledge of the Maine Society.

(Signed,) "JOSHUA LEAVITT, *Recording Secy.*

"Resolved, That the sum of five hundred dollars be appropriated to defray the expenses of Mr Stanton to London, and that as much of the pledge of the Vermont Society, be specially pledged for that purpose.

(Signed,) "J. LEAVITT, *Recording Secy.*"

PROTEST.

"The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society have voted to transfer the *Emancipator* to the New York City Society, on the alleged ground that they can no longer provide the means necessary to sustain it.

"*In the name of the* AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, *I protest* against this act of the Committee, for the following (among other) reasons:—

"1. The *Emancipator* is not the property of the Executive Committee. It belongs to the American Society, which is constituted of the Abolitionists of the country, who have sustained it through a long period of pecuniary embarrassment, and but for whose aid, it would have ceased to exist long ago. The aggregate excess of expenditure over all its receipts, since 1835, is more than *Ten Thousand Dollars*, which has been liquidated by the American Anti-Slavery Society, and not by the Executive Committee. The Committee, not being its real proprietors, have, therefore, *no right* to dispose of the *Emancipator*, by sale. transfer, or otherwise.

"2. The *Emancipator* is the official organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The Executive Committee were appointed (in part) to conduct that organ, as the official exponent and vindicator of its principles,—as the guardian of its integrity,—as the proper and accredited medium of correspondence with its constituents and auxiliaries. To remove that organ, is, literally, to destroy a part of its organization —*to strike at the existence* of the American Anti-Slavery Society, whose members never contemplated vesting a suicidal power in their Executive Committee, which they might wield at pleasure.

"3. The transfer is not necessary, on the alleged ground. A statement of the property of the Society shows a large balance over all its liabilities.

"4. Due respect to the feelings and opinions of the Abolitionists generally dictates the propriety of referring the final disposition of the *Emancipator* to the approaching annual meeting. A *suspension* of the publication would be preferable to its transfer, as it would not thereby be placed beyond the power of the Society to resume it; whereas, by the vote now passed, it is irrecoverable.

"These are some of the more important considerations, which induce my dissent from the Committee.

"JAMES S. GIBBONS."

L.—See page 40.

See extracts of the Rev. Mr Colver's letters, on page 45, 46, and the address of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, page 60.

The following is a copy of the correspondence of the Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society, with the London Committee. By a reference to the dates of their respective letters, it will be seen that I was detained for nearly six weeks, for that which might have been accomplished in as many days, had a special meeting been convened as is customary under similar circumstances.

Before my correspondence was closed with the Committee, they sent letter (C.) over the kingdom, conveying in general terms the most severe charges, tending to destroy all confidence in the Society I had the honour to represent, and not unfrequently accompanied with Mr Colver's dastardly insinuations, tending to destroy Mr Garrison's influence, and my reputation, as the agent of the American Society. When the specific charges [*vide last section in letter* D.] are called for, the request is evaded by a declaration of the Committee that they "*have brought no charges*" [*see letter* G]. No specific charges are preferred, for the very good reason that none can be sustained. But I will leave the reader to draw his own conclusions, after he has given the correspondence a thorough examination, as to whether there is any thing in this act of the Committee that is generous, open, and frank, and which will reflect credit upon the character of British Abolitionists.

(A.)

6, Queen Street Place, Southwark Bridge, London, *Dec. 10th*, 1840.

To the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Gentlemen,—I am deputed by the American Anti-Slavery Society to solicit pecuniary aid in this country, to enable it to continue its exertions for the Abolition of Slavery in America.

It is with great reluctance that the Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society feel compelled to call upon their friends in Great Britain for pecuniary assistance, and they would have rejoiced to have been able to sustain their operations for the oppressed Slave, without being compelled so to do.

The recent monetary difficulties through which North America has been struggling for the last three years, have been so oppressive, and the sacrifices which the friends of the Negro have been called upon to make, have been so great, that they, however willing, are no longer able, without some aid, to sustain the Anti-Slavery cause.

The late contest, for the election of a President, has likewise been detrimental to the cause of Abolition, inasmuch as political opinions, by dividing men for a time, during a period of excitement, and attracting attention to another subject, begets for a while an estrangement between those who were heretofore united in the attainment of one grand object, and causes a diversion of funds to political objects, which had probably otherwise been devoted to emancipate those in bonds.

We trust, however, that if the Society can obtain the sum of £2000, it will enable it to retain its ground, until circumstances shall be so altered that the friends of Abolition in America may again be able to carry on the work of the Society without further assistance.

I therefore address myself to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for a grant of such a sum of money as it may be in their power to contribute, in aid of the American Anti-Slavery Society; but should the Committee be unable, from want of funds, to make any grant, then it only remains for me earnestly to solicit from them an expression of their cordial desire for the success of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

To you, as the acknowledged Society for the Abolition of Slavery, both in this country and all over the world, I enclose my credentials, signed by *Charles Marriott, Secretary,* and *James S. Gibbons, Chairman of the Executive*

Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, dated New York, Sept. 25th, 1840, and trust that the appeal thus made may meet with your cordial approval.*

A reply is respectfully solicited as early as the convenience of the Committee will permit.

With fraternal feelings, and a desire for your prosperity and faithful continuance in every good word and work, I subscribe myself,

Yours, very respectfully, for the cause,

J. A. COLLINS,

Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

To J. H. Tredgold, Esq., *Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.*

(B.)

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World.

27, New Broad Street, London, 11*th Dec.*, 1840.

Dear Sir,—I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated yesterday, enclosing credentials from the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

We have no meeting in view of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society's Committee until the first of next month, when your letter shall be submitted.

The enclosed credentials I will send you back in a day or two.

I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

J. H. TREDGOLD.

(C.)

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World.

27, New Broad Street, London, *Jan.* 2*d*, 1841.

To J. A. Collins, Esq.

Sir,—Your letter to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was laid before them at their meeting yesterday, and was taken by them into full consideration.

It appears that the Committee are to regard you as an authorized Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society, on whose behalf you are deputed to raise funds in Great Britain; and that you apply to them either for "a grant of a sum of money," or for "an expression of their cordial desire for the success" of the Society you represent.

With respect to the former part of the alternative, the Committee have to observe, that whatever the amount of their funds might be, they could not consider themselves entitled to dispose of them in the way you desire; so that they feel it their duty to decline altogether the consideration of a money grant; and easy as the adoption of the latter part of the alternative might appear, and painful as it is to find any ground for hesitation in this respect, the Committee are nevertheless constrained to say, that the course recently pursued by the American Anti-Slavery Society has alienated their confidence.

According to your request, the Committee forward this reply at the earliest moment. They have heard something, indirectly, of your wishing an interview with them; but they wait, before saying anything on this point, until they shall understand from yourself that this is your desire.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

J. H. TREDGOLD, *Secretary.*

(D.)

6, Queen Street Place, Southwark Bridge, London, *Jan.* 5*th*, 1841.

To the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Gentlemen,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 2d inst., which reached me about three o'clock p. m., of yesterday, by which I was sorry

* In this correspondence, I did not allude to the division, as my credentials, which I submitted to the London Committee, exposed, very fully, the policy and course pursued by the "New-organization" party in America.

to learn from the Committee, "that whatever the amount of their funds may be, they could not consider themselves entitled to dispose of them in the way you desire."

Permit me to remark, Gentlemen, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society declared in their Annual Report of June, 1840, that "wherever there is a human being subject to Slavery, or the victim of the Slave Trade, thither should their eyes be turned, their sympathies directed, and their help afforded." This declaration I have understood as holding out the offer of co-operation and assistance to those who labour for the Abolition of Slavery in every part of the globe. I was, therefore, surprised when I read in your letter that you are not "entitled" to give the American Anti-Slavery Society, [if the state of your funds would permit,] that aid which its situation and circumstances require. I shall, therefore, be obliged to the Committee to explain their meaning, when they say, "that whatever the amount of their funds may be, they do not consider themselves *entitled* to dispose of them in the way you desire;" which desire was that you would assist the American Anti-Slavery Society, by a money grant, to carry on the work of Emancipation in the United States. If I am to understand this declaration of the Committee as a general one, applicable to all bodies associated for the Abolition of Slavery, then the words of your Report of 1840 have been misunderstood by me, and as the deputed Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, I am to understand that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is not "entitled" (or at liberty), at any time, or to any Society, to render assistance in the form of a money grant.

The Committee inform me in their communication, that they "have heard something indirectly of your wishing an interview with them, but they wait before saying anything on this point until they shall understand from you that this is your desire." It must be, gentlemen, the earnest desire of every sincere and upright-minded man, or of every associated body of men, or of men and women labouring for the overthrow of Slavery, to gain the countenance and good wishes of all others working in the same cause of righteousness, whoever they may be, or wherever situated. You may, therefore, conclude that the American Anti-Slavery Society will be somewhat confused and anxious to ascertain what its "course recently pursued" has been to "alienate" your confidence" to that degree as to refuse to wish it God speed.

This "alienation" arises, no doubt, from a misunderstanding, on the part of the Committee, as to the real position of the American Anti-Slavery Society. It should be our endeavour, therefore, to remove every thing which separates brother from brother, and, for this end, I trust you will favour me with the charges implied in the "course recently pursued by the American Anti-Slavery Society," which has "alienated" your "confidence," that I may be prepared to appear before you, and to use my humble endeavours to remove from your minds those impressions erroneously entertained against the American Anti-Slavery Society, and injurious to the cause of the Negro.

Trusting that the Committee will let me hear from them with as little delay as possible,

I remain, Gentlemen, your obedient Servant, very respectfully,

J. A. COLLINS,

Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

To J. H. Tredgold, Esq., *&c.*

(E.)

6, Queen Street Place, Southwark Bridge, London, *Jan. 8th*, 1841.

To the Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Sir,—On Tuesday last, I transmitted to you a letter requesting to be made acquainted with all those circumstances which have "alienated" the American Anti-Slavery Society from the "confidence" of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and which, I learned, by a letter of the

second instant, bearing your signature as Secretary of that Society, are of so important a nature as to prevent the Committee from expressing their cordial concurrence with the American Anti-Slavery Society. As its accredited agent, I leave you to form an idea of the trying situation in which I am placed, at thus learning that any cause exists which should produce a separation between bodies, both of which, I am bound to believe, are diligently labouring to deliver their fellow-men from cruel bondage and oppression. To me, in these circumstances, it is additionally trying, because I am confident there is no just cause for this separation.

Painfully placed as I am, and feeling deeply the injustice done to the Society I represent, the injury to the cause of Emancipation, and also to myself individually,—a stranger in the country, appointed to act for that Society,—my way blocked up until I can obtain an opportunity of disabusing the minds of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of the wrong impressions entertained by them against the American Anti-Slavery Society, and thus living here, comparatively idle, at considerable expense, you will, I am confident, see the propriety of making an early acknowledgment of the receipt of my letter. I beg the further assurance from you that a special Committee will be speedily called to reply to my letter, and relieve me from so painful a state of suspense.

I am, dear Sir, yours very respectfully,

J. A. COLLINS,

Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

J. H. Tredgold, Esq., *Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.*

(F.)

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,

27, New Broad Street, *8th Jan.*, 1841.

To J. A. Collins, Esq., *&c.*

Sir,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your communications of the 5th and 8th instant, and to acquaint you, in reply, that there will, in all probability, be a special meeting convened for Friday, the 15th instant, at four o'clock, of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to dispose of some matters of business which require their attention, when your letters shall be submitted for consideration.

I am, dear Sir, yours respectfully,

J. H. TREDGOLD, *Sec.*

(G.)

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World.

27, New Broad Street, London, *Jan. 16th*, 1841.

To J. A. Collins, Esq., *&c.*

Sir,—Agreeably to your request, your letters of the 5th and 8th instant have been submitted to the consideration of a Meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held this evening, and I am instructed to inform you that the Committee have brought no "charges"!! What has been "alienated" from the American Anti-Slavery Society is the "confidence" of the Committee in the salutary influence of that Society on the Anti-Slavery cause since the division which took place in May last:—that cause in the United States the Committee now consider as more truly represented by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

J. H. TREDGOLD, *Sec.*

M.—See page 40.

SLANDERS AGAINST JOHN A. COLLINS.

"When I see such games
Play'd by the creatures of a Pow'r who swears
That he will judge the earth, and call the fool
To a sharp reck'ning, that has lived in vain;
And when I weigh this seeming wisdom well,
And prove it in th' infallible result
So hollow and so false,—I feel my heart
Dissolve in pity." COWPER.

NEITHER the American Anti-Slavery Society, nor its representative in this country, have anything to conceal. Their proceedings have been thus far, and it is to be hoped will be, in future, open, frank, and manly. It is by such means, that the enemies of "Old organization" are compelled to prosecute their work of destruction, under cover of darkness, by privately retailing falsehood and calumnies; therefore, a place is given to the following official document from the Massachusetts Abolition Society, and extracts from that Society's official organ, the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*, and forwarded to the London Committee. These have been lithographed, and privately sent to the prominent and influential Abolitionists in Britain:—

"OFFICE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ABOLITION SOCIETY,
BOSTON, *Feb.* 1, 1841.

"*To the Executive Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.*

"GENTLEMEN,—At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, held at their Rooms, No. 32, Washington Street, this morning, the following preamble and resolutions were passed:—

"Whereas, since the World's (!) Anti-Slavery Convention, held in June, 1840, in London, the leading journals of the Old organization Anti-Slavery Societies have busily attempted to traduce the characters of our transatlantic coadjutors, and particularly the London Committee, by affirming, that they had rather trust the Anti-Slavery cause in the hands of our pro-Slavery mobs than in the hands of the London Committee; (1) and whereas, other sentiments of a similar character have been published in the newspapers, professedly or virtually the organs of said Societies; and whereas, the same bodies which have taken the above ground, and never, to our knowledge, retraced their steps, have delegated John A. Collins to England, to solicit funds to sustain said Old organization; and whereas, we are informed that said Collins has made application for funds to the London Committee, and others, whose abolition character they have thus traduced; therefore,

"Resolved,—That, in the opinion of this Committee, John A. Collins, and a majority of those he represents, are not entitled to the confidence or support of our English friends.

"Resolved,—That, in the opinion of this Committee, the money contributed to sustain the 'Old organization' in this country, will be wasted in the vain attempts to put down 'New organization!' (2) they having taken the ground that 'New organization' is the worst form of Slavery, and their first business is to put it down.

"Resolved,—That the representations made by the Rev. Nathaniel Colver to Joseph Sturge, Esq., in regard to John A. Collins are, in our opinion, entitled to your entire confidence!!

"A true copy from the Records, attested,

"JOSEPH W. ALDEN, *Rec. Sec.*"

"J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

"Dear Sir,—Enclosed you have the action of the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, in regard to John Collins' letters, John A. Collins, &c. &c. In regard to the Anti-Sabbath Convention, alluded to in the Rev. Mr Colver's letter, permit me to say that Rev. A. A. Phelps has written out his argument delivered at that Convention, and, as the Garrison party refuse to publish the doings of that body, he has added an Appendix, in which he quotes some of the infidelity of the Convention, (3).

"This will be published in a few days, and, when published, we will send you a copy, that you may judge for yourselves.

"Yours, for the Slave,

"J. W. ALDEN."

From the Massachusetts Abolitionist, January 7th, 1841.

"JOHN A. COLLINS.

"One piece of this man's knavery we will put on record, premising that it is of a piece with his whole history. His barefaced forgery of some pretended extracts of letters (4) in 'Mrs Chapman's Right and Wrong in Massachusetts,' is a small matter compared with other deeds. But to the facts. John A. Collins collected about 100 dollars in Hatfield, Massachusetts, nearly two years ago. It was collected by him on the express condition that it was to be paid over to the American Anti-Slavery Society(5)—not to the Massachusetts Society,—with the proceedings of which the donors of the money were dissatisfied (6). The money was never paid to the American Society. Subsequent to the formation of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, the donors of most of the money, learning Collins' unfaithfulness, gave directions that he should pay it over to the new Society's Treasurer. It was not done. The donors then authorized the representative of Hatfield in the General Court last winter to get the money of Collins, and pay it over to the Abolition Society. He tried very often—was put off with various excuses: 'will attend to it to-morrow'—(7) 'our board meets to-day, and then it shall be seen to'—and so on. But no satisfaction could be obtained. Subsequently, Mr Brackett, the Treasurer, received a written order, from the donors of the money, to pay it over to him. Promises of 'I will attend to it to-morrow,' (8) were all he could obtain. But the day or two before his departure to England, for his health and other causes, Collins acknowledged that the money ought to be paid, and should be, but went off without doing it, (9). The whole matter was subsequently laid before the Board of the old Society. Mr Garrison and this Board had never all this while heard a word of the matter. (!) They probably never heard of the money either. They believe it does not appear in their receipts; but, like honourable men, they have just paid it over to Mr Brackett, (10). So much for the facts. Now, will that Board do their duty, and cast off this agent who has so long owed his character for honesty to the forbearance of others—or must his loathsome history be brought more fully into view? We forbore formerly, for the sake of his wife, now happily gone from a world where she suffered so much, (11). But now the day of reckoning has come. The good men, (12) who have been the objects of his abuse, ever since the day when he came as a spy, with falsehood on his lips, to our house in Salem, shall suffer from him no more. We wait to see if those honourable men, Jackson, Loring, Sewall, and Bassett, will publicly withdraw confidence from him, and recall whatever credentials he may have to our friends in England, where 'the state of his health' does not hinder him from deceiving 'the Peases,' and perhaps others, with his vile slanders. We cannot doubt that they will do so promptly, and save us the pain of a further exposure (!) of the shame of the Anti-Slavery cause from their countenance to such a man."

"Collins heard from by authority.—The object in crossing the Atlantic is partly on account of his health, and partly in connexion with the Anti-Slavery

cause; and we trust that his mission will not be in vain. In due time, the facts in relation to it will be laid before the public."—*Liberator.*

"EDITOR'S REMARK.—We did hope this devoted knave would have been suffered to remain without any attempt to bolster him up. But he shall soon be exposed, and that effectually. When such a man is needed as a tool, there's something rotten in the state of the Society that needs him."

"JOHN A. COLLINS.—A trivial error occurs in our notice of this man last week. The Hatfield money was collected by one Duryee, and paid over to Collins. We presume the old Society's Treasurer never received the money at all (!!)—we wait to learn."—*Massachusetts Abolitionist, January* 14*th.*

"JOHN A. COLLINS.—Mr Garrison says it is a sufficient reply to our brief exposure of this man's swindling! that the account was written by Charles T. Torrey, and talks about the 'almost fiendish' spirit we exhibit. All we have to say is, that the written evidence of every fact stated is in the possession of T. Brackett, Fulton Street, Boston, and may be seen by any one interested. And further, Mr Garrison knew this when he assaulted us. This attempt to sustain a bad man will recoil upon him. Our object in exposing him was to deprive him of the power of imposing on others, here or elsewhere."—*Massachusetts Abolitionist, January* 21*st.*

Such base and underhand measures as these, disgraceful even to the veriest politician, necessarily resorted to by the seceders to sustain their position, will reveal the design, spirit, and influence of the "New Organizationists" in America, more clearly than anything that can be said by me. They give a faint idea of their hopeless and unhappy position. Life will not loose its grasp without a struggle. These must be the dying throes of the party. Having failed, in their artful attempt, to get possession of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, they then sought to destroy the Societies which would not follow them, by exciting the religious prejudices of the people and by urging false objections against them; but having been foiled in this attempt also, they are now forced, as the last and only expedient, basely to assault individual character. To destroy my influence in this country as the representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society, advantage is taken of my absence from home to throw suspicion, in Great Britain, upon my character, by the fabrication of falsehoods adapted to answer a temporary purpose. The Rev. Charles T. Torrey and the Rev. Nathaniel Colver, both know that my religious principles will not allow me to bring them before a human tribunal, there to answer for their calumnies.

> "The man that dares traduce, because he can,
> In safety to himself, is not a man."

Where I *am* known, a denial of these charges and insinuations is uncalled for, and it may be of little use for a stranger to testify in his own favour. I do solemnly affirm, however, that all the charges and implications contained in these extracts against my character, are untrue, and have not the least foundation in fact; but are designed, through me, to stab the Society I represent. How desperate must their cause be when such disgraceful measures are necessary to sustain it! Is it worthy to be considered a moral cause? Would honourable and high-minded men knowingly condescend to become parties to such scurrilous proceedings? Can they expect thus to divert the public mind from the gross acts of injustice towards the American Anti-Slavery Society in the transfer of the *Emancipator,* its organ, and other similar doings? What if all, implied in these extracts, be true, as regards myself? Does it prove anything against the Society I represent, more than that its Committee were grossly deceived in the selection of their Delegate? Does it prove that the American Society, or its present honourable Committee, have pilfered the Anti-Slavery public, and, with their ill gotten gain, are sustaining in this country an Agent to traduce and calumniate those they had plundered?

I would appeal to the good judgment and common sense of every enlightened Briton, if it can be supposed, for a moment, that those noble and pious men, who head the cause in America, would recommend a man whom they knew, or even suspected to be dishonest.

My credentials from the American Anti-Slavery Society, which, on account of their length, cannot be inserted here, close in the following language :—

"We commend our friend and representative, John A. Collins, to your confidence and liberality. He has sacrificed and laboured much in the cause, and is unsurpassed for his zeal and devotedness to it. Whatever is done, must be done quickly. Invoking the benediction of heaven upon his mission,

"We remain,

"Yours, in the cause of bleeding humanity,

"JAMES S. GIBBONS,

"*Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.*

"CHARLES MARRIOTT, *Secy.*

"NEW YORK, *Sept. 25th*, 1840."

The following Preamble and Resolutions are from the Board of Managers of the Massachussetts Anti-Slavery Society :—

"BOSTON, *Sept.* 30, 1840.

"At a Meeting of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, held this day, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

"Whereas, it having been deemed necessary by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the present exigency of our cause, to depute John A. Collins, (now a member of this Board, and General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,) to visit England, in order to obtain such aid for the Parent Society, as the Friends of Negro Emancipation in that country may be disposed to contribute.

"Resolved, That we cordially approve of the course they have thus thought proper to adopt, believing that it is warranted by the necessities of the Parent Society, and trusting that it will be liberally sustained by our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic.

"Resolved, That we heartily concur in the appointment of our brother, John A. Collins, and commend him to the confidence and liberality of all who desire the extinction of Negro Slavery Universally, as one who has rendered essential service to the Anti-Slavery cause in this country.

"Resolved, That for the overthrow of any great moral evil in the world, people of every clime and nation may lawfully combine ; and therefore, the friends of Universal Emancipation in England, may properly assist us by their contributions, their prayers, and their influence.

"FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

"WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *Cor. Secy.*"

After these slanders appeared in the *Massachusetts Abolitionist,* of January 7th, 1841, the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, having, through a Committee, investigated the grounds of the charges, passed the following Preamble and Resolutions, on the 25th of January, 1841 :—

"At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, held at the Society's Room, 25, Cornhill, on Monday, the 25th January, 1841, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

"Whereas, this Board has recently seen in the official organ of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, certain charges or insinuations intended to implicate the integrity of our respected brother, JOHN A. COLLINS ; and whereas this Board has, through two of its members, investigated and ascertained the groundless character of the charges or insinuations aforesaid ; and whereas, similar charges have been made against him in other quarters for the same purpose, and obviously meant to destroy his influence among our Anti-Slavery brethren in Great Britain, with whom he is now residing on an important and responsible mission from the American Anti-Slavery Society ; therefore,

"Resolved, That this Board hereby expresses its full and unimpaired trust in the integrity and faithfulness of our brother, JOHN A. COLLINS, and recommend him to the respect and confidence of the friends of Emancipation universally.

"Ordered, That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be forwarded, by the Corresponding Secretary of the Society, to the Secretary of the London Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

"FRANCIS JACKSON, *Pres.*

"WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *Cor. Sec.*"

At the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, held in Boston, January 27th and 28th, 1841, the following Resolution was adopted:—

"Resolved, That this Society regards, with indignation, the insinuations and slanders respecting the character of its General Agent, John A. Collins, and upon its Corresponding Secretary, William Lloyd Garrison, contained in the following extracts of letters written by the Rev. N. Colver, and sent by him to Great Britain; and that those insinuations and slanders furnish another illustration of the spirit of New organization—a spirit alike unscrupulous and unprincipled."—*(See Colver's Extracts, pages* 45, 46.)

The following is extracted from the Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, of 1841:—

"Of the industry, perseverance, energy, and devotedness of Mr Collins, in the prosecution of his labours, the Board would speak in terms of commendation. In the afflicting bereavement which he has been called to suffer by the sudden death of his wife and child, they deeply sympathize. By his arduous efforts, he had so seriously impaired his own health as to be almost wholly disabled from sustaining the responsibilities of his agency; and it was therefore deemed advisable for him to make a transatlantic voyage, in order, if possible, to recruit his shattered constitution. Accordingly, with the unanimous advice and consent of the Board, and also supplied with letters of recommendation from them and the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society to the friends of Emancipation in Great Britain, Mr Collins sailed from New York for London, in the British Queen, on the 1st of October. News of his safe arrival has been received; but the Board regret to state, that his health does not appear to have been benefited by the voyage. In connexion with his absence in quest of physical restoration, he was deputed to act, as far as his strength would permit, in behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and to obtain for it such pecuniary and other assistance as the Anti-Slavery public in Great Britain might be disposed to contribute. From the intelligence communicated in his letters, it appears that he is not likely to succeed, to any considerable extent, on the score of pecuniary aid, owing to various causes; but especially to the fact, that the virus of 'New organization' has poisoned the minds of the leading Abolitionists in that country, and led them to regard with distrust those Societies in the United States, which, as they suppose, have other objects in view, than the Abolition of Slavery. They have been grossly imposed upon by the same falsehoods and calumnies which have been circulated so industriously on our own shores against the Parent Society and its Auxiliaries; and, if they are animated by the generous and catholic spirit which should mark an enterprise like ours, it is only necessary for them to be furnished with all the facts in the case, to see and repudiate the error into which they have been led. AS HONEST AND IMPARTIAL MEN, THEY ARE BOUND TO HEAR ALL SIDES BEFORE THEY MAKE UP THEIR VERDICT. THIS DISPOSITION, THE BOARD REGRET TO STATE, THEY HAVE NOT, AS YET, BEEN DISPOSED TO MANIFEST."

It is certainly very astonishing that these alleged crimes, committed two years since, had not been made public previous to my departure for this country, as I was, during that time, daily exposing the subtlety, duplicity, and rottenness of "New organization."

But to the extracts:—

1. "*That they had rather trust our Anti-Slavery cause in the hands of a pro-Slavery mob, than in the hands of the London Committee.*"

The sentence here quoted, is the declaration of but one individual. How many there are who are ready to endorse it, I am unable to say. No Society in America, however, has officially expressed a similar sentiment. There are but very few Abolitionists there, I am confident, who would be willing to make use of this language without some qualifications or explanations. Isolated, the sentence conveys, no doubt, a very different impression from that designed by the writer. His idea was, if I mistake not, that the London Committee had given the strongest evidence by their acts, that they could not, in the United States, stand erect

before the all-pervading influence of Slavery, nor in this country, stand by those American Abolitionists who were boldly and unflinchingly combatting the monster upon its own soil, and hence, in America, more to be dreaded than a pro-Slavery mob. Anti-Slavery in Great Britain, is a national virtue. So long as it is kept in this country it will remain true. It requires no sacrifice of reputation to denounce Slavery, or to advocate the principles of Negro Emancipation, which are fellow-shipped by the lower classes, advocated by the higher circles, and clad in the robes of royalty. In America, it is quite different. Slavery is a national sin. All classes of society have a supposed interest in its continuance. The advocates for Emancipation are subjected to insult, proscription, mob-law, and murder. So powerful is the pro-Slavery spirit in America, that every Abolitionist from this country, with but four or five exceptions, has been unable to stand before it. They have not only shunned the Abolitionists with the instinctive dread of a Slave-holder, but what is actually worse, counselled with their enemies. All their opposition to Slavery, if they expressed any, was rendered powerless by their opposing or dodging the Emancipationists. Such Anti-Slavery, when the Slave-holders understand it, will be above par with them. It will not disturb their inglorious quiet. It can never abolish American Slavery. The power of the Anti-Slavery cause in the United States, lies in its principles. Give way one iota to propitiate the spirit of Slavery, and the cause is gone. The Seceders in America have quailed before this spirit, and at its fiat, have commenced a war of extermination against effective Anti-Slavery—modified their tone of denunciation against the apologists for this wicked system, and in order further to propitiate this spirit, they have endeavoured to cast out the women, who have been the life-blood of the cause, and are now using all their energies to silence the noble Garrison. The next demand which Slavery will make, will be that Slavery shall not always be considered sinful. For peace, this last point must be yielded. The London Committee have entered into copartnership with the Seceding party, and are humbly striving to imitate its example. Again,—at the instance of this same party, the Committee aimed to disgrace the American, the largest Anti-Slavery Society in the world, before the American Slave-holders, by rejecting its delegates from a seat in the London Convention, choking down free discussion, and to cap the climax of injustice, imitated the American pro-Slavery Congress, by throwing a respectful protest upon the table, as that body does the petitions of Abolitionists. In the United States, these acts of this Committee, among opponents and timid friends, pass for genuine Anti-Slavery. To the Slave-holder, any thing is reasonable Abolition, which will divert the friends of the Negro from the main question, or cast reproach upon the Anti-Slavery character of William Lloyd Garrison and his coadjutors. Anti-Slavery sickens in consequence of these compromisings and backslidings. In the language of Miss Martineau, "Those who are not with the thorough-going are necessarily against them." There is no trouble in identifying a pro-Slavery mob, with Slavery itself. It makes no pretention to an Anti-Slavery character. By its influence the sympathies of the just are excited, and by its means thousands have enrolled themselves under the banner of freedom. Hence the cause of the American Slave, in the estimation of the writer of the sentence which heads these notes, would be more safe in the hands of a pro-Slavery mob, than in the hands of the "New organized" London Committee.

> "'Tis true, an open foe may prove a curse,
> But a cowardly friend is ten times worse."

If I may be allowed, from my own experience, to speak of the London Committee, I would say, that the open attacks of a pro-Slavery mob, are far preferable to the under-hand secret manœuverings of this Committee, to defeat the object of my mission through the destruction of my character.

It is grossly libellous to assert, that the friends of "old organization" have traduced the Abolitionists of this country. If all the eulogies and praiseworthy sayings, with respect to them, which have been printed in the "old organization" journals were collected and published, they would make quite a respectable library. While some have spoken freely upon the all-pervading Anti-Slavery feeling of the country, and the good that has been and will be accomplished for the Negro, they have also taken the liberty to speak of the nature, influence, and defects of British Abolition.

But what has this to do with the merits of the Seceders? Why this attempt to get a new objection? Their only official reason assigned for separating, was because the American Society had committed itself to the "Woman's Rights," and "Non-resistance" questions. On account of this committal, they were "compelled for the sake of peace and the poor Slave," to new organize. Unable to maintain their position as to the cause of the secession, they are now "compelled for the sake of peace and the poor Slave," to follow the American Society to this country, and with the same spirit of extermination which characterizes them at home, now appeal to personal feelings to excite jealousy and opposition.

2. "*Will be wasted in the vain attempt to put down 'new organization.'*"

This is certainly a very novel reason why "Old organization" should not be sustained. If Colonization, or even Slavery itself, had thought that they could have dissuaded British Abolitionists from aiding the American Anti-Slavery Society, they would, no doubt, have followed me to this country with a similar remonstrance. Time was when Colonization urged the very same reasons in Britain, why money should not be contributed to sustain the Anti-Slavery cause in America. But this handmaid to Slavery, unable longer to deceive British Abolitionists, is summoned home, and Slavery commissions a new body to perform its work, and the better to effect its unholy and secret purpose, attires it in the robes of freedom.

"To destroy new organization."—Here is the rub. This organization is an attack upon the Anti-Slavery enterprise, and its leaders know it. Abolitionists have never been able to make a direct assault upon the conscience of the Slaveholder, in consequence of the war which northern pro-Slavery, under various modifications, from "mob-law," "American Union," "Clerical appeal," up to "New organization," (*keeping pace with the advanced state of public opinion,*) have made against the American Anti-Slavery Society. Every succeeding association, from the commencement of the Anti-Slavery warfare, has assumed more of an abolition character than its predecessor, and hence more subtle and dangerous. The "New" is a direct war of extermination upon "Old organization," which acts only upon the defensive. Its "attempt to put down New organization," will consist in proving the charges officially assigned by them for their secession, to be entirely false.

"Having taken the ground that 'New organization' is the worst form of Slavery."—This association is in the attitude of the man who cries, "stop thief," that he may make off with the stolen goods under the cover of that cry. It is "New organization which is waging a war of extermination against the "Old Society." Read a very few of its official declarations. It asserts that Old organization has been "perverted to purposes and objects, not contemplated in our bond of union,—foreign to our original objects, not necessary to their attainment, and in view of the reflecting, FATAL *to our prospects of ultimate success;*" that in refusing to eject a portion of its most effective members, it has been guilty of "a violation of good faith;" that it has attached to the cause "*a mill-stone to sink to the depths of a bottomless ocean, the hopes of enslaved millions;*" that "it has made a DISTINCT and DELIBERATE SACRIFICE of PRINCIPLES;" and that it is "fully identified with the sectarian views of a few of its individual members," &c., &c. The official organ of the "New organization," declares, "that it (the Old Society,) has endorsed the doctrines of Non-resistance, and poured contempt upon the old constitutional measures of Abolitionism; that "the *Old Society stands in a position fatal to accomplishment,*" and is "governed by the element of non-resistance," to the "entire prostration of its strength," &c., &c. Now, if these allegations, against "Old organization" are true, "New organization" is solemnly bound to put forth every effort for its immediate annihilation. If this is not accomplished, it will not be because the Seceders have been scrupulous in the use of means, the most base and disgraceful. But the very moment "Old organization" sets up a defence against their tissue of absurdities, misrepresentations, and calumnies, obviously invented for bad purposes, to gratify sectarian pride, and to propitiate the pro-Slavery party, a cry is raised at once, it is an "attempt to put down 'New organization.'"

The American Anti-Slavery Society has been sustained at an annual expense

of from 40 to 50,000 dollars. To raise this sum, in addition to the heavy expenditures of the different state and local auxiliaries, Abolitionists have been called upon to make great sacrifices. "New organization" must show to the Abolitionists some valid reasons why the country should be saddled with the expense of a double set of machinery. In proportion as they can make it appear that the *Old Society "has made a* DISTINCT *and* DELIBERATE *sacrifice of principles,"* they will secure their confidence. Thus the seceders traverse the length and breadth of the free States, exciting the prejudices of the people, ignorant of the real facts of the case, and by this, endeavour to alienate the auxiliaries of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and they can succeed only in so far as they are able to make this appear. Thus arrayed in the attitude of hostility, one or the other of these Societies must be in the wrong;—one is genuine, the other spurious;—one is loyal, the other schismatical. If they were united in spirit, they would not be divided in action.

3. "*In which he quotes some of the infidelity of the Convention.*"

So it appears the London Committee has constituted itself a heresy-hunting branch of the American Seceders.

4. "*His barefaced forgery of some pretended extracts of letters.*"

Mr Torrey, when he penned this, implicating me in forgery, knew that he could not sustain the charge with the least shadow of proof. He was fully and publicly convicted as the author of the letter referred to, by the strongest evidence, nearly two years since. It is quite remarkable, that all of a sudden he should select me out as the object of his abuse. The history of this letter will be briefly related:—

In December, 1838, Rev. P. C. Pettibone, then a fellow-student with myself, in the Theological Seminary at Andover, received a confidential letter from this Rev. Mr Torrey, revealing a deep-laid plot, (a part of which will be found in the certificate given below,) by which the *Liberator* was to be destroyed, Garrison's influence weakened, and the cause transferred into the hands of the clergy. Mr Pettibone exhibited the letter to the Rev. E. C. Smith, his room-mate, Rev. W. R. Chapman, his class-mate, myself, and to other six or seven of his particular friends. Mr Smith, at this time, deeply sympathised with Mr Torrey. Mr Pettibone had previously acted as an Anti-Slavery agent under Mr Torrey, who felt that he had secured his confidence. I lost no time in exposing this manœuvre to Mr Garrison and others, who placed Mr Torrey and his fellow-conspirators in no very enviable position, before the Anti-Slavery public.

In the spring of 1839, Mrs Chapman embodied a part of the letter in a history of this conspiracy, which greatly enlightened the Abolitionists, with respect to the spirit and object of the new organizers. Mr Torrey, knowing that Mr Pettibone had lost the letter, endeavoured to exonerate himself from the disgrace of writing it, and to throw discredit upon this valuable work, by denying its authorship, and on the 12th of Nov., 1839, wrote to her for the letter, to which she replied, through the *Liberator*, as follows:—

"BOSTON, *Nov. 22d*, 1839.

"REV. CHARLES T. TORREY,

"SIR,—In reply to your letter of Nov. 12th, this day received, requesting information respecting the letter alluded to in 'Right and Wrong in Massachusetts,' pp. 59 and 67, I enclose a copy of a certificate as to its contents, signed by the gentleman to whom you addressed it, and by two gentlemen to whom, among others, he communicated it; which, before I wrote that book, I deemed it proper to have. In giving me to understand that you have publicly denied writing such a letter, you furnish me with the proper ground on which to publish this certificate.—I am, yours faithfully,

"MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN."

CERTIFICATE.

The following is the substance of Mr Torrey's letter:—

"Charles T. Torrey wrote to P. C. Pettibone last December, stating that Garrison had a great deal of influence in this State, and hence it would not be safe to attack him or the *Liberator* openly. We needed a new paper: he had sounded the ministry throughout the State, and they were for it to a man. Now,

brother Pettibone, have on a full delegation at the annual meeting, to come at 10 o'clock, prepared to stay two days; have them pledged to go for the new paper and spar the annual report, and we will show them how it is done.

"P. C. PETTIBONE,
(Signed,) "EZRA C. SMITH,
"J. A. COLLINS."

"The following note from Mr Pettibone, will explain the reason why Mr Torrey's letter to him has not been published :—

"MRS CHAPMAN,

"The letter which I received from Charles T. Torrey, some time in the month of December last, to which reference is made in the Certificate, signed by myself, Smith, and Collins, has by some means been lost. I think the letter was in my possession, and that of some of my friends for about two weeks after its reception. I have searched my room repeatedly to find the communication, and have made diligent inquiry of those who saw and read it, and have not been able to lay my hands upon it. I have come to the conclusion, that the letter must have been accidentally lost by *some one who read it*, or that by some means, it got among my papers, and was swept into the fire.—Very respectfully yours,

"P. C. PETTIBONE."

Mr Smith, in a letter to Mrs Chapman, of December 3d, 1839, says,—

"I *saw* and *read* the letter which Mr Torrey wrote to P. C. Pettibone in December last, the substance of which is contained in the certificate. I would add, furthermore, that Mr Torrey came to my room in the month of August preceding, and then stated that a new Anti-Slavery paper was contemplated. Speaking of the *Liberator*, he said, 'That paper is too bad.'"

I would add, that Mrs Chapman has now in her possession the written testimony of six or seven unimpeachable witnesses, stating that they saw this letter from Mr Torrey. With all my heart, I pity the man who can thus maliciously, without the semblance of a cause, attempt to murder the reputation of another.

5. "*It (the money,) was collected by him on the express condition to be sent to the American Society.*"

This characteristic charge is as false as the heart of the man who indited it. I never was in Hatfield. The money referred to was collected by Mr J. G. Duryee. All I had to do with it, directly or indirectly, was simply to unseal the letter from Mr Duryee containing it, and to pass it over to H. G. Chapman, Esq., Treasurer of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Whoever will take the trouble to look into the *Liberator* of October 25th, 1839, will find Mr Duryee's collection in the Treasurer's acknowledgment of monies received,—which paper is in the possession of Joseph Pease, Sen., Darlington.

6. "*With the proceedings of which the donors of the money were dissatisfied.*"

Will Mr Torrey please to inform his readers how they became dissatisfied? Was it not occasioned by the false statements of himself and coadjutors industriously circulated against the Old Society with a view to its destruction, and upon its ruins to build up their "New Organization?" But

"Incidis Scyllam cupiens vitare Charibdim."

7. "*Was put off with various excuses :—'I will attend to it to-morrow.'*"

In the summer of 1839, subsequent to the formation of the "Massachusetts Abolition Society," J. G. Duryee was commissioned, by the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, an agent to solicit funds, to enable the Board to liquidate a debt just occasioned by the payment of a pledge of 10,000 dollars made the year previous to the American Anti-Slavery Society. Mr Duryee collected 167 dollars, 91 cents; 86 dollars of which, he informed me by letter, was to redeem the pledge to the American Anti-Slavery Society. As the Board was under no pledge to that Society, and as he was expressly commissioned to solicit funds to enable the Society to pay its debts, the Treasurer and myself took it for granted that Mr Duryee had made it appear to the donors that the debt was occasioned by the redemption of this pledge; and therefore, they wished their money to be considered as their part of the pledge. In process of time, however, I learned from Mr Duryee that he had collected the

amount for the redemption of a pledge of 5000 dollars, which he was erroneously impressed had been made to the National Society.

The gentleman from Hatfield, referred to by Mr Torrey, called upon me, and requested that the money should either be paid to the American Society, or refunded to the donors. His calls were frequent. He was informed, that the subject should be submitted to the Board at its first meeting for their decision, as to whether the money should be paid over to the American Society or refunded. At the day of the meeting, a quorum was not present, but the members to whom I made known the facts, were of opinion that the eighty-six dollars should be returned to the donors. Business called me from the city, and before my return the good man had gone home, and consequently the affair remained unsettled.

8. "*I will attend to it to-morrow, was all he could obtain.*"

This is untrue. I distinctly informed Mr Brackett, that as soon as the Society had the ability, the money should be paid. I also informed him, that I was not personally responsible for its payment.

At this time, Mr King, one of the Committee of the "New organization," had been for some time in arrears to the "*Old Society*" for nearly one hundred dollars. As Mr Brackett owed this gentleman, it was my design to have Mr King pay the amount to him. This arrangement, Messrs. King and Brackett intimated to Mr Bishop, the Clerk in the office of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, that they should be willing to make.

9. "*But went off without doing it.*"

This is false. The day previous to my sailing, I called upon Messrs. King and Brackett, and each consented to make the arrangement, by which Mr Brackett was to look to Mr King to whom he was in debt for the amount the "Old Society" was in arrears to him. As my haste did not permit me to go through the formality of passing receipts, the Seceders taking advantage of this circumstance, have endeavoured to convert the affiair into "New organization" capital.

10. "*But like honourable men, they have just paid it over to Mr Brackett.*"

How "Mr Brackett," "like" an "honourable" man, could have received the money from these men, after the arrangements made with me, I will leave the reader to judge for himself.

11. "*Now happily gone from a world where she suffered so much.*"

This cruel and assassinating thrust is craftily indefinite. It may mean one thing, or it may be forced to mean another. The idea which this calumniator designed to convey, must however, be obvious. From this it appears, that one of the objects embodied in the principles of "New organization" benevolence, is to exercise a parental supervision over the domestic affiairs of Abolitionists. The Societies I have the honour to represent, have been negligent in prosecuting this department of Anti-Slavery labour.

So wide, however, is this matter from the question of Slavery, that the reader cannot reasonably expect from me a chapter on household affiairs, whenever any malignant, envious, jealous, or ill-disposed person, may be inclined to drag me before the Anti-Slavery public. I will, therefore, dismiss this very unpleasant part of the subject, by assuring him that this malicious insinuation is perfectly in keeping with the whole production.

12. "*The good men who have been the objects of his abuse,*" *&c.*

The "good men" referred to, are——the Rev. Charles T. Torrey and his fellow conspirators against the peace and efficiency of the Anti-Slavery enterprise.

What this reviler means when he speaks of "a spy," and "our house in Salem," I certainly am unable to imagine. I never was, to my recollection, in his house but once, and that was subsequent to the revelation of the conspiracy, of which this gentleman was one of the leaders, and its consequent defeat. Knowing as Mr Torrey did, and every one else who knew me, what were my views as to their abusive proceedings, I will leave it to the reader to judge for himself, how much of a spy I could have been. The spirit which dictated these extracts is the spirit of "New Organization." There are good men connected with it, but they do not know its object and influence. If they did, they would, I am confident, renounce all connexion with it at once. So close is its imitation to genuine abolition, that it almost "deceives the very elect."

CAPTAIN CHARLES STUART'S PRIVATE CIRCULAR.

"In December, 1833, an Anti-Slavery Society was formed in the United States of North America. The demand for it was extreme; for the Slave system of the United States was the most desperately corrupt and ferocious which existed. The principles and objects of the Anti-Slavery Society thus formed were eminently excellent; and the means which it adopted for the attainment of its glorious object were perfectly in keeping, for the *first four years*, with its noble principles.

"But, in the course of 1837, *new* opinions began to be broached: and one of these gradually assumed the position, that 'whatever is morally right for a *man* to do, is morally right for a *woman* to do;' (1) and, therefore, women ought to be intruded, as delegates, debaters, and managers, into mixed Societies of men and women.

"This insane innovation, at first, had so dubious a form, that its real character scarcely appeared; but, as soon as this became evident, it was vigorously resisted. Resistance, however, only aggravated the zeal of its advocates; and the *new truth*, as they call it, quickly assumed such importance in their eyes, and was so offensively intruded by them into all the proceedings of the Society, that *they* who conscientiously (2) resisted it had no alternative but to submit to it or to separate themselves. I was one of the many who preferred the latter alternative without hesitation. The separation took place early in 1840; that of the leading Society in New York, in May, 1840. At the division on the question, the Innovators were found the most numerous; and, of course, the original name of 'The *American* Anti-Slavery Society' remained with them. But they who rejected the innovation, having fewer votes present, took a new name,—'The *American* and *Foreign* Anti-Slavery Society.'

"The Abolitionists in the United States now consist of these two parties, together with a third, (3) separate from both—which, like the other two, pleads for immediate and thorough Emancipation, but which, from various motives, refuses to *associate* for that purpose.

"Under these circumstances, the *American*—or *woman-intruding*—Anti-Slavery Society sends Agents to this country, Messrs Collins and Remond, to beg our money. But let us remember that, whatever countenance we give to these gentlemen, in this agency, will go more directly to strengthen a pernicious party in the United States than to aid the general cause of Abolition (!) The errors of the advocates of justice are often more ruinous to righteousness than all the hostility of open enemies. By such aid Britain would be identified, as far as it goes, with the rhapsodists of the United States; and the sacred and powerful influence exercised so nobly and so beneficially by the late London Convention, in decidedly and at once rejecting the woman-intruding delusion, would be paralysed or lost, —liberty would be wounded anew by the blunders of her friends,—while they who love her more sanely, and who plead her cause unentangled with the snare, would be enfeebled by the encouragement given to the dogmatism and delusions of their adversaries.

"They who value the intrusion of women into the debates and management of mixed Societies more highly than the cause of liberty and love, will, of course, give their quotas to Mr Collins. With such I remonstrate not. But I am anxious that others should not be deceived: in giving him their money, they will rather impede than aid the general progress of Abolition; because they will contribute to hold up the Abolition effort as at war with the most sacred and fundamental of human relations—even with those relations, by which God has given to men and women their respective spheres, and by sacredly regarding which alone, the vast moral power of women, with all its purifying influences, can be preserved to society.

"I would say, with all respectfulness and affection, if we have anything to spare for the furtherance of freedom in the United States—and it is a cause *worthy of all support*—let us give it to those amongst the Abolitionists in the United States who harmonize with us, who pursue the same holy object on the same peaceful principles, and by the same sane means as we do, and who, since our General Convention in London, have given us the invaluable services of such men as Birney and Stanton: and not to those who, after making the most injurious discord in their own country, did their best to distract our Meeting in

June; who have since been unsparing in grossly slandering us; and who now send an Agent to ask our money for the American Anti-Slavery Society,—as if the American Anti-Slavery Society represented the great body of the Abolitionists of the United States, instead of a MINOR AND EVIL PART OF THEM, which is full of DOGMATISM and CONTENTION, (4.)

"Any money remitted to Mr Lewis Tappan, Pearl Street, New York, for Abolition purposes, will be sure of direct and powerful application to the sacred cause of holy liberty and love, without partiality and without hypocrisy.

"C. STUART."

This defamatory printed circular, from Captain Charles Stuart, has been *privately* placed in the hands of those whose minds would be, very naturally, disaffected with a body pursuing the course falsely attributed by this production, to the American Society. It is inserted here, that the reader may perceive the spirit of the seceders and their abettors, not only in the United States, but also in this country. All their energies are put forth, not to awaken a fresh zeal for the suffering cause of the oppressed bondman, but to cut off all the resources of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and hence to destroy it. Nothing will satisfy them, but its entire annihilation. Here no attempt is made to sustain his proposition, that the American Anti-Slavery Society, is a "woman-intruding Society" by proof; but naked assertion, characteristic of the seceders, is given in the place of facts and arguments. If all that is here urged against the Society be true, with regard to the action of women, Captain Stuart is certainly the last individual who would have been expected, by those formerly acquainted with him, to have objected to it on this ground. It is the Captain, not the American Society, which has introduced into the Anti-Slavery cause "new views." He has left his former position, and now wars against every one who does not come round to him. This gentleman was in the United States in 1837, when the Misses Grimke were lecturing, and no one at that time was more enthusiastic with regard to their labours, than himself. Many anecdotes, in relation to various efforts on his part, to bring women forward in the Anti-Slavery cause, not only in America, but in this country, might be given, but space will only permit the insertion of the following:—

"In October, 1837, Captain CHARLES STUART met the Anti-Slavery Committee in Darlington. His object was to secure a delegation from that place, to attend an Anti-Slavery Congress which was to be held in London, on the 14th of November of the same year, for the purpose of concerting measures for the repeal of the Apprenticeship system. Captain Stuart again and again begged the Committee to send up a *female* delegate. 'If there be a lady,' he continued, 'who has the *head* and *heart to represent you*, I am sure she will be joyfully received, and they will *thank heaven* for sending her.'"—*Miss Pease's Reminiscences.*

We shall append a few brief notes. And

1. "*One of these gradually assumed the position that whatever is morally right for a man to do, is morally right for a woman to do.*"

Captain Stuart, in introducing this borrowed sentence, has conveyed to the reader the false impression that the American Anti-Slavery Society, in its zeal to promote its "new views" had declared, that "whatever is morally right for a man to do, is morally right for a woman to do." His motives, for doing this, are best know to himself. He well knew, that these were the words of a female who advocated the religious and political equality of the sexes. He also must have been aware that no anti-slavery society in America has ever endorsed any sentiment of the kind, and that the Seceders are the only individuals who have ever called upon anti-slavery societies, to entertain for a moment, "Woman's Rights," or any other "extraneous question." He might, with equal justice or propriety, have made a quotation from the writings of Lady Morgan, and then, from it, have drawn the conclusion that the American Society was a "Woman-intruding Anti-Slavery Society."

2. "*They who conscientiously resisted it had no alternative but submit or separate.*"

Will the Captain be kind enough to inform us, in his next "printed circular," where his "conscience," and the "conscience" of his coadjutors was in 1837? He might in truth say with the poet:—

"Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis."

3. "*The Abolitionists now consist of these two parties, together with a third, who plead for Immediate Emancipation.*"

That there are now, and ever have been, those who would have identified themselves with the Emancipationists, were it not for the odium attached to their cause, or in consequence of their ignorance of the nature and influence of the enterprise, there can be no doubt. If the Americans had not a supposed interest in slavery, they would all be Abolitionists, as no one loves oppression or slavery for its own sake.—That such however, constitute a "party," which "pleads for thorough and Immediate Emancipation," is a fact which American Abolitionists are yet to learn from Capt. Stuart. Pro-Slavery, under all its modified forms, has always clamorously maintained that it was the only true and consistent friend of the slave, but that this should be acknowledged by a professedly uncompromising abolitionist, without having in view some ulterior object, is truly astonishing. It has been the aim of the Seceders in America to secure the co-operation of the friends of "Old organization," to aid them in the prosecution of their undermining policy, without exciting opposition; but when they fail to accomplish this, so intent have they been upon the annihilation of the American Society, that they have had recourse to the most undignified measures to induce them to stand aloof from both Societies altogether. If the Seceders succeed, by their calumnies against "Old organization" in alineating the confidence of Anti-Slavery friends, to that extent as to secure their co-operation, or to stand aloof from both Societies.—In either case their opposition to the American Society on the one hand, or their indifference to the Anti-Slavery question on the other, is so great, that they may, with few exceptions, be ranked among the practical enemies of the Slave.

4. "*Instead of a minor and evil part of them, which is full of dogmatism and contention.*"

It would be very natural to suppose, that the Captain, who so unsparingly lavishes upon the Old Society and its friends, the epithets of "*Insane*"—"*Innovators*"—"*Women-intruding*"—"*Pernicious*"—"*Rhapsodists*"—"*Delusions*"—"*Dogmatisms*"—"*Adversaries*"—"*Evil party*," &c., would be willing to sustain such charges when called upon to do so, but such is not the fact. On the 3d of March, 1841, the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, invited him "to meet them, for the purpose of defending the charges made by him against the American Anti-Slavery Society, in his *printed letter*, which has been widely circulated through the country; that defence, to be made in the presence of John A. Collins, and in the first instance before the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society."

The following extracts are from Mr Stuart's reply to the Committee, refusing to comply with its invitation:—

"I am not aware that those charges need any defence. They are simple matters of fact, and rest on other grounds than on my affirmations, and I am not of opinion that truth becomes more true by mere repetition. * * But I do here, most unequivocally, solemnly, and fully re-affirm their entire truthfulness (!!)

"In Edinburgh, I offered Mr Collins to debate this question with him round the kingdom, he then declined it, (1). I have since been satisfied, that I, at that time, greatly overrated his powers of *mischief in the Abolition cause*, amongst us, (!!) so that I do not feel at all warranted, at present, in duty, to turn any portion of my time and means, from the direct service of God and my fellowmen, to the indulgence of irrelevant, captious, and pernicious questions.

"I trust and believe that my Circular has produced, in a good measure, the healing and purifying effect for which it was solemnly and kindly intended; and it will be time enough for me to undertake its defence, when I find that my countrymen are far more astray from God and their brother, and are far more given up to the pernicious intrusion of extraneous and distracting questions, than I believe them to be."

To this letter, a remark or two must be appended; and

1. "*In Edinburgh, I offered Mr Collins to debate this question with him round the kingdom.*"

In November, 1840, I met the Anti-Slavery Committee in Edinburgh, at which Capt. Stuart was present. On being censured by some one for introducing the American divisions into this country, he remarked that he felt conscientiously bound to introduce them, the first thing, wherever he went. Declared that he was not afraid to discuss the subject—with Mr Remond, myself, George Thompson, or even an angel. The Committee adjourned to have the matter discussed between Captain Stuart and myself. After this interview with the Committee, the Captain writes me, requesting "An interview of part of to-morrow, for the purpose of exploring your documentary evidence, that I may take extracts, with your own views, in your own words, that I may transmit them to the United States for a reply, that if possible they may be disproved with evidence not in my possession."

From my reply to him, dated Edinburgh, November 4th, I extract the following sentence:—

"If yourself, or any of your American friends (referring to Birney and Stanton, the latter of whom I subsequently challenged to defend the charges made against Old organization, but he declined) should feel constrained to challenge a public discussion, with respect to the charges preferred against the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, I should not feel at liberty to decline, when my 'documen-

tary evidence,' as a matter of course, with my 'own views' in my 'own language,' will be at your service, and that of the public at large."

The day following I breakfasted with Captain Stuart, and challenged him to hold a public discussion. He replied in the presence of the lady of the house, that he could not, inasmuch as he knew nothing of the Anti-Slavery movements, with respect to the division, since 1837 ! !

It may reasonably be inferred, from the following extract from Captain Stuart's letter to the Glasgow Committee, of March 3d, that his refusal to meet them, grew out of the fact, that he was conscious of his inability to sustain the position assumed in his printed circular :—

"I expect shortly, to make a trip of a few months to America, on my private affairs. As far as duty permits, I shall then further explore this question, as it continues to develope itself,—and upon my return, shall probably make a pretty extensive Anti-Slavery tour, for the communication of my information," &c.

When he gets possession of the information he desires to obtain, he will then, it appears, "feel warranted," "to turn a portion of his time and means, from the direct service of God and his fellow-men, to the indulgence of irrelevant, captious, and pernicious questions."—So much for his challenging me in Edinburgh.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES CANNINGS FULLER.

James Cannings Fuller, of the United States, (formerly of England,) an orthodox Friend "after the most straitest sect," has, in answer to inquiries made by a Friend in this country, as to the truth of the statements in the extracts from the Rev. Mr Colver's letters, on pages 45, 46, written a letter, in which he speaks in the highest terms of the Christian character of Wm. Lloyd Garrison. Mr Fuller says :—

"I should not hesitate to declare as my judgment, that there is no man in America, whose faith is more deeply founded on the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, as exhibited in the holy Scriptures, or who has a more abiding sense of his duty towards God and his fellow-men, under those principles, than William Lloyd Garrison. Most sincerely and honestly do I believe, there is not the slightest ground for the charges of Nathaniel Colver against either Garrison or Collins." J. C. Fuller has also "forwarded to the editor of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, a letter, accompanied with resolutions, supported by four orthodox ministers, and unanimously adopted by a convention of 300 Abolitionists," relating to these extracts.

A statement has also been received from the Chairman of the Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in answer to the false statements recently made by the Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in relation to the transfer of the *Emancipator*, &c., impugning the character of the Committee, and of their Representative now in this country. In the next edition of this Pamphlet, his statement shall be inserted.

The following is a list of the Committee and Officers of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which is incorporated into this Pamphlet, for the information of the reader, that he may see under whose auspices, publicity has been given, in this country, to the slanders of the Rev. N. Colver, &c. :—

COMMITTEE.

William Allen.	Josiah Forster.	Jacob Post.
Stafford Allen.	Samuel Fox.	Robert Russell.
William Ball.	Samuel Gurney.	George Stacey.
Richard Barrett.	Rev. J. H. Hinton, A.M.	Henry Sterry.
John Beaumont.	Robert Howard.	W. Taylor.
George Bennet.	L. C. Lecesne.	Henry Tuckett.
Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart.	Rt. Hon. Dr. S. Lushington, M.P.	Rev. John Woodwark.
Josiah Conder.	Richard Peck.	Rev. John Young, A.M.
Joseph Cooper.	Dr Thomas Price.	Samuel Lucas.
Robert Forster.		

G. W. ALEXANDER. J. H. TREDGOLD. THOMAS BOLTON.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY JOURNALS.

The Anti-Slavery Newspapers, published Weekly, in the United States, which will give correct Anti-Slavery information, are :—

THE LIBERATOR, by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, *price* 10*s*. *per annum*.
HERALD OF FREEDOM, by NATHANIEL P. ROGERS, *price* 6*s*. *per annum*.
PENNSYLVANIA FREEMAN, by CHARLES C. BURLIGH, *price* 8*s*. *per annum*.
And the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, by N. PEABODY ROGERS, *price* 8*s*. *per annum*.

These Journals may be regularly received, once-a-fortnight, from either of the following Agents in Great Britain :—

E. PEASE, *Darlington*.—WILLIAM SMEAL, *Glasgow*.—R. D. WEBB, *Dublin*.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

DEAR FRIENDS,—The cause of the oppressed Negro in the United States must be sustained. The Abolitionists are now passing through a fiery ordeal. The sacrifices which they have made, to sustain their Organizations, have been unequalled by any body of men, since the days of primitive Christianity. To raise money to support the American Anti-Slavery Society, some have sold their furniture, others have mortgaged their property, some have thrown in their jewels, others have dispensed with the most ordinary comforts of life, that the bondman's cause might not be permitted to fail. Their language and their feelings are:—

> "Down let the shrine of Moloch sink,
> And leave no traces where it stood—
> Nor longer let its idol drink
> His daily cup of human blood."

The Committee need funds to maintain its official organ, the "*National Anti-Slavery Standard*," a large weekly periodical;—its Secretaries and Agents,—and to circulate information on the subject of Emancipation, over the United States. Any amount forwarded to THOMAS STURGE, New Kent Road, London; ELIZABETH PEASE, Darlington; JANE WIGHAM, and Mrs H. GAIRDNER, Edinburgh; WILLIAM SMEAL, Glasgow; or R. D. WEBB, Dublin, will be forwarded to the Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, by whom it will be duly acknowledged, and faithfully appropriated.

Faithfully your Friend,

J. A. COLLINS,

Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

The following is a list of those who have contributed from one to fifty pounds, in support of the *Original* American Anti-Slavery Society:—

Thomas Sturge.
Sir Thos. F. Buxton, Bart.
Her Grace the Duchess of Sutherland.
Elizabeth Pease.
Joseph Pease, sen.
Samuel Gurney.*
Rev. Henry Grey.
Harriot Gairdner.
Daniel Ellis.
Anne Knight.
Mrs M'Kay.
E. J. Reid.
H. M. Gibb.
George Sturge.
A Friend, by E. P.
Mary Greenwood.
Susanna Greenwood.
Elizabeth Greenwood.
Anne Knight.
Sophia Knight.
George Ransome.
F. D. Harmer.
Thomas Leavold.
Mr Cotting.
John Bowring, L.L.D.
A. Crust.
Joseph Hutton, D.D.
J. W. jun.
H. Gairdner.
Julia Smith.
Mrs Sprot.
R. H. Barber.
W. E. Foster.
Mr Hill.
Edward Oxley.
Mrs Hill.
Frederic Hill.
Martha Hill.
Edward Cowper.
Jacob Post.
Dr Conquest.
Thomas Brown.
John Authett.
George Dodge.
Thomas Wilkie.
Mrs Chamberlin.
Mr Cowper.
Thomas Johns.
H. Clayton.
Joseph Marriage, jun.
Sarah Coats.
Joseph Marriage.

* Mr Gurney has withdrawn his subscription of Fifty Pounds, in consequence of the false statements made in Rev. Mr Colver's letter. I trust, however, when he understands the facts of the case, he will allow his name to stand among the Contributors.

Errata.—Page 26, bottom line, *for* "Two other," *read* "To others."
Page 49, line 15th from top, *for* "page 56," *read* "pp. 63, 64."

Printed by AIRD & RUSSELL, 75, *Argyll Street, Glasgow.*

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A LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE LORD BROUGHAM,

ON THE

ALLEGED BREACH

OF THE

COLONIAL APPRENTICESHIP CONTRACT.

BY

WILLIAM BEVAN.

LIVERPOOL:
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1838.

D. MARPLES AND CO., PRINTERS, LIVERPOOL.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. HENRY, LORD BROUGHAM AND VAUX.

My Lord,

In the course of the proceedings at the adjourned meeting of the friends of Negro Emancipation, convened in Exeter Hall, on the 15th instant, it was delegated to me to present a statement of the case, as it affects the breach of contract charged upon them, in endeavouring to obtain the prompt and total abolition of the apprenticeship system. Before I could complete the execution of this trust, an intimation was given that your Lordship was anxious to proceed to your parliamentary engagements; in consequence of which it was my duty at once to retire. As no opportunity was subsequently afforded of addressing the meeting, permit me to submit to your Lordship a few brief suggestions on this question, which is one of no small importance.

The British people, when about to sanction the payment of the twenty millions' compensation to the colonists, received the positive assurance, that the negro "should forthwith be put in a situation in which he should claim every right and every privilege of a free-man, and in which he should feel no taint of a servile condition." By the several orders in council, confirming the colonial statutes, it was presumed that this principle was fully carried out; and the nation rested awhile from that vigilant supervision aforetime exercised over the West Indian affairs: but at

this late period, they are aroused to its renewal by the exposure of evils as atrocious as those which long rested under the anathema of the wise and good. The prayer of numerous petitions, echoing the sentiments of public assemblies, has conveyed to the legislature their determination to seek justice for the oppressed. At the first raising of that voice, Lord Glenelg put himself in a posture of defence, and was joined by other professed champions of liberty, in querulous and taunting demands for proof of the statements put forth in support of the case. A few weeks elapsed,— the voice became a mighty voice, — and extorted from the noble Secretary for the Colonies the concession, that the allegations contained in your Lordship's effective speech of the 20th ult., in the House of Lords, and in the public addresses of the advocates of the negro out of doors, were "not exaggerated," but were "admitted on all hands." Accordingly, he promised, "very shortly," to introduce a measure on the subject.

If the noble lord be sincere in his admissions, he must further allow that there has been a criminal sufferance of manifest and protracted injustice, throughout the whole process of the apprenticeship system. Conclusive evidence of these facts was before him, in the Parliamentary papers of 1835 and 1836; so that, if he is called upon now to legislate in the matter, that legislation was equally imperative at an earlier date, nor can he stand clear of the charge of permitting the wrong through so long an interval; for upon his own admissions, the evil-doers have perpetrated their cruelties with impunity. He was well admonished by Lord Ellenborough, that "every hour of delay was an hour of permitted crime." For these tedious "hours of permitted crime," we are justified in demanding redress to the negro, whose injuries are too fully proved; as we formerly gave compensation to his task-masters, on the mere possibility that loss might be, by them, sustained.

The unanimous decisions of great convocations of the peo-

ple are recorded in their petitions, by which they require, not the mitigation, under a fallacious name, of an evil whose essence is radically immutable, but that their fellow-subjects of colour should be immediately declared absolutely free. Instead of conceding this act of justice, the noble lord sets himself in opposition to the voice of the people, and brings forward a bill, recognising the evil principle of the former act, and ineffectively endeavouring to meet, by palliatives, some few of the abuses which have necessarily arisen. By whose direction, and at whose request, my Lord, has this bill been proposed, in direct denial of the unanimous, respectful, urgent, and strong requests sent up, by the country, to the courts of legislature? On what prayer of counter-petitions, emanating from an overwhelming majority of British subjects, does the British colonial minister take his stand? The colonists have been heard in committees; they have been allowed full time for bringing out their case. It is declared to be "admitted, on all hands," that they are guilty; none of them have risen to complain of the declaration, or to protest that they have not merited the just indignation of an enlightened and free nation. The universal prayer is, that the means and the power of continued injustice may be removed; that wounds deeply inflicted may be healed, though no restitution may be made for the pains with which they have been received. This is refused, and the petitioners for negro rights are compelled to reject the ministerial bill with suspicion, as a criminal attempt to divert, by a side-wind, the straightforward current of public opinion; with disgust, as an act of gratuitous and outrageous contempt of the country; and with abhorrence, as a sacrifice to the extortionate oppressor. The country has been defrauded of its finances, the apprentice of his purchased immunities; and now, if we seek restitution, we are to endure insult in aggravation of the wrong.

That bill fails to ensure the freedom stipulated, and for which the apprentice is adequately prepared. It devolves a

great measure of discretionary power on the governors of the respective colonies, which, if honestly used, will subject them to increased annoyance and opposition. It professes to determine the question respecting the distribution of the hours of labour in each week, but establishes no definite principle for its regulation, leaving it open to the decision of the governors, "*by, and with the advice of the council,*" of the several colonies. It proposes to appoint official umpires for the settlement of contested appraisements of apprenticed services, but includes no proviso to prevent the consignment of this most important commission to planters, overseers, or their mercenaries. It promises protection to the honest stipendiary justices, but pronounces no penalty for any breach of the special trust which, it is admitted, is justly alleged against so many of those functionaries. It fails to give any executory principle to the act of 1833, which it is designed to amend. An act, so faulty in its principles and provisions, the country will not accept.

As experience has proved, that to prepare a man for liberty by the continuance of a state of bondage is impossible,—that to be educated *for freedom* he must be educated *in it;*— and as experience has also proved that the negro is fitted for emancipation, we maintain that it is expedient, it is necessary, to confer upon him its fullest measure. To withhold a right is to make men adversaries, to grant it is to convert them into friends.

But it is said, that in such a procedure a breach of contract is involved. But was not that alleged contract inequitable in its provisions? It placed, for the first time, upon the statute book, a recognition of the legality of the property that man had criminally held in his fellow man: it established the right of the slaveholder, and then proceeded to modify the evils of slavery; while, with the promise of freedom, it gave to the oppressor a power by which every effort to secure the accomplishment of the contemplated abolition was rendered null and void: it threw into the hands of the

one contracting party, accustomed to tyranny, an undue authority over another, long the prey of the spoiler, instead of preserving the balance in equipoise between the two: it gave up to the employer, for a definite period, a vested right in the compulsory and uncompensated services of the apprentice: it confirmed the use of the lash among male apprentices, as a penal incentive to labour, administered by order of the special justice,—and colonial laws, under its provisions, enlarged the number of stripes: it failed to obstruct the continued disgraceful and inhuman practice of flogging, collaring, and chaining females: and finally, while, on the one hand, the colonists were amply consulted in the making of the law, and advantaged by its administration, no reference whatever was made, on the other, to the unhappy negroes' assent to, or dissent from, its provisions. In these respects, it is reprobated, as being, both in principle and detail, unjust.

On what ground, then, was the engagement allowed by the country? What was the plea on which it was urged, that after the compensation — augmented from a loan of fifteen to an absolute donation of twenty millions — had been conceded to the slaveholders, this term of legalised slavery should transpire? On this, and on no other,—that the negro was not fitted for freedom, and that the transition state, mercifully administered by adepts in cruelty and iniquity, should prepare him for its enjoyment! It is in evidence, in the cases of Antigua, Bermuda, and Montserrat, in the message of the Governor and the debates of the Assembly of Barbadoes, and in the declaration of the Marquess of Sligo in the House of Lords, that he is fully prepared for liberation from bondage; and therefore — even though the contract should be broken by the adoption of the measure sought by emancipationists—the plea on which it was entered into will be fully met. It remains, then, to decide whether a bad engagement shall be uselessly and injuriously continued, or whether the good and wholesome principle, prior

to it in importance as in date, shall be humanely and righteously carried into effect. The negro beseeches the nation, —the nation prays the parliament on his behalf,—but the noble Lord, the Secretary for the Colonies, admitting the facts, denies the request founded on them, when he hears the whisper from some secret place—beware of THE BREACH OF CONTRACT!

The raising of the question against us is as dishonorable as it is untrue. Unhesitatingly do we deny that the friends of immediate emancipation are about to aspire after the enviable pre-eminence of being the first to break this covenant. Up to the present moment, on our part and on the part of the apprentices, it has been punctiliously fulfilled; whereas, "it is admitted on all hands," that it has been systematically and wickedly violated by the parties now clamouring for its sacred inviolability. It is asserted, that to visit the sins of the few upon the whole is unfair; but the majority have been the active agents in the guilt, and the whole are implicated representatively. Not only is it matter of complaint that on single estates has the law been set at defiance, but that the Acts of legislative houses, elected by the constituencies of the whole colonies, have contained the grossest repugnancies to the Imperial Act of 1833. We, therefore, have to deal with the guilty as a body, whose members are all equally in the same condemnation of first trampling the covenant under feet.

So abundantly has it been shown, and so freely has it been granted, that the pledges of the colonists have not been redeemed, that it would be a profitless work to proceed further in substantiating the charge against them.

But it is affirmed, that though the conduct of the one party may have been worthy of just reprehension, this cannot warrant the other in setting aside their share of the obligation; and that it is only competent to us to seek the full performance of the contract by the offending party. This, however, is impossible; for, though the British people

and the colonial apprentices continue to fulfil their respective engagements, and though from this time the West Indians carry its provisions, in so far as they are concerned, into efficient operation, yet the fact of past violation cannot be removed. Unless you can destroy the fearful traces of the lash, or obliterate the memory of the acutest suffering; unless you can restore the dead children to the mourning mother, or raise the murdered from the grave, and make "the past to be as though it ne'er had been;" you cannot obtain the reparation of the breach.

But amidst the strife, Lord Glenelg steps forward with his bill, for the complete adjustment of the question. Now, that this very bill proposes to violate the engagement, can admit of no dispute. Under the abolition act, the punishment of the lash, though remitted from females, was allowed to be inflicted upon male apprenticed labourers; and, by colonial enactments, approved by the King in council, the number of stripes, for certain offences, was increased. It was part of the agreement, that this mode of coercion should be employed; which is now to be violated by Lord Glenelg's proposition to abandon and prohibit its use. Again, by the imperial act, the employer possessed an unconditional vested right in the full apprenticed service of his former slaves. After the law has been in this matter unchanged for upwards of three years, Lord Glenelg determines to introduce a condition, on the breach of which, that right shall cease; enacting, that any apprenticed labourer, who *hath been* subject to any cruelty or grievous injustice, shall be manumitted forthwith by the governor. If this has a retrospective reference, it will nullify the contract in a vast multitude of cases. His Lordship proposes first, a violation of the terms of the deed, by making that contingent which was absolute, and then a violation of its provisions, by taking away a title which was conferred without prospect of any exception or infringement. Further, by the act of 1833, the power of enacting laws in aid was given to the colonial assemblies;

and, upon the continuance of this prerogative, subject to the veto of Her Majesty in council, they have still relied. But, in the bill of the colonial secretary, that privilege is invaded, by the consignment of so large a measure of discretionary authority to the governor as he is hereafter to possess. In these respects his lordship sets aside the contract to which he professes scrupulously to adhere.

By some it is proposed to modify and amend the apprenticeship system till 1840, and then to demand that every individual shall be set free from every kind of thraldom. Be it remembered, however, that in the event of penal mulcts of time extending beyond that date to any period not exceeding seven years after the expiring of the apprenticeship, the labourer is still to be retained in a servile condition; and, that many of the children have become bound under indenture, till the age of 21 years. If, therefore, the system be continued till 1840, and then the entire population be set free, the charge may be still preferred.

That this covenant has been deceitfully and sinfully violated by the colonists, is admitted on all hands. Lord Glenelg's measure manifestly contemplates a further breach on the part of the government. And we are told, with admirable consistency, that the prayer of the people cannot be heard, because compliance with it involves a breach of contract.

The question, therefore, is not, shall it now be broken, but, having been broken, on which of three proposed measures shall the lot be cast.

1. Shall the colonists extend that cruelty and fraud, through the remaining term of the apprenticeship, which they have perpetrated through the period that has expired?

2. Shall Lord Glenelg modify that cruelty and fraud, while he retains and sanctions all the evil principles and

servile relations which promote the system of misrule and injustice? Or,

3. Shall the British people remove the oppressor from the high place of tyranny, and the oppressed from their prison-house and bonds of woe?

My Lord, to elect the first, would be to forego every dictate of humanity, every claim of justice, every principle of religion. That mystery of iniquity must no longer work; that abomination of desolation must be destroyed. To elect the second, would be to exasperate the colonists, to delude the negroes; to profess amendment, while the most flagrant abuses must still exist; and to insult the suffering, and hitherto submissive apprentice, by telling him that his education for freedom is not complete, unless cruelty reach the high point of flagrant iniquity; but that as soon as it rises to that point, his pupilage shall terminate, and he shall then be regarded as fitted for immediate emancipation. We are taught that the great spiritual adversary transforms himself into the semblance of an angel of light—but he is yet the evil one; and, though the noble Lord may throw the cloak of official protection, in all its spotlessness, over the monstrous form of slavery—there is the demon still. To elect the third, would be, not to break the contract, but only to remove that which has been broken, and to introduce a system which has been proved beneficial, not only to the employed, but the employer. It would be to remove the occasion, the incentive, the power of crime. Instead of pruning from a corrupt tree a few unhealthy and deadly fruits, it would make the tree good, that its fruit might be good also.

The feeling in some of the colonies is evidently favorable to the abolition of the apprenticeship, provided further compensation be awarded. But, my Lord, for what contemplated loss is this required? The advocate of the colonists, in the discussion which took place in Liverpool on the 20th of December last, affirmed, that the system of slave labour

was "the most expensive that had ever been invented." The negroes are not only anxious to work in their own free time, but perform that work more happily and advantageously to their masters, than when under compulsion. It is notorious, that, prior to the year 1834, the value of estates was greatly diminished, and that their value has now been considerably augmented. Nor can it be denied, that the slave-holders have been extravagantly paid out of the grant of twenty millions sterling, for an unfulfilled prophecy of the damage that they would sustain. On what account is the further claim made, seeing that a gain, over and above the predicted loss, has already been realised, and that the conferment of absolute freedom promises not only indemnity, but profit, to the proprietors of the soil? The objection is no longer maintained, that the apprentice is unprepared for freedom, nor that it is inexpedient to terminate the present system; since they are content to stipulate for his liberation, though in his character no change can possibly be wrought by the payment of an extra grant of money to his employer. The transition state was provided to secure this preparation for full liberty. If its object be accomplished, it is useless to encumber the Colonies with its continuance, and unjust towards the negro to withhold the enjoyment of his proper condition. They admit his fitness, and this, according to the principle of the Abolition Act, establishes his title to freedom. The only end which his liberators desire, is the legal recognition of that right.

The country are now so fully convinced of the fraud that has been practised upon them, and of the impossibility of reposing further confidence in their deceivers, that they will rest satisfied with no measure which fails to put beyond the reach of colonial tyranny the subjects of its blood-stained rule; and it is vain for any man, or body of men, to resist their will. They deny the claim which it is asserted the contract has upon them; and they ask the full bestowment

on their fellow-subjects of the privileges purchased for them. If the demand be still refused, it remains to be shewn whether the secret artifices of the West India interest, or the force of public opinion and Christian principle, shall prevail.

It is high time that the noble Secretary of the Colonies, and the Houses of Parliament, should fairly consider the position in which this great cause stands. Men of every political party, and of every religious denomination, are united for its defence, and have determined that no conflict of opinions on other and momentous matters shall divide them here. And such, my Lord, you are well aware, is the concentration of energy, that it behoves the legislature to pause, ere they turn a deaf ear to the voice of the British people. If that voice be unheeded, it will find an echo in the islands of the West; and the justice here denied, may there be summarily obtained. Let the oppressor beware of the elements of desolation that are collecting, in portentous heaviness, over his habitation.—Let him foresee the retribution which the oppressed may seek—the indignation to which this country may give effect—and, above all, let him avert the curse of Heaven, which may light on him in an unexpected hour!—"For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the LORD; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him."

The position which the friends of humanity have taken up, is one from which they are not to be driven, either by the sneers of reviewers, the indifference of legislators, the trickery of colonists, or the opposition of government. Your Lordship has rested their claim upon the fundamental principles of equity and religion, recognised in the British Constitution, and inculcated in the Word of God; in which you enjoy the confidence and support, not only of the country at large, but especially of the religious community;—of those, my Lord, who pause to consider the path of duty, ere they act, and who are not accustomed to offer sacrifices

on the altar of expediency;—whose denominational appellatives may become by-words of derision, but the might of whose moral influence cannot be withstood.

As Britons, rejoicing in freedom, our inalienable birthright; and as Christians, the heralds of the glorious liberty of the gospel, to multitudes who are held captive by Satan at his will, we require that our fellow-subjects shall, with us, possess this birthright, and bequeath it to their latest posterity; and that every barrier may be removed by which they have been hindered from the knowledge of that Redeemer, who shall make them free indeed. Emancipate them, and they will improve in all that promotes the happiness of this life:—evangelize them, and they will prepare for the blessedness of the life that is to come.

To the result of this great experiment, other lands are directing their attention. They will profit by our example; and as they derive lessons of wisdom from our miserable failure, in endeavouring to mitigate an evil whose essence is immutable, so will they learn, from the successful issue of entire emancipation, to unite with us in proclaiming the jubilee of universal freedom.

At the present crisis, the constituencies of this great empire have conveyed their instructions to their representatives in Parliament, and they now require implicit obedience. If their sentiments be faithfully recorded there, the consummation so devoutly wished cannot be delayed. Your Lordship's house will then have to determine, whether the progress of truth and righteousness shall be obstructed by its interference, or whether its members shall enjoy the high repute of the illustrious asserters of the first and dearest right of man. It will only remain for the excellent Lady who fills the throne of these realms, to immortalise her reign, by affixing the sign and seal of irrevocable authority to the charter of negro freedom.

The light of liberty shall irradiate the sparkling tear of gladness on many a sable cheek,—the anthem of praise

shall ascend to God from every negro sanctuary,—and the blessing of them that were ready to perish shall be upon the land of their liberators.

Permit me, my Lord, to express the hope that we may speedily rejoice in witnessing the success of those efforts, on behalf of our brethren of African descent, in which you have borne so efficient and so honourable a part, while, with the greatest respect,

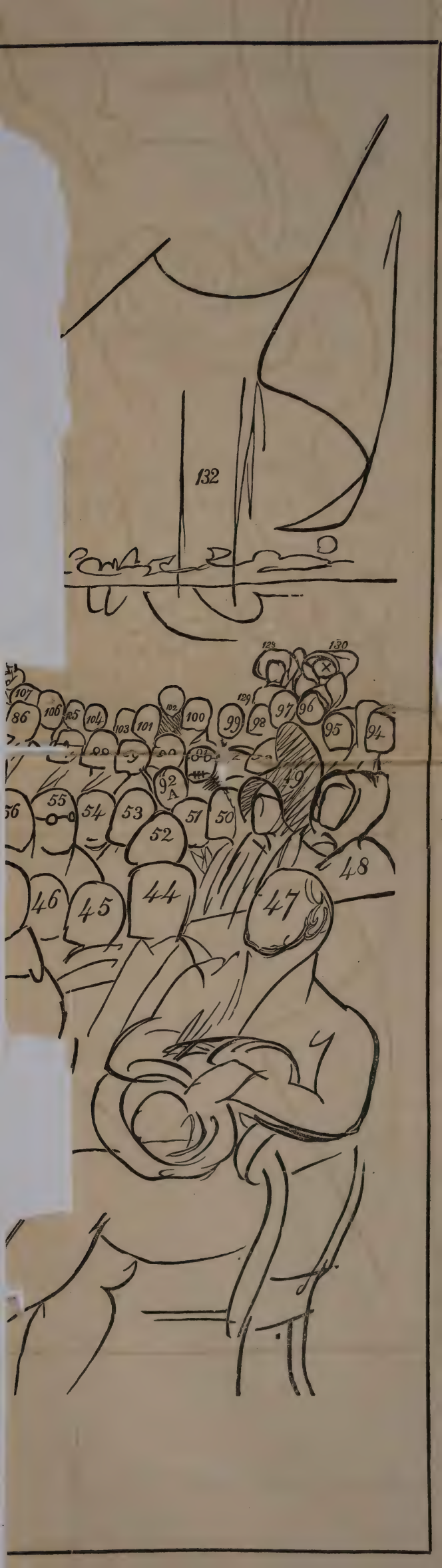
I have the honour to remain,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

WILLIAM BEVAN.

LIVERPOOL, MARCH 22d, 1838.

D. MARPLES AND CO., PRINTERS, LIVERPOOL.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DESCRIPTION OF

HAYDON'S PICTURE

OF THE

GREAT MEETING OF DELEGATES

HELD AT THE

FREEMASONS' TAVERN, JUNE 1840,

FOR

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

AND THE SLAVE TRADE

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THOMAS CLARKSON,

PRESIDENT.

"Whatsoever ye would that Men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

NOW EXHIBITING AT

THE EGYPTIAN HALL, PICCADILLY,

Admission, 1*s.* *Catalogue,* 6*d.*

OPEN FROM NINE O'CLOCK TILL FIVE.

PRINTED BY CHARLES REYNELL, LITTLE PULTENEY STREET.

LIST OF DELEGATES,

WITH NUMBERS, ACCORDING TO THEIR POSITION IN THE PICTURE.

---

1. Thomas Clarkson, Esq. - President of the Convention.
2. William Allen, Esq. - Member of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.
3. Samuel Gurney, Esq. - Ditto.
4. George Stacey, Esq. - Ditto.
5. Josiah Forster, Esq. - Ditto.
6. William Forster, Esq. - Del. from Norfolk and Norwich.
7. George William Alexander, Esq. - - - - Treasurer of the B. and F. A. S. Sy.
8. J. Harfield Tredgold, Esq. Secretary of ditto.
9. Mrs Mary Clarkson - - Widow of the late T. Clarkson, jun., Esq.
10. Master Thomas Clarkson - Grandson of the President of the Convention.
11. James G. Birney, Esq. - One of the Vice-Presidents of ditto, Del. from the American and New York Anti-Slavery Societies.
12. John Beaumont, Esq. - M. of the C. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy.
13. George Bradburn, Esq. - Delegate from the Massachusetts (U.S.) A. S. Sy.
14. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart. - - - - M. of the C. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy.
15. Dr Stephen Lushington, D.C.L., M.P. - - - Ditto.
16. Sir E. E. Wilmot, Bt., M.P. Hon. Corresponding Member of the B. and F. A. S. Sy.
17. Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P. Del. from the Hibernian and Glasgow A. S. Societies.
18. Robert Kerr Greville, Esq., LL.D. - - - One of the Vice Presidents of the C. and Del. from Edinburgh.
19. William Dawes, Esq. - Del. from the Ohio (U. S.) A. S. Sy.
20. Samuel Bowley, Esq. - Del. from Gloucester.

20 A. Samuel Fox, Esq. - Del. from Nottingham.

21. Jonathan Backhouse, Esq. Del. from Darlington.

22. Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D., LL.D. — Del. from the Congregation, Hare street, Hackney.
22. A. Edw. Baines, Esq. M.P. — Del. for Leeds.
23. L. C. Lecesne, Esq. - - M. of the C. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy.
23 A. Samuel H. Lucas - - Del. from Croydon.
24. Abraham Beaumont, Esq. - of Stamford hill.
25. W. T. Blair, Esq. - - One of the V. P. of the C. and Del. from Bath.
26. Joseph Pease, sen., Esq. - Del. from Darlington.
27. Joseph Marriage, jun., Esq. Del. from Chelmsford.
28. William Beaumont, Esq. - Del. from Newcastle-on-Tyne.
29. M. M. Isambert - - Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Judge of the Court of Cassation, Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, Secretary of the French Society for the Abolition of Slavery.
30. William Leatham, Esq. - Del. from Wakefield.
30 A. Stafford Allen - - M. of the C. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy.
31. Joseph Sturge, Esq. - One of the V. P. of the C., H. C. M. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy., and Del. from Birmingham and Jamaica.
32. William Dillworth Crewdson, Esq. — H. C. M. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy., Del. from Kendal.
33. John Cropper, jun., Esq. - Ditto, and Del. from Liverpool.
34. Rev. Thomas Scales - One of the Secretaries of the C., C. M. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy., Del. from Leeds.
35. William Morgan, Esq. - Ditto, and Del. from Birmingham.
36. Mr Henry Beckford - An emancipated slave; Del. for the Western Baptist Union, Jamaica.
37. John Scoble, Esq. - - One of the S. of the C., H. C. M. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy., Del. from Newark.
38. Rev. William Knibb - Del. from the W. B. U., Jamaica.
39. Rev. John Burnet - - Del. from the Congregational Union of England and Wales.
40. Rev. William Bevan - One of the S. of the C., C. M. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy., Del. from Liverpool.
41. Rev. Joseph Ketley - H. C. M. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy., Del. from Demerara.
42. George Thompson, Esq. - Del. from the Edinburgh and Glasgow A. S. Societies.
43. Samuel J. Prescod, Esq. - Del. from Bridge town, Barbadoes.
44. Henry B. Stanton, Esq. - One of the S. of the C., Del. from the A. and N. Y. A. S. Societies.
45. M. L'Instant - - - Del. from Hayti.
46. Robert Forster, Esq. - M. of the C. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy.
47. George Head Head, Esq. - Del. from Carlisle.
48. Mrs Rawson - - - Sheffield.
49. Mrs Amelia Opie - - Norwich.
50. Lady Noel Byron - - Paris.
51. Jacob Post, Esq. - - M. of the C. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy.
52. Wendell Phillips, Esq. - One of the S. of the C., Del. from Massachusetts, U.S.
53. Henry Tuckett, Esq. - M. of the C. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy.
54. Rev. C. Edwards Lester - Del. from the Bleeker st. Church, U.S.

55. Dr John Bowring - - Del. from Exeter.
56. Joseph Cooper, Esq. - M. of the C. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy.
57. Peter Clare, Esq. - - Del. from Manchester.
58. Rev. J. H. Johnson, A.M. Del. from Devizes.
59. John Sturge, Esq. - - Del. from Birmingham.
60. Rev. Charles Stovel - Del. from the Baptist Union.
60 A. Richard Peek, Esq. - M. of the C. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy., Del. from Kingsbridge, Devon.
61. Sir John Jeremie, Knt. - H. C. M. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy., Governor-General of Sierra Leone.
62. Captain Charles Stuart - Del. from Jamaica.
63. Colonel Jonathan Miller - Del. from Vermont, U.S.
64. Rev. Nathaniel Colver - Del. from the American Baptist and Massachusetts (U.S.) A. S. Societies.
65. Joseph Eaton, Esq. - - Del. from Bristol.
66. Rev. John Keep - - Del. from the Ohio (U.S.) A. S. Sy.
67. Capt. C. R. Moorsom, R.N. Del. from Birmingham.
68. William Taylor, Esq. - M. of the C. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy.
69. Rev. B. Godwin - - Del. from the Baptist Church, Oxford.
70. Richard Sterry, Esq. - Del. from Croydon.
71. G. K. Prince, Esq., M.D. - Del. from Chesterfield.
72. Rev. John Morrison, D.D. Del. from the Durham County Association of Congregational Churches.
73. Josiah Conder, Esq. - M. of the C. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy.
74. Professor James Dean - Del. from Vermont, U.S.
75. Richard Allen, Esq. - Del. from the Hibernian A. S. Sy.
76. Edward Baldwin, Esq. - Ditto.
77. Rev. William Brock - Del. from Norfolk and Norwich.
78. Henry Sterry, Esq. - - M. of the C. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy.
79. Rev. Cyrus Pitt Grosvenor Del. from the National and American and Foreign A. S. Societies.
80. Rev. Elon Galusha - - Del. from the American Baptist A.S.Sy.
81. Rev. James Carlile - - Del. for Bradford, Wilts.
82. Rev. Thomas Binney - Del. from the Associated Churches and Ministers in the Isle of Wight.
83. Mr Edward Barrett - An emancipated slave ; Del. from the W. B. U., Jamaica.
84. Rev. J. H. Hinton, A.M. - M. of the C. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy.
85. Rev. John Angell James - Del. from Birmingham, and for Jamaica.
86. R. R. Madden, Esq., M.D. Del. from the Hibernian A. S. Sy.
87. Rev. Thomas Morgan - Del. from Birmingham, and for the Pembrokeshire Association.
88. John Ellis, Esq. - - Del. from Leicester.
89. Rev. Henry Taylor - - Del. from Woodbridge.
90. David Turnbull, Esq. - British Consul at the Havanna, C. M. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy.
91. John Steer, Esq. - - Del. from Derby.
92. James Mott, Esq. - - Del. from Pennsylvania, U.S.
92 A. Richard Barrett, Esq. - Del. from Croydon.
93. Hon. John T. Norton - Del. from Connecticut, U.S.
94. Miss Elizabeth Pease - Darlington.
95. Miss Ann Knight - - Chelmsford.
96. Mrs John Beaumont - London.
97. Rev. T. M. McDonnell - Del. from Birmingham.
98. Joseph Sams, Esq. - Del. for Barnard Castle.
99. Rev. John Birt - - Del. from Manchester.

100.	Richard Rathbone, Esq.	Del. from Liverpool.
101.	Rev. Edward Adey - -	Del. from Leighton Buzzard.
102.	Rd. Tapper Cadbury, Esq.	Del. from Birmingham.
103.	Thomas Pinches, Esq. -	Ditto.
104.	Edward Smith, Esq. -	Del. from Sheffield.
105.	Isaac Hodgson, Esq. -	Del. from Leicester.
106.	Thos. Bulley, Esq. Aldn.	Del. from Liverpool.
107.	William Kay, Esq. -	Ditto.
108.	Isaac Crewdson, Esq. -	Del. from Manchester.
109.	William Smeal, Esq. -	Del. from Glasgow and Paisley.
110.	Rev. John Woodwark -	M. of the C. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy., Del. from the C. U. of E. and W.
111.	William Fairbank, Esq. -	Del. from Sheffield.
112.	Samuel Wheeler, Esq. -	Del. from Rochester.
113.	William Boultbee, Esq. -	Del. from Birmingham.
114.	Joseph Reynolds, Esq.	Del. from Bristol.
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116.	Isaac Bass, Esq. - -	Del. from Brighton.
117.	Rev. Thomas Swan -	Del. from Birmingham.
118.	Rev. Edw. Steane - -	Del. from the Baptist Union.
119.	Rev. William James -	Del. from Bridgewater.
120.	Richard D. Webb, Esq. -	Del. from the H. A. S. Sy.
121.	William Tatum, Esq. -	Del. from Rochester and Chatham.
122.	Saxe Bannister, Esq. -	Del. for the Aborigines Protection Sy.
123.	James Whitehorne, Esq.	Del. from Bristol, and for Jamaica.
124.	George Bennet, Esq. -	M. of the C. of the B. and F. A. S. Sy., Del. from the C. U. of E. and W.
125.	William Wilson, Esq. -	Del. from Nottingham.
126.	Joseph Soul, Esq. - -	Islington.
127.	Mrs Lucretia Mott -	United States.
128.	A Lady - - -	
129.	Professor Adam - -	Del. from Massachusetts.
130.	Mrs Tredgold - -	London.
131.	Dr Murch - - -	Del. from Baptist Union.
132.	Ladies.	
132.		
132.		

DESCRIPTION

OF

THE PICTURE.

Of all the meetings for benevolent purposes which were ever held in London, none ever exceeded in interest or object that which met at the Great Room, Freemasons' Tavern, in June 1840, headed by the venerable Clarkson, and composed of delegates from various parts of the world, in order to consult on the most effectual method of abolishing the curse of Slavery from those countries which, in spite of the noble example set them by England, still maintained it in all its atrocity and horror.

The day before the meeting a deputation of gentlemen waited on me, to ask if I thought such an assemblage, with such a leader, might not be a subject fit for an historical picture? As it was necessary for me to be present before I decided, they invited me to attend the next day; and I candidly acknowledge I did so, rather unwilling to be drawn from my painting-room, and expecting nothing more than the usual routine of a public meeting—votes of thanks, and such like things.

On entering the meeting at the time appointed, I saw at once I was in the midst of no common assembly. The venerable and benevolent heads which surrounded me, soon convinced me that materials existed

of character and expression in the members present, provided any one moment of pictorial interest (on a fact) should occur. I immediately prepared for a sketch, and drew slightly with a pen on the back of my ticket the general characteristics of room and meeting.

In a few minutes an unaffected man got up, and informed the meeting that Thomas Clarkson would attend shortly; he begged no tumultuous applause might greet his entrance, as his infirmities were great, and he was too nervous to bear without risk of injury to his health any such expressions of their good feeling towards him.

The friend who addressed them was Joseph Sturge, a man whose whole life has been devoted to ameliorate the condition of the unhappy.

In a few minutes the aged Clarkson came in, grey and bent, leaning on Joseph Sturge for support, and approached with feeble and tottering steps the middle of the convention. I had never seen him before, nor had most of the foreigners present; and the anxiety to look on him, betrayed by all, was exceedingly unaffected and sincere.

Immediately behind Thomas Clarkson were his daughter-in-law, the widow of his son, and his little grandson.

Aided by Joseph Sturge and his daughter, Clarkson mounted to the chair, sat down in it as if to rest, and then, in a tender, feeble voice, appealed to the assembly for a few minutes' meditation before he opened the convention.

The venerable old man put his hand simply to his forehead, as if in prayer, and the whole assembly followed his example; for a minute there was the most intense silence I ever felt. Having inwardly uttered a short prayer, he was again helped up; and bending forward, leaning on the table, he spoke to the great assembly as a patriarch standing near the grave, or as a kind father who felt an interest for his

children. Every word he uttered was from his heart —he spoke tenderly, tremulously; and, in alluding to Wilberforce, acknowledged, just as an aged man would acknowledge, his decay of memory in forgetting many other dear friends whom he could not then recollect.

In this simple and beautiful sincerity lies the basis of Clarkson's character through life; and after solemnly urging the members to persevere to the last, till Slavery was extinct, lifting his arm and pointing to heaven (his face quivering with emotion), he ended by saying, "May the Supreme Ruler of all human events, at whose disposal are not only the hearts but the intellects of men—may He, in His abundant mercy, guide your councils and give His blessing upon your labours." There was a pause of a moment, and then, without an interchange of thought or even of look, the whole of this vast meeting, men and women, said, in a tone of subdued and deep feeling, "AMEN! AMEN!"

To the reader not present it is scarcely possible to convey without affectation the effect on the imagination of one who, like myself, had never attended benevolent meetings, had no notion of such deep sincerity in any body of men, or of the awful and unaffected piety of the class I had been brought amongst. That deep-toned AMEN came on my mind like the knell of a departing curse; I looked about me on the simple and extraordinary people ever ready with their purse and their person for the accomplishment of their great object; and if ever sound was an echo to the sense, or if ever deep and undaunted meaning was conveyed to the depths of the soul by sound alone, the death-warrant of Slavery all over the earth was boded by that AMEN!

I have seen the most afflicting tragedies, imitative and real; but never did I witness, in life or in the drama, so deep, so touching, so pathetic an effect produced on any great assembly as by the few, un-

affected, unsophisticated, natural, and honest words of this aged and agitated person.

The women wept—the men shook off their tears, unable to prevent their flowing; for myself, I was so affected and so astonished, that it was many minutes before I recovered, sufficiently to perceive the moment of interest I had longed for had come to pass—and this was the moment I immediately chose for the picture.

In the centre is Clarkson, in his own natural attitude, concluding his speech. Behind, beneath, and about him, are the oldest and dearest friends of the cause—whilst a liberated slave, now a delegate, is looking up to Clarkson with deep interest, and the hand of a friend is resting with affection on his arm, in fellowship and protection; this is the point of interest in the picture, and illustrative of the object in painting it—the African sitting by the intellectual European, in equality and intelligence, whilst the patriarch of the cause points to heaven as to whom he must be grateful.

There was a time when I believed that the negro, however deep his sympathies and affectionate his heart, was separated from the intellectual European irrevocably; when I believed his brain and bodily conformation were so inherently deficient, that no education and no ameliorated condition could ever improve them. I have lived, I thank God, to be convinced to the contrary. The head of this negro, Beckford, 27 years a slave, and the other, Barrett, 57, are as fine in physical construction of brain as any European in the picture.

In the progress of painting this work, many have been the conversations I have had with men of all colours, all creeds, all sects, all religions; but however they might differ in opinion on other subjects, there was no difference on the one great object of their assemblage.

The tales I have heard, the tortures I have read of,

in its progress, have often disturbed my rest and haunted my imagination. Never shall I forget, when a sitter, in describing what he had witnessed, put himself in the attitude of an overseer when bringing down the lash to the *last crack*, so as to meet the quivering flesh of the negro!—he did not know what he was doing, but an air and position of such fierce unadulterated malignity, I could never have conceived!—he told me he had often seen the overseers over their bottle, and all the conversation turned, not on subjects of public interest or common information, but the great boast was how to cut a negro into gashes, with such skill, so as to punish him most severely, *without crippling him for next day!*

Sir John Jeremie related to me that he had sat on a trial where an overseer brought an action against his planter for money due, and the planter brought in a bill against the overseer, wherein he set off in the bill, by the side of soap and candles, two negroes flogged to death by this overseer. I was incredulous till he brought me a report of the trial, and here it is, for the conviction of the doubter.

After several items of trifling amount for soap, candles, money advanced, &c. were the two following:—

"No. 14. For the value of John the cooper, flogged to death by you, and then buried in the cane piece, 400 dollars.

"No. 21. For the price of the negress, Mary Clare, who died by bruises received from you, 300 dollars."*

This was brought on in appeal during Sir John Jeremie's sitting, having commenced some years before.

When the minds of any human beings are practically brought to consider flogging a human creature to death, and putting his dead body forward as of no more consequence or value than a piece of

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* See the 'Essays on Colonial Slavery,' by Sir John Jeremie. 1832, page 7. Hatchard.

soap and *candle*, it is of no use to affirm there are slave-owners who are humane and kind, and whose slaves are not so tortured; *any system* which affords opportunities for such brutal demoralization of human sympathy, no matter if the exceptions be even *more* numerous than the examples, I repeat, as a human being of common sense, *any such system is a curse, and ought to be extirpated!*

That a commission for an historical representation in painting of this convention should have been considered important by a class of men who in general have been supposed never to think much of the art, is a singular evidence of the increased feeling of its moral influence; I believe it is the first instance of the kind since the Reformation, and may such an example be followed all over the empire.

This commission, like those from Liverpool, was given to me by gentlemen, only one of whom I had ever seen or known. It was a commission without connection, without influence, and ought to be an encouragement to the student, by proving to him, that if he persevere and take no notice of attacks on his reputation, how little real effect they have on the minds of others.

I conclude in the words of the Duchess of Sutherland, who, in reference to the meetings of the convention, beautifully said to me, "She never saw such an assemblage of honest heads collected together."

B. R. Haydon.

14 *Burwood place, Connaught terrace,*
March 22, 1841.

ADDRESS.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, whose noble object the great Anti-Slavery Convention, assembled last year, was intended to promote, was founded in London, on the 18th April 1839, by a body of Christian philanthropists, specially convened, from various parts of the country, for that purpose.

Its object was declared to be the universal abolition of slavery and the slave trade; and in subordination to that, and as one means of promoting it, to watch over the infant liberties of the emancipated negroes in the British Colonies.

The grandeur of this enterprise may be seen by reference to the following tabular statement, exhibiting the extent of slavery and the slave trade at the present time:—

SLAVERY.

In the United States the Slave population is	2,750,000
Brazil - - do. - - do. - -	2,500,000
Spanish Colonies - - do. - -	600,000
French - - do. - - do. - -	250,000
Dutch - - do. - - do. - -	70,000
Danish and Swedish - - do. - -	30,000
Texas - - do. - - do. - -	20,000
Total - -	6,220,000

Besides those held in slavery by Great Britain in Hindostan, and by France, Holland, and Portugal, in various parts of Asia and Africa, amounting in all to several millions more; and to these must be added the multitudes who are held in bondage by the native powers in the East, and in other parts of the world.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

Upon the most moderate computation the slave trade dooms to the horrors of slavery every year, among

Christian Powers - - - -	120,000
Mohammedan Powers - - -	50,000
	170,000
Destroyed annually in procuring the above	280,000
Making a total of - -	450,000

Of every thousand victims to the slave trade *one half* perish in the seizure, march, and detention on the coast; *one fourth* of those embarked perish during the middle passage; and *one fifth* of those who are landed perish in the seasoning during the first year, and the remaining three hundred, with their descendants, are doomed to hopeless bondage and a premature grave!

The means which the society propose for the accomplishment of its object, are set forth in the circular address, issued at the time of its formation, and are included in the fundamental principles of its constitution; these are, "that *so long as slavery exists* there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a MORAL, RELIGIOUS, AND PACIFIC CHARACTER: and that no measures be resorted to by this society in the prosecution of those objects, but such as are in entire concordance with these principles."

The reason for the adoption of these principles will be found in the fact, that, after more than thirty years' zealous and unremitting labour on the part of the abolitionists of this country, and notwithstanding all the efforts of the government, by negotiation, and

by armed cruisers on the coast of Africa and elsewhere, for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, it was found to have doubled in extent and in horror. The application, therefore, of other principles, in order to its abolition, than those hitherto acted upon, became necessary, and the resolution to seek the extinction of this giant evil, by the universal abolition of slavery; and to confine themselves strictly to the use of "moral, religious, and pacific means," in prosecuting their great work, was determined upon by this society.

The deep sympathy felt for the oppressed, and the interest taken in the measures proposed for their deliverance from bondage, was signally proved by the gathering together of men from various parts of the world at the great Convention. Encouraged by the decisions of that distinguished body of philanthropists, and by the gratifying measure of success which has attended their labours in the different countries which some of their number have visited during the past year, as well as in the promises of cordial co-operation they have met with at home, the committee feel it to be their duty to prosecute their "labour of love," until Africa shall be delivered from the scourge which has so long desolated and degraded her, and not a slave shall be found in the whole earth to water the soil which he tills with his tears, or to crimson it with his blood.

In carrying out the measures contemplated by the convention, several thousand pounds have already been expended, and the Committee are under further heavy liabilities for the same object; they therefore respectfully, but earnestly, appeal to the friends of humanity for their support and assistance in this great work of Christian benevolence.

Donations and subscriptions will be thankfully received by G. W. Alexander, Treasurer; and J. H. Tredgold, Secretary, at the Office of the Society, 27 New Broad street.

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20

SPEECH

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON,

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

On Wednesday, May 19, 1841.

ON

LORD SANDON'S RESOLUTION,

"That considering the efforts and sacrifices which Parliament and the country have made for the abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery, with the earnest hope that their exertions and example might lead to the mitigation and final extinction of those evils in other countries—this House is not prepared (especially with the present prospects of the supply of Sugar from British possessions) to adopt the measure proposed by Her Majesty's Government for the Reduction of the Duties on Foreign Sugar."

LORD PALMERSTON rose, and spoke as follows :—

The Right Hon. Baronet, the Member for Kent, in the speech which he addressed to the house this evening, expressed his regret at the long duration of this debate; that regret did not surprise me, because a debate less favourable to one side of the house, and attended in point of argument, whatever may be its result as to numbers, with greater triumph to the other side, it never has been my lot to witness; I can well understand therefore that the Member for Kent should regret the protracted length of the debate; and notwithstanding the speech of the Right Hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, who has just sat down, and though I admit the great dexterity with which he has handled the various topics which he has treated, I do not think that even that speech will induce the Right Hon. Member for Kent to retract the regret which he has expressed.—[cheers.]

The Right Hon. Baronet, the Member for Tamworth, who has just sat down has been pleased to make himself exceedingly merry at what he conceives to be the forlorn condition of my Right Hon. Friend the Chancellor of Exchequer fishing for a budget. My Right Hon. Friend is fishing for no budget, he has caught his budget, and has laid it on the table. [cheers.] My Right Hon. Friend does not go begging to the other side for a budget. He has been reproached on former occasions, and has been taunted to night, for playing a part which is stated to be utterly unworthy of a Chancellor of the Exchequer. He has to deal with a deficiency in the revenue and has brought forward a budget to supply that deficiency, and he is charged with an entire forgetfulness of the duties incumbent on a Chancellor of the Exchequer, because instead of coming down with a proposal to add to the burthens of the people, he proposes to fill up the deficiency of revenue by relieving the people from a portion of those burthens. The Right Hon. Baronet is mistaken in saying that we asked him for his budget instead of ours. What we asked was, and not even to night has an answer been given to our question, tell us aye or no what you mean; we intend to supply the deficiency of the revenue by striking a blow at some of the great Monopolies which have hitherto retarded the prosperity of the country, you object to our proposal upon narrow and insufficient grounds; tell us then plainly whether you are willing to make up the deficiency in the way we have intended to do so; or whether you are prepared to vote new taxes for the purpose: That is the question put to the other side, and to that question we have had no answer.—[cheers.]

The Right Hon. Baronet, indeed stated that he would give us with the utmost frankness his opinion on the three questions about Sugar, Corn, and Timber: but what were his declarations, what were those explanations which were to be given in the spirit of such unreserved frankness? As to the Sugar duty, he threw over in the beginning of his speech, the principles and doctrines contained in the resolution of his Noble Friend, and said that the question was one of prudence, rather than of principle, and in the latter part of his speech he said that the only pledge he would give about the sugar duties was, that he would wait to see whether the expected supply from the East

Indies would cover deficiency in the duties, and that for the next year he should propose no change in the rate of duty; but the Right Hon. Baronet, reserved himself for the future, and beyond next year he would give us no pledge either way.—[cheers.]

Well, then we were to have his unreserved opinion on the subject of the Corn laws. What was it? why that he preferred a sliding scale to a fixed duty. A sliding scale may be a slippery thing. The Right Hon. Baronet took care to guard himself against declaring whether that sliding scale would or would not be a scale materially diminishing that amount of inordinate protection which the present law affords. But the question he was called upon to answer is, whether he is willing or not to supply a part of the deficiency of the revenue, by creating an extension of our commerce, by means of a reduction in the present amount of the duty on corn? About the Timber duties too we have had the Right Hon. Baronet's equally frank and candid declaration. If my ears did not deceive me, he said, that on that question he should keep himself totally unfettered for the future. That until he knew what is at present known only to my noble friend the Secretary for the Colonies, and until he should be put, like my noble friend, into the confidence of the Governor-General of Canada, it would be utterly impossible for him to afford us any information as to his views.—[cheers.]

Well then, Sir, am I not justified in saying, that never do I remember a great question like the present, debated by one party on grounds so narrow and inadequate. The question is, whether the great springs of our national industry shall be relieved from some of those artificial obstructions, which have hitherto retarded their developement, or whether the sources of our national prosperity shall for the benefit of private interests, and of privileged classes, continue to be choked up? The question is between free trade, (and by free trade I mean trade open to competition) on the one side, and monopoly on the other. The question is between reason and prejudice; between the interests of the many, and the profits of the few—and the Honourable Gentlemen opposite, shrinking from a question which they dare not manfully grapple with; and afraid to join issue with us on the real merits of the case, because they know that the verdict of the country would be against

them, have endeavoured to narrow the discussion down to one collateral point, and under a delusive pretence to entrap this House and the country into an erroneous decision. [cheers].

The epithet hypocritical applied to the resolution by speakers on this side has been taken amiss by Gentlemen opposite; I will endeavour not to repeat offensive expressions; I will content myself with saying that this resolution is the homage which monopoly pays to free trade. But an homage so unwilling and constrained that those who pay it have not been able entirely to assume the virtue which they do not feel; but have thought it prudent to leave themselves a loophole for escape; and by that notable parenthesis which was so well exposed by my noble friend (Lord J. Russell) they have provided for themselves the means of descending if necessary from the lofty ground of principle on which they profess to take their stand, to the lower and more convenient level of expediency. [Cheers]. Their course reminds me of that sometimes pursued by their friends the Spanish Carlists—on more than one occasion in the late civil war, the Carlists when wanting to attack the Queen's forces placed and drove along at the head of their column a number of helpless captives, trusting that the humanity of their opponents would disarm their resistance, and that thus they should succeed in their attack. [Cheers.] So now the Honourable Gentlemen opposite put forward the sufferings of the negroes. I forbear from inquiring how many of those who are foremost in the cry, have had their share in causing those sufferings; though some things have passed in this debate which tend to throw light upon such an inquiry. But they put forward the sufferings of the negroes, and under cover of that pretence the whole band of monopolists rush forward to scale the fortress of power.

But the party opposite stand upon principle against interest. The principle they stand upon is the principle of humanity; the interest they oppose is that of the 25 millions of people who inhabit these islands. [Cheers.]

Now I honor and respect principle. I admire a man who acts upon principle, even though in carrying his principle out, he should thwart me, and obstruct my path. But then, let principle be the rule and not the exception. Let it be the guide of conduct, and the inspirer of actions,

and let it not be merely put forward as a pretext for the purpose of arriving at unacknowledged ends. [Cheers.]

They say humanity is their principle—an excellent principle it is—charity is said to begin at home; why should not humanity also be a domestic virtue—True it is there are millions of suffering negroes abroad; true also is it that we have millions of suffering fellow countrymen at home. Why should our humanity bestow itself exclusively on the former, instead of giving a due share of its attention to the latter—the principle laid down by Gentlemen opposite is that we ought not to consume the produce of slave labour,—that is the principle which has been maintained by the noble Lord the member for Liverpool, who moved the resolution, but it was not so clearly asserted by the Right Honourable the member for Tamworth. He seemed indeed to set it aside. This may have arisen from proofs which have been given by what has passed in other places, of the manner in which the people of the country view this matter; and I am not surprised that at the close of this debate, the principle on which Gentlemen opposite laid such stress at the outset, should now be allowed in some degree to remain unnoticed. [Cheers.]

But the principle contended for is, that we ought not to consume the produce of slave labour — Well if that principle is to be adopted, apply it honestly, faithfully, and throughout. Prohibit the importation of the enormous quantities of cotton which are brought every year from the United States of North America. Prohibit the tobacco; prohibit the rice which you bring from thence and which is all the produsce of slave labour. [Cheers and cries of oh! oh!] The Hon. Gentlemen opposite laugh and cry Oh! at the very idea of such a thing—they shrink from such an application of their principle—they know that such an application of their principle would deprive of employment some millions of their fellow countrymen, and would bring them to utter ruin. They say it would not be expedient to do this—expedient indeed! a pretty principle this to take stand upon, the practical application of which is to depend on comparative expediency. [Cheers.]

But they think they have an answer to this argument: they say it is one thing to submit to an evil that exists, it is another thing to create a new evil; and although we have long encouraged slave labour in North America, that is no

reason why we should now begin to encourage slave labour in South America. But would the effect of our measure be that we should begin now for the first time to permit the consumption of things produced by slave labour in South America? Do we not already encourage the employment of slave labour in South America, and to the extent of our means? Do we not send out every year to the Brazil vast quantities of our manufactures, and are we not paid for them by the sugar and coffee which is there produced by the labour of slaves? Do we not glut the Brazilian market with our goods, and stimulate them every year more and more to produce more and more slave labour commodities to buy those goods with—[cheers.] It is true that the sugar and coffee come not here but go to Germany to be sold, and it is the money they are sold for, that is remitted to us; but does this alter the nature of the transaction. We are told that we must not encourage the employment of slave lahour, and yet we first set the slaves in North America to work, to produce for us as much cotton as possible, and then we add to the value of that cotton and send it out to South America in order therewith to set the slaves of South America to work, to produce as much sugar and coffee as they can—[cheers.]

The details of these transactions of ours with the Brazilians are sufficiently curious to be worth following out. We say to the Brazilians we can supply you with cotton goods cheaper and better than any you can get elsewhere, will you buy them? By all means, reply the Brazilians, and we will pay you for your goods by our sugar and our coffee. No, say we, your sugar and coffee are produced by slave labour, we are men of principle, and our consciences will not allow us to consume the produce of slave labour, we cannot take your sugar and your coffee.—Well then, any body would imagine that the transaction ended here; that we sent our manufactures to some free labour market, and left the Brazilians to eat and drink their sugar and coffee, or to dispose of them as best they may. No such thing; we are men of principle, but we are also men of business, and we try to help the Brazilians out of their difficulty. We say to them, it is true that we cannot consume your slave labour sugar and coffee; but close by us, and near at hand live some forty millions of industrious thriving Germans who are not so conscientious as we are; take your

sugar to them; they will buy it of you, and you can pay us for our cottons with the money you will thus receive; and though we cannot take your sugar and coffee, we shall not scruple to take the money you have sold them for. But the Brazilians represent that there will be some difficulty in this. The Germans, they say, live on the other side of the Atlantic, we must send them our sugar in ships; now our ships are few in number, and are ill fitted to cope with the waves of the great ocean; what shall we do? Our reply is ready—Do not let this disturb you, we have plenty of ships, and they are quite at your service—[cheers.] —It is true that slave labour produce would contaminate our warehouses, our shops, and our tables; but our ships are different things, and they shall carry your sugar for you. But the Brazilians have another difficulty; indeed there is no end to their difficulties. They tell us that the Germans are particular in their own way about these matters, and have a fancy for refined sugar. That it is not easy to refine sugar in Brazil, and that the Germans do not like the trouble of refining it themselves. Our desire to oblige is inexhaustible, we again step in with an expedient: Come never mind, we will help you here also; we will not only carry your sugar, but we will refine it for you too. It is sinful indeed to consume slave labour sugar, but there can be no harm in refining it, which, in fact, is to cleanse it from part of its original impurity—[cheers.]

Accordingly, we refine the sugar, and to be sure we think we have done. Not a bit. The Brazilians are at us again. The fact is, say they, we produce a great deal of sugar; more than the Germans will buy, at least at a remunerating price; what are we to do with our surplus? Well, our goodness is infinite; having carried the Brazilians on so far, we are determined not to leave them till we have seen them safe home; we have a remedy, we tell them, for this also; we ourselves will buy your surplus. It cannot indeed be cousumed at home, because the people of this kingdom are the inhabitants of the mother country, and are men of conscience; but we will send it to the West Indies, and to Australia; the people who live in those parts are only Negroes and Colonists, and what right can they have to consciences; your slave labour sugar can do them no harm: and now, that you may not plague us any more about these matters, we tell

you at once, that if ever the price of our own sugar shall rise above a certain amount, we will then buy more of your slave labour sugar, and eat it ourselves—[cheers.]

Now without meaning the slightest offence, let me ask if it is not the grossest hypocrisy, that when these things are as notorious as the sun at noon day, we should be asked on pretences so hollow, and so inconsistent with what is constantly going on, to forego an arrangement which will relieve our Commerce, and assist our Finances—[cheers.]

But then it is said that the proposed measure will encourage the Slave Trade—[cheers.]

It can encourage the Slave Trade only in as far as it may give any great additional stimulus to slave labour, and I have already dealt with that objection. I can assure the House that if we had thought that this measure would give to the Slave Trade any encouragement, which we should not be able by other means amply to counterbalance, we would not have proposed the measure to Parliament, whatever might have been the advantages otherwise to be gained from it—[cheers.]

I think we have given proof of the sincerity of our zeal for the suppression of the Slave Trade. During the time we have had the honour to conduct the affairs of the country, we have laboured assiduously, perseveringly, and not without some success in the pursuit of this great end. The suppression of the Slave Trade is to be effected by two means—First, by the vigilance, and activity of that Maritime Police, which by virtue of our treaties with other powers we are enabled to establish. Secondly, by those measures of internal administration which Foreign Governments may put into execution, either in compliance with our suggestions, or in fulfilment of treaties concluded with us. I contend that the measure which we propose will assist us in both these respects; for it will give us a better chance of obtaining by treaty any additional powers and authority, which our Maritime Police may stand in need of; and it will increase the disposition of Foreign Governments to fulfil the engagements they have taken towards us, to put down the Slave Trade within their own territories—[cheers.]

When we came into office in 1830, we found the Slave Trade carried on to an immense extent, and under various

flags, notwithstanding the treaties we had then concluded with Spain, Portugal, Brazil, the Netherlands, and Sweden; and notwithstanding the declaration made at the Congress of Vienna, which was alluded to by the right hon. gentleman, the member for the University of Cambridge, and which cannot be mentioned with too much honour to the Statesmen who proposed it, and to the Governments by which it was adopted. The Treaties with Portugal, and Spain were insufficient for their purpose. That with Portugal only applied to Slave Trade north of the line, and neither that nor the Treaty with Spain gave sufficient powers for the detention of vessels equipped for Slave Trade. We had no Treaty with France, and Slave Trade was carried on under the French Flag—[cheers.]

The first thing we did was to obtain a Treaty with France, giving mutual right of search and detention to the cruizers of the two nations; and when gentlemen recollect how much the events of the last wars between England and France, must have rendered such a mutual right distasteful to both nations, and repugnant to their feelings, and their pride, the mere fact of such a treaty having been concluded, must be a convincing proof of the sincerity and zeal with which both governments were animated in their endeavours to put down this traffic; and the success of that treaty has been complete, for from that moment the Slave Trade has ceased to be carried on under the flag of France—[cheers]

Next we obtained from Spain, by a new treaty, larger powers for our cruizers, and fuller and more complete engagements on the part of the Spanish Crown; and I must say that if the Spanish Governors of Cuba, had acted with good faith and had rigidly enforced the law of Spain, and had punctually fulfilled the treaty engagements of the Spanish Crown, their exertions, assisted by those of the British cruizers would long since have entirely put an end to the Cuba Slave Trade; and a similar result would have been obtained in Brazil, if the Brazilian government had executed with good faith and vigour, the engagements it has contracted on this matter towards Great Britain. —[cheers.]

But we were told, and by many of the most zealous friends of abolition, that our treaties would be of no avail to suppress the Slave Trade until every maritime state in Chris-

tendom should have joined in the league to put it down; For as fast as we drove the Trade from one Flag it would take shelter under another, and that nothing effectual would be accomplished as long as any one flag remained by which it could be protected. We felt the truth of this assertion, and we set ourselves to work in right good earnest to enlist all the maritime states of the world in the Christian league against Slave Trade—[cheers.]

We have laboured hard, and I am proud to say not without some success. At the present moment we have Treaties concluded and ratified, with France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, The Hans Towns, Sardinia, Tuscany, and Naples; we have been negotiating a Treaty between England, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, to be founded upon the Treaty now existing between England and France. The details of this Treaty have for several months been agreed upon, and the signature of the Treaty has been delayed solely by the peculiar position in which France has for some time past stood with relation to the other four powers, and not in consequence of any difficulties as to the Treaty itself; and I trust that very shortly that Treaty will be signed. When that Treaty is signed we shall propose to Belgium, to Hanover, and to Greece to accede to it, and I trust there can be no doubt of our obtaining the accession of those states. The Greek Government has indeed lately, and very much in consequence of representations made to it by the British Government, passed a law prohibiting under severe penalties that Mediterranean Slave Trade in Greek vessels, which had begun to attract the attention of Europe—[cheers.]

If we succeed in all this, as I see no reason to doubt, we shall have enlisted all the maritime states of Europe in the Christian league. Nor have we been idle as to America. We have concluded treaties which have been ratified, with Brazil, Buenos Ayres, Venezuela, and Haiti; we have concluded treaties which have not yet been ratified, with Mexico, Montevideo, Chile, and Bolivia; and we have concluded additional articles which also have not yet been ratified with Brazil. We are negotiating a Treaty with the republic of the Equator, and we have proposed an improved Treaty to Brazil. We have also proposed a Treaty to Peru, but the present disturbed state of that

republic, prevents us, for the moment from making any progress in that negotiation; the party now in power in Peru having set up the strange doctrine that Peru is not to make Treaties with any but American States. [cheers.]

Well then if we succeed in these various negotiations, which I have no reason to think we shall not, we shall have enlisted in this league against Slave Trade every State in Christendom which has a Flag, that sails on the Ocean, with the single exception of the United States of North America; and I cannot believe that the American people, descended from the same ancestors as ourselves, imbibing from their earliest infancy the same principles of liberty, and the same doctrines of religion, will long stand aloof, and refuse to join the league, when they find themselves the only Christian nation that has not subscribed to its engagements—[cheers.]

They have hitherto been deterred from doing so by the fear of agreeing to that mutual right of search, which is the main foundation of all these treaties, and an indispensable means for the suppression of the Slave Trade. But they have not sufficiently reflected that the right of search which is necessary for the suppression of the Slave Trade, is a thing utterly and entirely different from that right of search, which on former occasions has been the subject of dispute between them and us. I trust that the people of America, will not allow themselves to be carried away by names, but will investigate the nature of things; and when they find, as on consideration they must do, that what we ask is not inconsistent with their national honour, and is essential for abating a great evil, they will join the other states of Christendom, and give the Slave Trade its death blow—[cheers].

I think then, that we may assert that our conduct proves that we feel no indifference about this great question of the Slave Trade; and that we are not men who would lightly, and in order to escape from a temporary difficulty, sacrifice a principle which has long guided our course, and forego an object which we have laboured so hard to attain. [cheers.] On the contrary as I have already said, by adopting the proposed measure, we shall acquire additional facilities for the accomplishment of our purposes. I have said that the Slave Trade would long since have been put down in the Brazils and in Cuba, if the Brazilian

Government, and the governors of Cuba, had chosen to enforce their own laws, and to fulfil the obligations of treaties concluded with us. Why have they not done so? Because they do not believe in the sincerity of our professions, and attribute our anxiety for the suppression of the Slave Trade, to motives very different from those which in reality prompt us. They see in us nothing but commercial enemies. On the one hand we shut our markets against their produce; on the other hand we try to prevent them from getting what they erroneously consider a necessary accession of labourers—[cheers]. They judge of one part of our conduct by the other. They see that with a spirit of narrow minded commercial jealousy, we exclude their produce, that it may not compete in our markets with the produce of our own Colonies; they think that we want to prevent them from getting fresh Slaves, in order that thus their sugar may cost them more, and may become dearer; and that so the sugar of our colonies may be better able to compete with their sugar in the market of Europe. [cheers] I regret that much has been said in this debate, which is ill calculated to undeceive them in this point; for doctrines have been held in this discussion exactly the reverse of those which we press upon the Brazilians when urging them to abolish their Slave Trade. We have endeavoured to persuade them that free labour is cheaper in the end than slave labour, and that the cessation of the Slave Trade would be no injury, but in fact a benefit to them.—[cheers.] We have been justified in holding this language to the Brazilians, because we held it to our own West India Colonists. When we wanted them to agree to the emancipation of their slaves, we told them that in the end they would find free labour less expensive than slave labour, and we told them the truth; and nothing that has yet happened in the working out of the great experiment which we are making in the West Indies, leads me in the slightest degree to doubt that the assertion we made to them is true —[cheers]. But what has been the argument which has been maintained on this point in this debate by many gentlemen opposite, most connected with the West Indies, and best acquainted with the state of our Colonies there. They have all contended that if we admit to consumption in this country, the sugar of the Brazil

which they say is cheap, because it is the produce of slave labour, our own sugar which they say is dear, because it is the produce of free labour, will be driven out of the market; and thus our Colonies will be ruined; and the Hon. Member for the town of Cambridge pressed this argument with peculiar vehemence, saying, as a reason for his doing so, that on the decision of this matter, his dearest interest, nay, as far as his West India property is concerned, his very existence, depends. [cheers.] The great argument then of these gentlemen, is that the free labour sugar of the West Indies, cannot compete with the slave labour sugar of the Brazils; now what is this but declaring to the Brazilians and the Spaniards, that we have been telling them untruths all this while, as to the comparative cheapness of free labour? Will they not think that we have added to the odiousness of our commercial hostility, the meanness of duplicity and falsehood; that we have been endeavouring to trapan them into an abolition of their Slave Trade upon false pretences; telling them that slave labour is the dearest, and therefore the least advantageous to them, though we knew and were convinced all the while, that it is the cheapest and the most profitable—[cheers.]

Let us convince them by our conduct that in our doctrine we were sincere. Let us convince them that we do believe free labour to be, as it unquestionably is, cheaper than slave labour. Let us do so by admitting their slave labour sugar into competition with free labour sugar in our market, not indeed into competition on equal terms, for that is not at present proposed, but into competition modified by a discriminating duty of 50 per cent. in favour of the produce of our own Colonies. If this measure is carried, I shall enter into negotiation with the Brazilians and Spaniards with better hopes of success, and shall think that I have a better chance of persuading them to employ the means which they themselves possess, to put a stop to the Slave Trade within their own territories; for they will listen to our remonstrances with a more willing ear, when they shall believe them to be dictated by principle, and when they shall no longer suspect them to be the offspring of commercial jealousy—[cheers.]

Sir, I lay the greater stress upon this, because it is only from England, and from the exertions of England, that

any hopes can be entertained of the extinction of the Slave Trade, and of the ultimate abolition of Slavery throughout the world ; because it is England alone that feels any deep and sincere interest in the matter—[cheers.]

England now holds a proud position among the nations of the earth; and exercises a great influence upon the destinies of mankind. That influence is owing in the first place to our great wealth, to our unbounded resources, to our military and naval strength. But it is owing still more, if possible, to the moral dignity which marks the character and conduct of the British people. I fear that the resolution of the Noble Lord, the Member for Liverpool, will tend, if adopted, to impair all these elements of our strength. I cannot but think that the respect which foreign nations have hitherto felt for the sincerity, the plain dealing, the straightforwardness of the British character, will be lowered, when they see the House of Commons adopting a resolution by which the principles of humanity and justice, are, (I am sorry to say so), prostituted to serve the party purpose of a day—[cheers], and I am sure that we shall sap the foundations of our strength,if by the continuance of our restrictive and prohibitory regulations, we undermine those great commercial and manufacturing interests which are the main supports of our power—[cheers.] Those who desire to see the principles of liberty thrive and extend through the world, should cherish with an almost religious veneration, the prosperity and greatness of England—[cheers.] As long as England shall ride preeminent on the ocean of human affairs, there can be none whose fortunes shall be so shipwrecked, there can be none whose condition shall be so desperate and forlorn, that they may not cast a look of hope towards the light that beams from hence ; and though they may be beyond the reach of our power, our moral support and our sympathy shall cheer them in their adversity, and shall assist them to bear up, and to hold out, waiting for a better day —[cheers.] But if ever by the assault of overpowering enemies, or by the errors of her misguided sons, England should fall, and her Star should lose its lustre, with her fall, for a long period of time, would the hopes of the African, whether in his own Continent or in the vast regions of America, be buried in the darkness of despair. I know well that in such case, Providence would, in due course of time

raise up some other nation to inherit our principles, and to imitate our practice. But taking the world as it is, and States as they are constituted, I do not know, and I say it with regret and with pain, I do not know any nation that is now ready in this respect to supply our place. I say then, that they who are the sincere friends of that cause of which we have been the strenuous advocates, and the not wholly unsuccessful supporters, instead of giving their assistance to a resolution which is founded upon a hollow pretence, ought to lend their aid to us, and to help us to accomplish those purposes, which they themselves have so deeply at heart—[cheers.]

Now I have said that the real question at issue is the choice between monopoly and free trade. The Noble Lord the Member for Lancashire (Lord Stanley), and the Right Hon. Baronet who spoke last (Sir Robert Peel), have given us their views of the meaning of the term Free Trade; and defined it to be a trade free from all duties whatever upon the importation of foreign produce. That is not my notion of free trade. That is not the free trade which I wish to see introduced. We must have an army and a navy, and civil establishments. To maintain these we must have a revenue; and in my opinion there is no more proper or legitimate mode of raising a part of that revenue than by duties upon the importation of foreign commodities. But then I say let those duties be laid on solely for purposes of revenue; let them not be laid on for what is called protection; that is, to enable a comparatively small number of men to carry on a trade in itself a losing one, at the expense of the rest of the community—[cheers.] I know that in an artificial state of society such as that in which we live, it is impossible at once, and without some delay to carry into full application, principles of this kind. Because if suddenly adopted, they would derange the course of transactions, and involve thousands in ruin. To do this, is neither our intention nor our wish. But let us keep these principles steadfastly in view; let them guide and direct our course; and let us apply them as nearly and as quickly as circumstances will permit—[cheers.]

Protection in the sense in which the word is used by those who now oppose the plan of the Government, is a tax levied upon the industry and skill of the mass of the

community to enable a few to remain indolent and unskilful—[cheers.]

Such protection is not only erroneous in principle, but after all, utterly useless to those for whose particular benefit it is maintained—[cheers.]

Shew me a trade that is free, by which I mean, open to fair competition, and I will shew you a trade carried on with intelligence, enterprize, and success. Shew me a trade that is highly protected, and I will shew you a set of men, supine, unimproving, and probably labouring under perpetual embarrassment—[cheers.]

But the evil does not end here. Not only does this excessive protection paralyze the very interests it is intended to invigorate; but it operates most injuriously upon the general welfare of the country, in relation to our commercial intercourse with foreign nations. For protection is a game that two can play at. It is impossible that a great country like England can go on protecting, as it is called, its various interests, and that other countries should not follow the example. Can we tell other countries that they ought to diminish the duties of their tariff; that competition is the very life of trade; that emulation inspires activity and enterprize and that without enterprize and activity commerce can never flourish nor be beneficial to those who carry it on? can we hold these doctrines to other nations, and at the same time persist in our own restrictive system?—[cheers.] When we propound these principles to Foreign Governments, they listen to our arguments with civil incredulity; they appeal from our doctrines to our practice; they point to our own tariff, and tell us in diplomatic paraphrase, "when you alter your own commercial system; when you bring down to a moderate amount your excessive import duties, we may become converts to your doctrines, and shall be ready to talk with you about a revision of our own tariff."—[cheers.]

I have had to discuss these matters with most of the Foreign States with which we have commercial relations, and they are all in the same story. They invariably give us to understand that when we ask them to permit a more liberal admission of our manufactured goods into their markets, we ought to set them the example by allowing a more liberal admission of their produce into our market.

Commerce, they observe, is a system of barter, and if we exclude from our ports their corn, their timber, their sugar, their coffee, every great article, in short of their produce, which they could offer us in exchange for our commodities, how can we suppose that they can carry on trade with us? [cheers.]

I have said that one great evil of our restrictive system is that it induces other States to fancy that it is the secret of our prosperity, and that it sets them to imitate our example. Is this an imaginary evil? far from it. In proportion as the increase of communication between countries in time of peace, has enabled every country to be better informed as to what is going on elsewhere, other nations have seen more deeply into the details of our restrictive system, and have been tempted, some by ignorance, some by prejudice, some from a spirit of retaliation, to imitate our example—[hear, hear.]

First, there is the Prussian Commercial Union, which has spread itself over almost all of the central and northern states of Germany. That league has just renewed itself by treaty for 12 years from 1842. Next year their deputies will meet for the purpose of revising their tariff; and this house and the country deceive themselves greatly if they imagine that a perseverance in our restrictive system, and in our prohibiting duties, will not induce the German League to continue their present high duties upon our manufactures, and perhaps to increase those duties in such a manner as to shut our commodities out from the whole of that part of the market of Europe.—[hear.]

Russia and Sweden prohibit a great number of our manufactures, and when we ask them to relax their tariff, they say take our corn and timber, and then we will talk with you about admitting your manufactures into our ports—[hear.] About two years ago Sweden sent over here a nobleman of high distinction, and of great influence in his own country for the purpose of endeavouring to come to some agreement with us for a mutual modification of the tariffs of the two countries; but timber was our stumbling block; and we had no hope at that time of being able to carry through Parliament any arrangement of our timber duties, that would have met the views of the Swedish government; we had had a mortifying experience, but a short time before, of the manner in which

any proposition of that kind was likely to be dealt with in this house—[hear.]

France which ought to be a great market for our commodities; France a country so near to us; producing many things which we want; and wanting many things which we produce: France has a tariff which excludes many of our principal manufactures. But France will not alter her tariff, unless we alter ours. As an instance of the extent to which this mania of protection rages, France not content with prohibiting our cotton goods, and excluding by high duties our iron, has lately descended to a minuteness of protection which would be ludicrous if it were not an indication of the force of existing prejudices on these matters. France has lately laid an excluding duty upon our needles and fish hooks, for the purpose of protecting that important branch of her own national industry!

The Belgians too are running wild with the notion of protection, and are for excluding by protecting duties almost every commodity which the industry of man can make—[hear].

When you preach to these foreign nations the absurdity of such practices, they reply, it is all very well; but we observe that England has grown wealthy, and great by these means, and it is only now, when other nations are following her example that she has discovered that this system is a bad one; when we shall have attained the same pitch of commercial prosperity, which England has reached, it will then be time enough for us to abandon a system which perhaps may then no longer be necessary—[hear].

It is in vain we tell these people that England has grown great and prosperous, not by means of this fallacious and mischievous system, but in spite of it. It is in vain we tell them that this protective system has checked our growth, and has prevented the full developement of our national resourses. Until we prove by our practice that we are sincere in our doctrines, neither France, nor Belgium, nor Germany, nor Russia, nor Sweden, nor any other country in either hemisphere, will be induced to relax their own restrictive and prohibitory laws—[hear, hear].

The United States of America have imitated our ex-

ample, and have established a protecting tariff. The ill effect of this tariff upon the commerce between these two countries has been mitigated by the circumstance that the Southern States are chiefly agricultural, and have few or no manufactures to protect, and that thus the protecting tariff of the north, cannot prevent a great trade between the two countries, the result of which is to send over to us vast quantities of that slave labour cotton, which all parties have acknowledged it is so essential for us to have, and which it would be impossible for us to do without. Yet no man can doubt that if England and the United States, were mutually to revise their scales of import duties, the commerce between the two countries would greatly increase.—[hear, hear.]

But are the United States the only country in America, where this vicious system has taken root? Mexico is following the example—and who, does the House think, are the parties who have petitioned the Mexican Government, for protection against the importation of British manufactures into Mexico? why some renegade sons of England, who have established manufactories in Mexico, and who are endeavouring to prevail upon the Mexican Government to exclude by high protecting duties, British manufactures of the same kind as those which they are themselves making. Such is the course which our restrictive system induces other countries to take.—[hear, hear.]

And what then is the state of our trade generally with other countries? It is quite true, as stated by the Right Hon. Bart. the Member for Tamworth, that there is nothing in the condition of our Foreign Trade, to inspire despondency; I trust that the resources of the country are too deeply rooted, to be withered even by this vicious system, though it prevents their full growth and developement. But if you examine and analyse our Foreign Trade, you will trace in it remarkable proofs of the injurious effects of this system. You will see how these protecting laws cramp the industry of the country. Every year a smaller and smaller portion of the manufactures which we export consists of articles in the making of which much labour and skill are employed. Every year a greater portion of our exports consists of articles of an elementary nature, which are not destined for use and consumption, but are to serve as materials which are to afford employment to the

foreign manufacturers. For instance, the exportation of cotton goods does not increase in the same proportion as the exportation of yarn. Then again look to our artisan and capitalist. Both of them are leaving the country. The capitalist goes elsewhere with the notion of finding cheaper labour. The artisan with the hope of obtaining better remuneration for his industry. Every year our protecting system is raising up against us in other parts of the world, manufacturing competitors; and every year British skill, British industry, and British capital are transferring themselves abroad, to render the competition of Foreign Countries more and more formidable. We are thus ourselves assisting to exclude our own commerce from the markets of other countries—[hear.] If this system is persevered in, we shall at last come down to that spendthrift industry, which is to consist in exporting machinery, as well as the elements of manufactures; and when our exports consist of capital, skill, industry, machinery and materials, we shall no doubt wonder how it happens that our finished manufactures are no longer able to compete with those of other countries in the markets of the world—[hear, hear.]

Sir, in my opinion there never was a discussion in which it was more clear, which side of the house advocated the true interests of the nation, aye even the interests of those nominally protected classes, whose supposed interests have banded together so large a phalanx in opposition to the proposals of the government. [Cheers.]

But the Right Hon. Baronet, the member for Tamworth, has said that we the government have by the improvidence of our administration created the financial difficulties for the remedy of which we have brought forward these measures; and that we have ourselves been the cause of that excess of expenditure over income which our plan is intended to provide for. [hear.] But surely the Right Hon. Gentleman does not mean to say that the rebellion in Canada was owing to any misgovernment of ours; and as to our dispute with China, the Right Hon. Baronet, has very properly and very handsomely abstained from prejudging a matter which is not yet ripe for discussion. [Cheers.] But then I would ask, has the deficiency arisen from our having made any undue increase in our military or naval forces? has it arisen from any wanton

expenditure incurred by the government in spite of the resistance of the Hon. Gentlemen opposite? on the contrary the government has been found fault with year after year for not augmenting the military and naval establishments of the country. They have reproached us for too much economy, never for being too prodigal.—[cheers.]

The Gentlemen opposite have therefore no right to attribute the present deficiency to any mismanagement or misconduct on the part of the government—it has arisen from a variety and from a combination of circumstances, over which the government had no control; and I will venture to say that if the gentlemen opposite had been in office that deficiency would not have been less; I abstain from giving an opinion whether it would have been greater. [cheers].

The question then is, whether the house will adopt the plan of my right hon. friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for a reduction of duties, by which the revenue would be increased, the commerce of the country relieved, and the industry of all classes encouraged; or whether the house will take counsel from the gentlemen opposite who would supply the deficiency by betaking themselves to a loan, or by imposing fresh taxes, and by thus adding to the burthens of the country.—[Cheers.]

Whatever may be the result of this discussion, and whether we succeed cr not in our present attempt, depend upon it the days of these monopolies are numbered, and their doom is sealed [cheers.] The only question is whether they shall fall to day under our blow, or whether they shall be reserved to meet their fate hereafter from the hands of those very persons who now stand forward to defend them. [cheers.] To maintain them much longer is impossible, the country has spoken out upon the matter. The general opinion of all those persons who are engaged in carrying on the industry and commerce of the country is too strong to be resisted by any set of men who may be called upon to administer the Government.

What has been the course of Parliament in this respect for several years past? It has done nothing but destroy monopolies. First we abolished that monopoly which by the Test and Corporation Acts the members of the Established Church held against their Dissenting fellow subjects; this was accomplished by the efforts of my noble friend (Lord

John Russell,) assisted ultimately by the concurrence of the Right Hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth. Then was attacked that giant monopoly which the Catholic disabilities gave to the Protestants of the kingdom, over their Catholic fellow countrymen. That monopoly defended itself with astonishing determination; its resistance was obstinate and fierce, but it measured its length upon the ground. Then was assailed that huge monopoly which placed in the hands of a comparatively small number of persons, the power of returning members to serve in the House of Commons. That battle was still more severe, the resistance was still more desperate; the conflict almost shook the country to its foundations; but at last the victory was complete, and that monopoly fell. [cheers.] Then came the monopoly by which certain self-elected Corporators exercised in the towns throughout the united kingdom, a paramount authority over the local interests and affairs of their respective boroughs. This was less vigorously defended and it has fallen.

Then there was the great monopoly by which the East India Company excluded the commerce of their fellow countrymen from all the vast regions of Asia; that was acknowledged to be indefensible, and it yielded without a struggle. [cheers.] We are now attacking another set of monopolies; and my Right Hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade, (Mr. Labouchere,) has announced that he intends to carry the principle of relaxation still further, and to apply it to other parts of our tariff, so as to relieve our commerce from many of the trammels which at present confine it.—[cheers.]

These then are the principles on which we stand; our plan is plain, simple and intelligible. I think that Honourable Gentlemen opposite might have given us an equally plain and intelligible answer to our question, what they would propose to do.

They might have told us distinctly and at once whether they would rest their plan of finance upon the abolition of monopolies, or upon the maintenance of monopolies.

They have not however chosen to speak out, but I will venture to say that before these discussions are brought to a close they will be compelled to speak out. [cheers.]

It is due to themselves; it is due to us; it is due to Parliament; it is due to the country; that the opinions of

Honourable Gentlemen opposite upon these important matters should no longer be shrouded in mysterious silence, or be concealed by evasive declarations—[cheers.]

We have a right to call upon them, not to give us a new budget, for that we do not want, and would not accept if offered it, but to tell us aye or no whether they will adopt the principles on which we have founded our budget, and of which the country has unequivocally expressed its approbation.

But I will venture to predict, that although they may resist these measures to night for the purpose of obtaining thereby a majority in the division, yet if they should come into office, these are the measures, which a just regard for the finances and commerce of the country will compel them, themselves, to propose, and to carry—[Loud and repeated cheering.]

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21

FIRST OF AUGUST.

ABOLITION

OF THE

APPRENTICESHIP.

By Geo. Thompson

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AND

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ABOLITION

OF THE

APPRENTICESHIP.

THE cause of humanity has triumphed! The Abolitionists of Great Britain have succeeded in their truly noble effort. This nation is called upon to offer devout thanks to God, on account of the unexampled success which has been granted to the labours of those, who nine months ago entered on a course of peaceful agitation to effect the extinction of the vile system of negro apprenticeship. The freedom of half a million of their fellow-creatures has been given them as their reward. The glorious results of their exertions are calculated to rebuke the timidity of those who counselled peace and foretold defeat, and to humble and instruct the men, who from their high places looked down with scorn upon the gathering of 'the sacramental host,' declaring in their pride and power their determination to '*stifle*' the holy excitement. When these lines shall be read, negro apprenticeship will have ceased in the islands of Tortola, Montserrat, Nevis, the Bahamas, Tobago, Dominica, St. Christopher, St. Vincent, Grenada, Barbadoes, and Jamaica; and we believe also in Honduras, St. Lucia, Trinidad, and British Guiana.

With what rapture will the First of August be hailed in the West Indies! On that auspicious day, thousands of husbands will be restored to their wives—mothers will be free to nurse and provide for their children, and old and young will rejoice together in the termination of a system which made them the victims of a cruel mockery, and an insatiate avarice. And here we may well pause for a moment, to inquire by what means this victory has been obtained. Through a willing government, kindly and

promptly co-operating with a generous and humane public? No. By the authority of the legislature, exerted in obedience to the expressed will of every constituency in the kingdom? No. Appeals to government there have been, but they have been disregarded and resisted. Petitions to parliament, urgent and endless there have been, but they have been set aside with indifference and disgust. Prayers have been offered at the foot of the throne—the sympathy of a maiden queen has been invoked—but our young sovereign has never been advised by those about her person, to reap gratitude and glory, by granting the wish of her loyal and loving people. The victory has been achieved by the unaided power of truth—by the irresistible might of public opinion, brought to bear upon the fears and interests, and we believe upon the consciences too in many cases, of the far-off colonies themselves. The work has been prosecuted in the belief that so just a cause could not but prosper if espoused by such a nation as this, and in reliance upon Him, who, when forgotten and set at nought by rulers and legislators, is able to accomplish, by the humblest instruments, his benign purposes, and cause even the wrath of wicked men to contribute ultimately to his praise. In the most unpromising seasons we have been hopeful and assured; and though recent events have in some respects exceeded even *our* anticipations, we have looked with confidence to see that day of freedom which now dawns upon the dwelling of the negro, and gladdens the banks of the Essequibo and the islands of the greater and lesser Antilles. Most justly did Lord Brougham observe upon a recent occasion, when describing the feelings with which he had pursued his anti-slavery labours, that 'even when his 'mind had been most depressed by the prospect before him, and 'the circumstances around him, he had never for an instant felt 'a doubt of the ultimate success of the cause. At all times he 'had had to support him, the public mind of the country. At all 'times he had marked the question as gloriously distinguished 'from all others. It lulled and laid asleep for the occasion, every 'difference of political opinion, every religious or sectarian ani-'mosity, every feeling of a factious or violent character; while 'humanity, and sound policy, and the Christian principle of the 'country, were all aroused and called into full and active energy. 'This it was that had kept up his spirits and sustained his mind, 'even when outnumbered by the representatives of the people in 'the ratio of three and four to one.'

Let us advert to the state of the population in the slave colonies in the month of July, 1834. We have with much care compiled from official sources the following table, which will exhibit the total number of slaves for whom compensation was received, and also show the manner in which they were divided, and the number belonging to each class:

	Prædials.	Non-Prædials.	Children under six years.	Aged and Non-Effective.	Total.
CHARTERED COLONIES.					
Jamaica	218,456	36,384	39,013	16,767	311,070
Barbadoes	52,193	14,445	14,732	1,780	83,150
Antigua	20,368	2,982	4,327	1,444	29,121
Grenada	16,940	2,069	3,320	1,309	23,638
St. Vincent	15,309	2,805	2,963	1,189	22,266
St. Christopher	12,601	3,066	3,198	915	19,780
Dominica	10,465	1,199	2,113	398	14,175
Tobago	8,266	812	1,479	1,032	11,589
Bahamas	4,290	3,444	2,053	299	10,086
Nevis	5,299	1,926	1,261	329	8,815
Montserrat	4,510	516	1,145	230	6,401
Virgin Islands	3,416	902	749	68	5,135
Bermuda	18	3,296	606	106	4,026
CROWN COLONIES.					
British Guiana	63,282	6,297	9,893	3,352	82,824
Mauritius—	34,424	22,275	7,612	·2,302	66,613
Cape of Good Hope		30,010	5,732		35,742
Trinidad	13,773	3,766	2,246	872	20,657
St. Lucia	8,723	1,605	1,957	1,006	13,291
Honduras	810	778	224	90	1,902
Total	493,143	139,027	104,623	33,488	770,281

To the above may be added the free coloured population in 1834, say 165,000
Whites, say 130,000

Total amount of population in the above colonies.. 1065,281

Such was the state of the slave colonies on the 31st of July, 1834. On the 1st of August, 1834, the children of slaves under six years of age were declared free, leaving 665,648 above that age in the relation of apprentices. Of these, 139,027 being classed non-prædials, were entitled to their freedom on the 1st of August, 1838, leaving the various descriptions of prædials, amounting to 526,621, to remain in servitude till the 1st of August, 1840. The friends of the negro, aware, from the best authority, of the grievous and oppressive character of the apprenticeship, resolved to make a great effort to effect the emancipation of the prædial apprentices on the day fixed for the freedom of the non-prædials. Their labours, their defeats, and their successes, are alike with-

out a parallel in the annals of philanthropic exertion. During the short space of eight months, three meetings of delegates, and five immense public meetings were held in the metropolis, besides innumerable public meetings and lectures in every part of the kingdom. Thus much of their labours. In the cabinet and the legislature (with one exception, the majority of three, upon the motion of Sir Eardley Wilmot,) they met with successive defeats, and were at last doomed to see the question dismissed for the present Session, by the adoption of Lord Glenelg's Bill, and the virtual revocation, by ministerial agency, of the decision of the Commons on the 22nd of May. The treatment experienced by the abolitionists at the hands of the Government, and the representatives of the people, we believe to be without an example. Long ought it to be referred to, to guide the electors of this empire in their future choice of those who shall be raised to a position in which they may, if disposed, overrule the will of the people, however reasonable and righteous their demand, and however strongly fortified by the previous payment of their money for the thing for which they pray. Deeply shall we lament, if, in the general rejoicing which the overthrow of the apprenticeship will occasion, the heartless and wicked conduct of her Majesty's ministers, and their pliant majorities, is suffered to pass into oblivion. Their speeches, their votes and their Acts, should be placed in imperishable record, side by side with the high achievements of the indomitable champions of the oppressed, that posterity may be warned from placing dependence on men, however high their professions, and encouraged at the same time to attempt great deeds, even when forsaken by the men they have appointed, and paid, and vested with the power to accomplish them.

In the midst of disaster and defeat at home, the work of mercy commenced and proceeded abroad. In the month of December, 1837, the island of MONTSERRAT set the example of voluntary emancipation, by passing an Act, the clauses of which are to the following effect:

'1.—Repeals Abolition Act, and all Acts auxiliary thereto, on the first day of August next. 2.—Apprenticeship to cease and determine, and all classes of labourers to be free on the said first day of August, 1838. 3.—Persons discharged from apprenticeship entitled to relief. 4.—Owners or directors of plantations to provide for diseased, aged, and infirm persons on their estates. Penalty of £5 for each offence, recoverable before any two or more justices; justices to issue warrant to bring offenders before them. If offenders convicted, and penalty not forthwith paid, to be committed to common gaol not exceeding twenty days. Penalties, when recovered, to be paid into the public treasury. In case any dispute arise as to the right of any party claiming to be maintained, then two justices, with the aid of a medical man, are to make a binding decision. 5.—If further compensation awarded

beyond £20,000,000 to be paid to the persons suffering pecuniary loss by the abridgment of the term of apprenticeship. 6.—Suspending clause.'

In April, of the present year, an Act of Emancipation on the 1st of August, passed the legislature of Nevis and the Virgin Islands. The following is an extract from a private letter to the Governor, dated Tortola, 13th of April, 1838.

'The General Emancipation Bills passed yesterday after a strong opposition.

'The news of the Bill having passed spread like wild-fire, and I was delighted on riding out last evening at the hearty salutations of the negroes.

'It is already evident that *these measures will prove highly beneficial,* as the people will quietly and contentedly slide into the new state of things, being aware a boon has been granted them. *I do not think a single planter who has any tact will lose a man who is worth keeping.*'

St. Christopher next followed. The letter of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Macleod, to Lord Glenelg, will show the steps which led to the event. The part we have printed in italics is amusing.

'Government House, May 18, 1838.

'My Lord,—As it is impossible to communicate through Sir Wm. Colebrooke by this packet (which is hourly expected here), I have the pleasure to announce that the Legislature of this colony have resolved to abolish the apprenticeship system on the 1st of August next, and I have the honour to inclose the duplicate of a despatch I have addressed to his Excellency on the subject.

'I have, &c.,

(signed) H. Macleod, Lieutenant-Governor.'

(Enclosure.)

'Government House, May 18, 1838.

'Sir,—My correspondence will have shown your Excellency that although I had hitherto failed in my attempts with the legislation for the abolition of the apprenticeship system in August next, I was still led to think it would eventually be adopted. Having pressed the matter, *I was asked for a dissolution, that the members might take the sense of their constituents. Your Excellency will think with me that in a small island like this, and where fifteen members for the rural parishes in the absence of the proprietary body are returned by thirty-five voters, it was not necessary;* and I was also aware that one great object was to throw out four members who support the government. Knowing likewise that parties at the time were nearly balanced on the question, I thought it politic neither to risk the loss of those I could depend upon, nor fair on these gentlemen not to have a voice in a popular measure, throughout which they have supported me. I did not therefore consent; but finding there was a great inclination, particularly in the

council, to reconsider the subject, I prorogued, and yesterday again submitted the abolition of the system on the 1st of August next, which I have great satisfaction in announcing for the information of Her Majesty's government was carried *unanimously in the Council, and with hardly a dissentient voice in the Assembly.*'

St. Vincent. Copy of a despatch from Lieutenant-Governor Tyler to Lord Glenelg:

'Government House, St. Vincent, May 12, 1838.

'My Lord,—It is with no ordinary feelings I fulfil the gratifying duty of transmitting to your Lordship direct by the mail, which leaves this evening, the copy of a Bill for abrogating the apprenticeship of prædial labourers in this colony, which passed the legislature yesterday.

'Your Lordship, on reference to my correspondence with his Excellency the Governor-in-chief on the 25th and 26th of April, will observe, I anticipated such a measure; I was not mistaken; its attainment, I am proud to say for the honour of the colony, has been accomplished, as your Lordship will see by the inclosed address from the Council and Assembly, spontaneously and unanimously, with *a perfect confidence in its results.*'

'To his Excellency George Tyler, Lieutenant-Governor, &c. &c. &c.

'Sir,—We, the Members of Her Majesty's Council, and the Speaker and Members of the House of Assembly, respectfully approach and place in the hands of your Excellency a Bill, intituled, 'An Act to abrogate the Apprenticeship of Prædial Labourers in the Island of St. Vincent and its Dependencies.'

'In passing this most important measure, the two branches of the legislature are not insensible of *the difficulties, the sacrifice, and inconvenience which will fall with much severity on persons in all professions, circumstances, and situations;* but, actuated by a spirit of benevolence and an enlarged philanthropy, they are of opinion they have not granted the boon of emancipation upon any conditions *inconsistent with the character, the safety, and the true interests of the country.*'

The Lieutenant-Governor replied in the following terms:

'The Lieutenant-Governor, in congratulating the Honourable Board of Council and the Honourable House of Assembly on the measure of emancipation which they have spontaneously and honourably granted to the prædial labourers by the Bill now before him, cannot but express his firm conviction that this instance of their liberality will *best insure the permanent welfare of the colony;* that, by cheerfully meeting the end which could not be indefinitely postponed, they have adopted the *safest and most certain means to encourage that confidence and willing intercourse,* which, by directing the energies to industrious exertion, will *convert our rural population into a faithful and happy peasantry.*'

It is difficult to perceive how a measure confessedly consistent with the 'safety and true interests of the colony,' calculated to encourage confidence and willing intercourse, and to 'convert a slave

population into a faithful and happy peasantry,' can be fraught with 'difficulties, sacrifice, and inconvenience to persons in all 'professions, circumstances, and situations.' The following are the provisions of the Act:

'1.—Terminates the apprenticeship on the 1st of August, 1838. 2.—Renders unlawful the eviction from their habitations of labourers willing to work for wages (unless for ill conduct*) before the 1st of August, 1839; also of persons who from disease are incapable of earning their subsistence. 3.—Makes it imperative on masters to give food, &c., to those not able to earn their subsistence until parochial laws are made. 4.—Provides for the settlement of disputed claims. 5.—Mode of proceeding of justices and appropriation of penalties.'

Barbadoes, with fifty-four thousand prædial apprentices, quickly followed the good example of the islands we have named, and left all eyes directed to Jamaica. On the 11th of April, Lord Glenelg's Act to amend the Act for the Abolition of Slavery, received Her Majesty's assent, and was almost immediately sent out to Jamaica, accompanied by a despatch from Lord Glenelg, explaining the provisions of his Act and concluding as follows:

'Although in pursuance of the instruction which I have addressed to you, you will give immediate effect to this law. I think it desirable that you should at an early opportunity convene the legislature of the colony under your Government, and communicate to it the intelligence that Parliament has found it necessary to pass this Act in furtherance of the great measure for the abolition of slavery. You will further explain to them the course which her Majesty's Government have felt it their duty to adopt, in resisting the demand for the early abolition of negro apprenticeship by the authority of the Imperial Parliament, you will at the same time impress upon their most serious attention, *how deeply seated, and how generally prevalent throughout the population of this kingdom, is the solicitude for bringing, if possible, to an early close the system of apprenticeship,* established by the Act of 1833. You will point out to them the obvious, but weighty motives which recommend that this consummation should be effected by the spontaneous act of the legislatures of the respective colonies, due preparation being first made for those amendments of the colonial code which must accompany or precede the change. You will suggest the policy and expediency of their anticipating by *wise* and *humane* enactments the wishes and desires of the people of this country, on a subject on which so deep and general an interest is felt. By such a course they would avoid the serious embarrassment and inconveniences which may be apprehended from *the effect on the minds of the negroes from the repeated discussions and continued agitation of this question during the*

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* Much will depend upon the persons authorized to decide upon alleged cases of 'ill conduct.'

remaining term of the apprenticeship, if it should not be abridged, and they would conciliate the gratitude and good-will of the labouring population, in whose disposition to work for fair remuneration and on equitable terms, the proprietors will be hereafter in a great measure dependent. I am persuaded that no exertion will be wanting on your part to allay excitement, and to produce good will and harmony among the different classes of the community, an object in which the interests of all are most deeply concerned.'

On the 16th of July we were in possession of Jamaica papers with the intelligence of the steps taken on the arrival of the new law and the despatch of the Colonial Secretary. The House of Assembly was convened on the 5th of June, and the proceedings of the two branches of the legislature opened by a speech from the Governor, his Excellency Sir Lionel Smith. We give the important passages. We have been informed by one present on the occasion, that the speech was delivered with a firm and decided tone, sufficiently indicative of his Excellency's determination to be trifled with no longer. One extract will be found worthy of a careful perusal.

'I have called you together at an unusual season, to take into your consideration the state of the island under the laws of apprenticeship for the labouring population.

'I need not refer you to the agitation on this subject throughout the British empire, or to the discussions upon it in parliament, where the honourable efforts of the ministry were barely found sufficient to preserve the original duration of the law, as an obligation of national faith.

'General agitation, and parliamentary interference, have not, I am afraid, yet terminated.

'A corresponding excitement has been long going on among the apprentices themselves; but still they have rested in sober and quiet hopes, relying on your generosity, that you will extend to them that boon which has being granted to their class in other colonies.

'In this posture of affairs, it is my duty to declare my sentiments, and distinctly to recommend to you the early and equal abolition of apprenticeship for all classes. I do so, in confidence, that the apprentices will be found worthy of freedom, and that it will operate as a double blessing, by securing also the future interests of the planters.

'I am commanded, however, to inform you, that her Majesty's ministers will not entertain any question of further compensation.

'But should your views be opposed to the policy I recommend, I would entreat you to consider well, how impracticable it will become to carry coercive labour. Always difficult, it would, in future, be in peril of constant comparison with other colonies made free, and with those estates in this island made free by individual proprietors.

'As governor, under these circumstances, I never shrink from any of my responsibilities, I PRONOUNCE IT PHYSICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO

MAINTAIN THE APPRENTICESHIP WITH ANY HOPE OF SUCCESSFUL AGRICULTURE.

'Jamaica is in your hands—she requires repose, by the removal of a law, which has equally tormented the labourer, and disappointed the planter; a law by which man still constrains man in unnatural servitude. This is her first exigency. For her future welfare, she appeals to your wisdom to legislate in the spirit of the times, with liberality and benevolence towards all classes.'

The reply of the council is dignified, liberal, and conciliating. They say,—

'Being aware of the agitation on this subject throughout the British empire, and of the discussion on it in parliament, we duly appreciate the honourable (?) efforts of her Majesty's ministers, to preserve the original duration of the law as an obligation of national faith.

'We feel confident that the hopes of the apprentices will not be disappointed, and that the wisdom and generosity of the legislature of Jamaica, will not hesitate to extend to them that boon which has been granted to their class in other colonies.

'We cordially concur in your Excellency's wise and humane recommendation, of an early and equal abolition of the apprenticeship of all classes, and feel pleasure in recording our perfect conviction, that the apprentices will be found worthy of freedom in every respect, and will so conduct themselves in their altered condition, as to insure the future interests of the planters.

'Coercive labour has, at all times, been obtained with difficulty; but under the present peculiar circumstances of this island, we fear it might be impossible to maintain the apprenticeship with any hope of successful agriculture.

'Jamaica does, indeed, require repose, and we are sanguine in the expectation that, under Divine Providence, such laws will be passed by her legislature as will evince their desire to act with liberality and benevolence towards all classes.'

So, then, it is manifest at last, that the abolitionists have been all along right in their judgment of the character of the negro, the true interests of the planters, and the policy most likely to promote the welfare of the colonies. The council of Jamaica being judges, the negroes are '*worthy of freedom in every respect*, and will so conduct themselves, as to INSURE THE FUTURE INTERESTS OF THE PLANTERS!' The whole tone and tenor of this reply will appear most extraordinary to those who are acquainted with the history and past conduct of the chief actors in this novel scene.

The reply of the assembly savours strongly of haughtiness and petulance, and shows clearly, that their *voluntary* act was sheer *compulsion.*

'May it please your Excellency,

'We, her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, thank your Excellency for your speech at the opening of the session; and we duly appreciate the consideration evinced by your Excellency in convening this general Assembly on the earliest day consistent with the public welfare to meet the present emergency.

'On receiving the despatch alluded to by your Excellency, we shall proceed, in the critical position in which the island is placed, to give to the momentous matters submitted to us our most serious consideration

'Jamaica does, indeed, require repose, and we anxiously hope, that should we determine to remove an unnatural servitude, we shall be left in the exercise of our constitutional privileges to legislate for the benefit of all classes without any further parliamentary interference.

'The apprenticeship was forced on the acceptance of the house as one of the precautionary measures to be adopted in the transition from slavery to freedom, and was a portion of our compensation. While, therefore, we discuss the propriety of its abolition, we neither assume the responsibility, nor exonerate public faith.'

On Thursday the 7th of June, a bill for the termination of apprenticeship on the 1st of August, 1838, was brought in by Mr. Guy, of St. George's, and referred to a Committee. On the 8th it was passed '*without the voice of a single member being raised* '*against it.*' After this the friends of humanity need never despair, how violent soever may be the opposition of the parties interested in the continuance of the evil they seek to remove. Let the advocates of negro freedom, in America and every other place gather courage from the contemplation of the events which have transpired in Jamaica, and persevere in the use of those moral means which have so signally triumphed in the most contumacious and rebellious colony of the British crown.

We have been greatly edified and amused by the perusal of the three days' debates in the House of Assembly, and, especially, with the singular zeal displayed in behalf of immediate abolition. Some honourable members desired it by the following Sunday, while others would have bestowed it on the day of her Majesty's coronation. The majority, however, deemed the 1st of August the most appropriate period, and thus the day prescribed by the people of this country will be literally observed, according to their wishes.

The bill, as it has passed the House of Assembly, consists of three clauses; the first declares the apprenticeship at an end on the 1st of August next; the second repeals all acts relating to apprenticeship; and the third recites the clause in the supplemental abolition act which passed during the previous session, authorising the proprietors to serve notices on labourers to quit. The council, it is said, intend to propose as amendments, that

the second clause of the bill be dele'd, and the concluding portion of the clause be also struck out.

We confess we should have preferred a simple declaratory Act abolishing slavery on the 1st of August, to the one adopted by the assembly. We think the provisions annexed to the abolition clause detract from its beauty and grandeur. Measures for the protection of the negroes in the occupation of their houses, and for the maintenance of the aged and infirm, might have been subsequently and separately enacted.

Amongst the motives which led to the passing of this act by the Jamaica House of Assembly, we think the following were the principal. A wish to avoid the infraction of their charter by carrying into effect the provisions of the odious bill of Lord Glenelg, and to escape the degradation and subjection consequent thereon. A conviction of the utter impossibility of making the apprenticeship work beyond the 1st of August, and their knowledge of the determination of the people of England to continue their agitation, and renew their appeal for parliamentary interposition. And lastly, their belief in the fitness of the negro for entire freedom, and his disposition to cultivate the soil as a paid labourer. The minds of the legislators of Jamaica and the planters generally were no doubt considerably influenced by the wise and seasonable letter of the Marquis of Sligo, addressed to the members of the Assembly on the 31st of March, last. We shall offer no apology for transcribing a considerable part of this valuable document, declaring, however, our unqualified disapprobation of the motive urged by the noble Lord in the passage we have distinguished by italics. After adverting to the trying circumstances under which he assumed the administration of affairs in the island, and to the manner in which his conduct had been regarded by the government and people of England, he proceeds:

'I wish to induce you to pay more attention to what I say now, than you did when I was governor of your colony.—What might then have been supposed to be dictation, I hope you will receive as advice from a person connected with Jamaica, as well by interest as inclination, and who can have no possible motive for misleading you. If I have been so fortunate as to prove to you, that on the occasions alluded to, I correctly represented to you the wishes of the British nation, I hope it may induce you to attach some weight to my observations and suggestions.

'In the first place, look at the position in which you are placed with regard to parties in the senate, and in the country generally. The feelings of the government are pretty clearly shown, by the bill to 'Amend the Abolition Law,' which Lord Glenelg proposed to parliament, the effect of which is utterly to extinguish your legislative importance, no matter what character you may attribute to the bill, or however unconstitutional or unjust you may deem it to be.

'What are the opinions of the Tories? These may be gathered from the few words which fell from their leader, the Duke of Wellington, on the discussion of Lord Glenelg's bill. It is, moreover, currently reported and credited, that his grace informed your agent, that your conduct had imposed silence on your best friends in this country; and believe me, I pray you, that I say this, not for the purpose of irritating you, but to point out to you faithfully your position.

'The declaration of the Bishop of London, a prelate whose talents, learning, and character give his opinions so much weight, as well with the country as with his brethren, shows what the church feels on this subject; the still more recent declarations of the other bishops amply confirm this assertion.

'The opinions of the party usually known here under the denomination of Radicals, have been too decidedly pronounced to render observation respecting them necessary.

'Thus, does it appear, with the exception, perhaps, of a few proprietors, the majority of whom have no personal acquaintance with the colonies, but adopt the opinions which you, in your individual capacities as their land agents, send home to them, there is not a person in the senate who is disposed to deny that you have forfeited all your original constitutional rights, how great soever they may have been. Such being the state of feeling in the senate, what is it in the country generally?

'Every morning's mail brings from four to five hundred proofs of want of confidence, so generally felt, in the shape of so many petitions to parliament, from all parts of the country.

'The anxiety of the inhabitants of this great metropolis, the seat of so much wealth, of so much mercantile speculation, and consequently of so much influence over the public mind, has been exhibited in an unparalleled manner of the late public meeting at Exeter Hall. The annals of history do not produce such decided and such extraordinary proofs of the universality of public opinion on one point, as the occurrences of the last few days.

'The resolution in favour of the immediate abolition of the apprenticeship was indeed thrown out last night in the House of Commons, owing to the feeling on the part of the government, that they were bound to support the compact which they considered they had entered into with the colonists; but what was the number of the minority? Two hundred and fifteen! Was there ever so great a minority on the first division on any popular question? Do you not think that with such a number of advocates already in the House of Commons, the unanimity of public opinion will presently induce others to think that there is more safety in granting than refusing? It is quite impossible that the present system can go on. Such another victory will be your ruin; yet perhaps you may have letters sent to you by this packet, informing you that nothing can be more signal than the defeat of Sturge and Co., that the party is annihilated, and their sun is set to rise no more! Place no credit in such fallacious statements. It is by similar injudicious advice, which you have been so long in the habit of receiving,

that you have been brought to your present condition; for a more complete annihilation of all your rights than you have been subjected to in Lord Glenelg's bill could not have been desired. Not one person lifted up his voice on your behalf in last night's debate; your condemnation went so far, that Sir Edward Sugden, who opposed the abolition as a general measure, said that a complete case was made out against Jamaica, and that though none of the other colonies deserved it, Jamaica ought undoubtedly to lose the last two years of the apprenticeship. As far as your importance is concerned, the abolition of the apprenticeship could not have been more injurious than the bill of Lord Glenelg promises to be. How are you to save yourselves? Your course is easy. You can, as you did on a former occasion, legislate before any law passed in this country can have force in the colony. You have now something to give. You may, by your own act, place the negroes in the position which the anti-slavery party is labouring to put them in, and great would be the advantage of the former obtaining the boon at your hands. You have now, as I have before said, something to give; if you avail yourself of the present opportunity, and do away with the apprenticeship, you will abandon that which, under the excitement at present existing, or that will inevitably spring up the moment that the extraordinary state of public opinion in England is known in Jamaica, can be of little value; you will supersede the operation of Lord Glenelg's bill, and save your political existence. Mr. Ellis's letter to his constituents at Coventry has made much noise here, and its sentiments are very generally approved of. If this agitation continues, and is directed against the continued existence of the colonial legislatures, it will find the minds of men predisposed to give it welcome. *Make your bargain now, while you have something to give, and you will in return get laws consented to, which you will not have the slightest chance of obtaining when you shall have exacted your pound of flesh in* 1840.

Let me, in conclusion, again apprise you of the good feeling which prompts me in writing this letter. I desire to persuade you to an act of grace, that will redound to your honour, and I am convinced, to your advantage. With such an object in view, I would not seek to irritate you, but it is necessary to place things in a proper light before you. Some of the happiest days of my life were passed among you, and whether you give me credit for it or not, there is not an individual in the island, who more sincerely prays your prosperity than, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

London, March 31st, 1838. SLIGO.'

The packet which announced the abolition of the apprenticeship in Jamaica, brought also the intelligence of the adoption of a similar measure in the island of Granada. This cheering information arrived very providentially on the morning of the day on which Lord Brougham moved in the House of Lords 'that an 'humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her 'Majesty would be graciously pleased to issue an order in

'council forthwith, to put a period, under proper provisions and 'regulations, to negro apprenticeship, in the unchartered colonies 'of the crown.' His Lordship argued the want of power in the crown colonies to effect the general emancipation of the apprentices, and showed that in some of them there were peculiar and pressing reasons for the immediate intervention of imperial authority. 'The crown was to them what the House 'of Assembly and the Legislative Council were to Jamaica and 'Barbadoes.'

'It was in the savannahs of Trinidad, and upon the alluvial soil of Guiana, that human life was most prodigally wasted in ministering to European avarice, and it was there that it behoved the mother country to interpose to put a stop to the inhuman deaths, to the diseases which were felt to be more cruel than death, to the fatal contamination which the necessity of labouring on those fatally unwholesome plains inflicted on those wretched victims of our pride. But the voice from Mauritius, which pierced their ear, and rended the silence of that eastern sea, was aggravated in its tones of pity, and fell still harsher upon their ears, from this hard addition to the lot of the slave, that three out of four of those who have cultivated the plains of Mauritius, all suffering worse torments than even those which were inflicted upon the negroes of Guiana and of Trinidad, had never in their lives been made legally slaves at all. They had been transported thither, not only against the law of nature, but after the law of this land had made transportion of the slave a capital crime; and 30,000 *capital felonies had been committed in conveying* 30,000 *of these victims of their weakness, and planting them under the unwholesome climate, and upon the unwholesome soil of that Mauritius. If ever there had been a signal neglect of duty upon the part of a legislature, it was theirs, in not having at once broken through the fetters of a mere legal informality, and passed a new law to prevent the recurrence of those monstrous outrages; but in paying, on the contrary, the frightful sum of* 20,000,000*l. sterling as compensation to those capital felons, instead of giving them their deserts upon the gallows.'*

His Lordship's eloquent exposure and denunciation of the 'felons' of Mauritius were richly merited, as was also his impeachment of the gross misconduct of the government in respect of that colony. The profound silence of the Colonial Secretary upon the subject was significant. The bold charges of Lord Brougham were allowed to pass without notice. The first Lord of the Treasury and his colleagues tacitly pleaded guilty to the indictment. We could have wished that the noble orator had been even more severe in his rebuke of the patrons and the paymasters of the felon flesh-factors of Mauritius. Hereafter we may feel it our duty to drag to light some of the dark doings of those who have for years been among the most shameless and lawless traffickers in the bodies of men, and who are now engaged in kidnapping, from the plains of India, thousands of fresh

victims to plant the sugar-cane upon the graves of the tens of thousands they have immolated. His Lordship pointed out most forcibly the benefits already derived from the free system in Antigua, and the danger of procrastination on the part of the crown, after what had taken place in the chartered colonies. 'A 'day's delay might be mischievous, a month's might be ruinous, 'half a year's might be fatal.'

'By all these considerations (concluded the noble Lord) by the character which this country has ever held for fortitude in war, and courtesy in peace, and clemency to fallen foes—by the patience which this country has ever displayed under its burdens and its sufferings, which however is as nothing when compared with the almost miraculous patience of the negro under the multiplied and monstrous outrages inflicted upon him—by the character which your lordships have acquired for justice, mercy, and religion—the Christian religion above all other religions, which, whenever alluded to, to point a sentence or adorn a period, is so loudly and even pharasaically professed—for pharisaical I will never cease to call it, if, with the gospel on your lips, you show that your hearts are strangers to its spirit—by the groans of myriads of bondsmen, echoed by twenty-four millions of free citizens, who call for justice at your lordships' hands—by all these appeals to your feelings, your principles, and your religion, I claim from your lordships an assent to my motion.'

Lord Glenelg stated in reply, that the Government deemed it the wiser course to oppose the motion of his noble friend, and leave it to the crown colonies to act as the chartered colonies had done.

'The legislatures in the Crown colonies, although not composed or constituted like those of the chartered colonies, yet were as competent to act and to legislate, and as independent in their acts as to internal legislation, as were the legislatures of the chartered colonies themselves.

'It was unnecessary for him, however, to dwell on this part of the subject, because in point of fact the Crown colonies were now taking the same course as the chartered colonies were at that moment pursuing. Early in the present year special letters had been sent out to the governors of the crown colonies directing them to bring the subject under the consideration of their local legislatures, and to state to them the reasons why her Majesty's government wished such a measure to be passed.

'In Trinidad the legislature had been convened and met the day before the mail that brought the intelligence which had been already alluded to came away. There had been a message from the governor urging the consideration of this subject, and it had been fixed to be taken into consideration the day after the mail left. It was, however, from the information he had received, fully expected that this Assembly would pass an Act of the same description as had been enacted by those of the other colonies which had been enumerated.

'From St. Lucia, the information he (Lord Glenelg) had received to-day, was that the Governor intended under the authority sent him

from home to propose the same course, and no doubt was entertained as to the issue.

'To GUIANA the same authority had been given—conveyed also in the strongest terms. He would not trouble the House by reading the despatch, but though to-day he had received no official communication on the subject, still he had seen a private letter from a source which could not be questioned, which stated that no doubt existed but that by the court of policy the measure would be sanctioned.

'As to MAURITIUS he could only say, that there had not been time for information to arrive, but he must add, that the same authority had been repeated by him (Lord Glenelg) to that colony, in equally strong terms as to the other colonies, and that he had no reason to doubt that this instruction or authority would be there received and acted upon as it had been elsewhere. In short, he entertained no doubt but that in the Mauritius the prædial apprentices would be free from the 1st of February, 1839, and with respect to the other three Crown colonies the information he had received left no doubt but two out of the three had accomplished the work of freedom, and that the third was not very far from adopting the same course.

'Under these circumstances, he should say that in all probability the work was complete; that the powers of these colonies was perfect; and further, that it was more than possible that all these Crown colonies had accomplished the same acts which the chartered colonies had already accomplished. Thus, he conceived that the question had been satisfactorily settled, and without the necessity of the painful alternative suggested by his noble and learned friend. In fact, when the house met again, he had no doubt but that the complete and unqualified termination of apprenticeship would have taken place.'

Lord Brougham replied:

'He hoped that every event would answer the expectation of his noble friend, and he hoped particular care would be taken that those expectations in the Mauritius should not be frustrated.

'Lord Glenelg had promised much on behalf of the planters of that island, but he (Lord Brougham) disbelieved in their disposition to comply with the recommendations which had been sent out. A less subordinate and less well-disposed set of men than the residents in the Mauritius it was difficult to find. They had all the prejudices of planters against the negroes, all the prejudices of colonists against the mother country, and, added to these, the accidental prejudices of Frenchmen against Englishmen; and, above all, that strange, but most mistaken prejudice, from which even the most liberal of our neighbours on the other side of the channel were not entirely free—that at the bottom of this question of slavery there was an English interest working against a French interest, and that by following our example they would be falling into some trap prepared for them.

'With respect to the colonies generally, he knew that much remained to be done. A constantly vigilant eye must be kept over those very self-same assemblies, whether of full or partial legislative authority, which existed in our various colonies. For if they found them under

the name of police regulations, a vagrant act, a poor law bill, or of any other of the devices which he knew their ingenuity and pertinacity full well enough to be apprehensive they would see soon attempted—if, as he had already seen, attempts were made by means of a vagrant act to perpetuate slavery under another name, by the help of the magistrate and the master, whose power had died a natural death ; and if, under associations of men armed with power and influence, they saw any attempt to revive under another name and under false pretences that slavery which the law would not suffer to exist under an odious and disgusting appellation any longer—if any such things were attempted, he should not be wanting in the discharge of his duty to expose the violators by evasion, and therefore the worse, because the fraudulent violators of the law.'

Lord Brougham finally withdrew his motion. In the course of the debate he took the opportunity of lifting from the brow of Lord Glenelg the laurel which his lordship, with singular complacency, had assumed, and generously gave the credit of having accomplished the abolition of the cruel system, to those who had laboured upon the highest principles, and with a resolution to which it was owing entirely, that Government had taken any steps towards redressing the wrongs of the apprentice, or enforcing the provisions of the Act of 1833.

We have thus endeavoured, with as much brevity as we deemed consistent with the importance of the subject, to place the present position of the great question of Negro Emancipation before the readers of this journal, and we must now hasten to conclude an article which has already extended itself beyond the limits of the space assigned us. Our duty, however, requires that we call upon every friend of liberty to continue at his post. The present posture of affairs demands wakefulness and foresight. The good obtained must be secured. The evil threatened must be averted. Such laws as the one recently passed in St. Vincent must be exposed and condemned. The Colonial Office, somewhat roused, must be quickened and kept alive by the unceasing activity of the Anti-slavery Societies of the country. Though there may be now less need for declamation, there is unquestionably far greater necessity than ever for the exercise of all the legal acuteness and deliberative talent, which are to be found amongst the promoters of colonial reform. Attention must be turned to the laws of every colony in which emancipation is about to take place, and a vigorous and well directed effort must be made to effect an entire revision of their codes. We rejoice to perceive that the two London Committees are impressed with the importance of this business. Believing that it is the intention of the planters to reduce the emancipated negroes to the condition of serfs, and to establish a system of magisterial despotism through the means of vagrancy and emigration laws, contracts for labour,

police regulations, &c., &c., 'they recommend the appointment 'of a competent and impartial tribunal in this country, with a view 'to the immediate inspection of all laws proposed to be passed as 'accompaniments to the Abolition of Negro apprenticeship:—the 'complete revision of all colonial laws affecting the constitutional 'rights and privileges of the coloured classes; and the final esta-'blishment of such just and equal principles of government, as 'shall be authoritative and binding on all future colonial legis-'lation.'

If these things be done, and the efforts of the friends of personal freedom be seconded by enlarged and liberal plans of usefulness on the part of the friends of education and religion, we see no reason to doubt that in a few years the British colonies in the West Indies will be found peopled by communities as free, and prosperous, and happy, as any on the face of the earth. Then will be realized the promises annexed to obedience—when every yoke is broken, and every burden is undone—when the finger of scorn is no longer put forth, and men speak truth instead of vanity and lies—then shall the light break forth as the morning, and the darkness be as the noon-day. Then shall the old waste places be built, the foundations of many generations be raised up, and our righteousness shall be before us, and the glory of the Lord shall bring up the rear.

We had intended to refer to the probable effects of emancipation upon the question of slavery in the United States and elsewhere; to the revival of the slave-trade by Messrs. Gladstone and Co.; and to the success which has attended the exposure of the execrable traffic in Hill Coolies; also to the extent and character of the African slave-trade at the present time; but we are compelled to defer the consideration of these topics. We hope hereafter to give them due consideration, and in the mean time we rejoice with all who love truth and justice, in the issue of a struggle, upon which the historian will dwell as the noblest and brightest feature of the age in which we live.

J. HADDON, PRINTER, CASTLE STREET, FINSBURY, LONDON.

THE OPERATION

OF THE

APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM

IN THE

BRITISH COLONIES.

A STATEMENT,

THE SUBSTANCE OF WHICH WAS PRESENTED AND ADOPTED AT THE MEETING

OF THE

LIVERPOOL ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

DECEMBER 19th, 1837;

WITH REFERENCES TO OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS, AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES, AND ADDITIONAL SUBSEQUENT INFORMATION.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BEVAN,

One of the Secretaries of the Society.

1838.

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THE OPERATION

OF THE

APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM

IN THE

BRITISH COLONIES.

In calling the attention of the friends of the Negroes to their degraded and injurious condition, under the Act passed by the British Parliament in the year 1833, and which took effect on the First of August, 1834, intituled, "*An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies;—for promotiny the industry of the Manumitted Slaves;—and for compensating the Persons hitherto entitled to the services of such Slaves;*"—the following Abstract is submitted of the leading facts connected with the working of that measure. These are found on record, in parliamentry reports and official documents, and are corroborated by the testimony of credible eye witnesses.

I.—The Provisions of the Imperial Act, as avowed and expounded, by the Administration from whom it emanated.

When the Bill was brought into the House of Commons, by Mr. (now Lord) Stanley, he declared its purport to be as follows:—

"That from, and after, the first day of August, 1834, SLAVERY SHALL BE, AND IS, UTTERLY ABOLISHED, and declared unlawful, throughout the British Colonies, plantations, and possessions;—

and that the *power of the whip,* as a stimulant to labour, *shall cease;* that *females shall not be flogged;* that neither master nor local magistrate, but only special magistrates, shall inflict punishment; that the allowances hitherto granted by law shall be continued; that the Negro shall be liable to work for his master for a certain number of hours each week; but that, subject to this obligation only, HE SHALL BE FREE;—that no part of the money (that is, of the Twenty Millions,) shall be paid, until adequate and satisfactory provision has been made for carrying these principles into effect;—and, finally, that the Act, in principle, is irrevocable; it cannot be altered at all, till the alterations have received the assent of his Majesty, nor *unless the alterations accomplish the objects of the Bill as fully as the Bill itself.*"—"I propose, then," he said, "that every slave, on the passing of this Act, shall forthwith have the power of claiming to be put in a situation, in which he shall enjoy all the privileges of a free man,—in which he shall feel no taint of his servile condition,—in which he shall be freed from the atrocious system of irresponsible corporeal punishment, —in which he shall have the full enjoyment of his domestic ties, —in which he shall not be compelled to see those that are nearest and dearest to him insulted by punishment, or liable to degradation,—in which his evidence shall not be disputable in a court of justice,—in which his right to property of every description shall be as undisputed as every other class of the King's subjects,—in which he shall enjoy *every right and every privilege of* A FREE MAN, subject to this restriction, and this restriction only, that he shall, for a certain time, remain under contract to labour industriously in the service of his present owner, but his then employer."

Notwithstanding this explicit avowal, and although the conditions of the contract have been, in every respect, fulfilled by the British Government, and those required of the Negroes have been performed in the most exemplary manner;—the conditions required of the Colonists have been, and continue to be, in the majority of cases, violated. The *Twenty Millions* sterling has been freely and honorably paid; but adequate and satisfactory provision for carrying into effect the design of the measure, has not been furnished.

II.—The Perversions of the Act by the Colonial Legislatures.

Preparatory to the payment of the Twenty Millions, the Orders in Council declared that such provision had been made; and Mr. Stanley, on the part of the West Indians,

assured the House, that they would heartily and sincerely concur in carrying out the intentions of the British people and Parliament. Lord Glenelg, in his despatch of the 13th June, 1835, reminds Lord Sligo, that—

"Between his Majesty, the British Parliament, and the people of Great Britain, on the one hand, and the persons entitled to the services of the manumitted slaves on the other, there may, with little impropriety of language, be said to exist a solemn compact; to the faithful performance of which, either party is bound by the most solemn obligations. If, on the one hand, the payment of the compensation money is the inevitable duty of this country; it is no less clearly due from the Colonial Legislatures, that they should strictly adhere to every one essential or valuable provision of those laws, which have been accepted by his Majesty as an 'adequate and satisfactory' performance of the condition which Parliament imposed upon them, at the time of making the grant. For the Council and Assembly to retract any part of the offer, deliberately made by themselves, and on the footing of which their right to participate in the compensation fund was established, would be an infringement of the original compact, to which his Majesty could never assent." Parliamentary Papers, part 2; 278. 1. 1833-5. Page 14.

In his despatch to Sir Lionel Smith, bearing date 10th June, 1835, Lord Glenelg declares:— Parliamentary Papers, part 2; 278. 1. 1833-5. Page 85.

"It is not merely the general principle of the law, and the Constitution of the British empire, but *the express language of that particular statute*, which declares any Colonial enactment 'null, void, and of no effect,' which is at variance with what the Imperial Legislature has prescribed."

In the first instance, the principles of the British Act, were formally recognised by the General Acts of the Local Assemblies, and Councils, some of which preserved, in great measure, its phraseology; but, by the manifold repugnances of subsequent statutes, its spirit has been destroyed. By them, the purchased rights of the apprentices have been iniquitously infringed, to such an extent, that the present Governor of Jamaica, in his last Message, affirms, that "the Island is subject to the reproach, that the Negroes, in some respects, are now in a worse condition than they were in slavery." Into the details of these measures, an inquiry will be hereafter instituted; suffice it to say, that without the approving sanction of the Home Government, they could not have been put in force. Dated Nov. 11th, 1837.

III.—The Instrumentality of Special Justices, for the purpose of carrying the Provisions of the Imperial Act into effect;—the Impropriety of Magisterial Appointments;—and the Impracticability of a due Administration of the Law, "according to the Spirit of the Act."

To ensure the due execution of the Law, and the confidence and prosperity of the Apprentices, *Stipendiary Magistrates* were provided, to whom, and not to the Masters and Local Magistrates, the administration of the "Abolition Act" should be entrusted. The injudicious consignment of this authority to unqualified persons has been pregnant with mischief. Of those who were sent from this country, some have been utterly ignorant of the peculiar dialect, of the local circumstances, of the cherished habits, and of the relative position, of the Apprentices; others, from their previous occupation, have found no difficulty in entering into the sympathies and confidence of the Masters, and their inferiors; till, submitting to the influence easily possessed over them, they have tacitly combined with the oppressors in acts of unblushing and flagrant violence; whilst others, by a course of intemperance, have proved themselves unable to administer justice, and unworthy of their office, till their career has been closed in premature death: and, among others appointed in the Colonies, many have been, either directly or indirectly, interested in the labour of the Negroes.

There are, however, conscientious men in the commission, but they are so beset with difficulties in the colonial enactments, and with opposition from the Colonists, that their best-intentioned efforts repeatedly fail. "It is utterly impossible for any Special Magistrate," observes a gentleman intimately connected with this part of the system, "whatever be his qualifications or powers of endurance, to perform his duties faithfully, without incurring obloquy, persecution, and even personal danger at the hands of the great bulk of the planters within his circle. Many are willing, but none are able. It is a system of compromise from end to end, in which principle is sacrificed to expediency, and the strong are conciliated at the expense of the weak;—the independence of the magistracy is annihilated; it is no longer

safe to be honest." A. H. Beaumont, Esq., a resident for thirty years in Jamaica, and for four years a member of the House of Assembly, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, says, that the system of apprenticeship—

"Has decidedly worked badly, very badly, *because* the special magistrates are entirely dependent upon the overseers or managers. Society, and its relations, in Jamaica, are very differently constituted to what they are in this country. A special magistrate there, is dependent upon the overseer in the vicinity of the property in which he resides, for all the comforts, and, in many instances, for the absolute necessaries of life. If, for instance, a special magistrate is sent for to any estate several miles from the town where he resides; on his arrival at the estate where he is to adjudicate between the parties, manager and slave, he is indebted to the overseer, one of these parties, for the refreshment he receives, for there are very few inns in that part of the world; he is indebted to him for corn for his horse, for every man uses his own horse, there being no stage coaches, and for every comfort he receives; and it is in the power of the overseer to make him excessively uncomfortable. But the fact is, that they do make the special magistrate very comfortable, and, to all intents and purposes, the special magistrate often becomes, in his feelings and opinions, a planter. I have heard overseers say, they like the new system well, because under the old system they had the responsibility of flogging; but that it is much better now, 'for instead of a black driver,' as one of them said, 'we have got a white one, and he answers the purpose quite as well.' And I do not believe that the quantity of human suffering has decreased, and that I declare most solemnly, by the adoption of the apprenticeship."

Report of Committee, 1836: Page 353—No. 3993.

If, as in the case of Dr. Palmer, the plain meaning of the British Act is adopted, and justice is dispensed accordingly, the functionary is subjected to the contempt and hatred of his brethren in the judicial commission, and to the rage and annoyance of the Colonists; if, indeed, his fidelity do not issue in his degradation from the bench. The Report of the Commissioners appointed to investigate the official conduct of that gentleman, concludes with this extraordinary sentence:—

"Having been called upon to report, and give an opinion, on the administration of the law by the special justices of Saint-Thomas-in-the-Vale, we must observe, that we consider Special Justice Palmer has administered *the Abolition Law in the spirit of the English Abolition Act;* that in his administration of the

Printed Report.

law, he has adapted it rather to the comprehension of free men, than to the understanding of apprenticed labourers; and that the present state of Saint-Thomas-in-the-Vale is to be attributed to such a mode of administration of the Abolition Law.

"Given under our hands, at Spanish Town, this 22d day of October, 1836.

"JAMES GEDDES, Chairman.
"CHARLES STEWART.
"WILLIAM F. MARLTON, Special Justice.
"HENRY WALSH, Special Justice."

The Commissioners, thus *unanimously affixing their signatures* to this remarkable charge, prepared the way for Dr. Palmer's suspension by the Governor, and his ultimate discharge under the direction of Lord Glenelg. It cannot be disguised, that, though the plea for his suspension was "perverse conduct in the administration of the law," he was sacrificed to appease the clamour, and obtain the good will, of the planters. He was *convicted of the crime* of explaining the reasons of his decisions according to the principles avowed by the British Parliament, and was *condemned as guilty* of "*Administering the Abolition Law, according to the Spirit of the English Abolition Act.*"

On the other hand, those who have been removed on account of an opposite course, who have become notorious for their partiality and violence, have been the favourites of the masters. The strongest and most eulogistic expressions of sympathy have been tendered to them; and subscriptions have been raised, by public advertisement, for the purchase of some tribute of gratitude, in return for their kindness to the oppressors, in the administration of the law, *not* according to the version of Dr. Palmer, which was in harmony with "*the spirit of the English Abolition Act.*"

Report of Commons Committee, 1836: Page 355—No. 3997.

"I believe this," says Mr. Beaumont, in his examination before the Committee, "that it is impossible for any man, however pure and virtuous he may be, leaving this country to go to Jamaica, and perform the duties of a Special Magistrate there, for twelve months, without suffering one of the two things, either becoming, to all intents and purposes, in his feelings, a planter, or else quarrelling with the planters."

Encouraged by their successful attempt on Dr. Palmer and others, they are engaged in further plots against unpopular magistrates; whilst it has been matter of constant

complaint, that no sufficient protection is afforded those, who, in the exercise of their authority, persist in endeavouring to do justice, as well to the apprentice as to the employer. Lord Glenelg, in a despatch to Lord Sligo, of the 11th of April, 1836, conveys the following instruction:—

"You will transmit to the Council, and to the Assembly, messages suggesting to each of those bodies the propriety of considering, with reference to the actions lately brought against the Special Magistrates, *the necessity of some more effectual provision for protecting those officers in the faithful discharge of their duty.*" Report Commons Committee, 1836: Appendix, p. 237, No. 24.

The Committee of the House of Commons, in bringing up their report on the 13th of August, 1836, take especial notice of this evil:—

"To the principle involved in this objection, your Committee attach the *utmost* importance. They are of opinion, that the beneficial working of the present system, and the full protection of the rights of the apprentices, depend *even more* upon the *administration* of the law, than on the *provisions* of the law itself. They consider it of the greatest consequence, that the independence of the Special Magistrates, in the discharge of their duty, should be effectually maintained; and that, while they are subject to a vigilant superintendence on the part of the Executive Government, they should not be exposed to any well-founded apprehension of a want of due protection against vexatious prosecutions." Report of Commons Committee 1836: Page 5.

After these recommendations, some alteration might have been anticipated; but it was found by Joseph Sturge, Esq., during his recent visit to the West Indies, that it had not been made.

It has also been attempted to render nugatory the efforts of Special Magistrates by police laws, and the establishment over them of an extended jurisdiction by the Court of Quarter Sessions. In reference to the former, Lord Aberdeen comments upon a Barbadoes Act, in his despatch to Sir Lionel Smith, of the 10th of January, 1835.

"The Rural Police Act, I regret to observe, presents difficulties of an insuperable character. Under the name of Commissioners, it transfers to the members of the House of Assembly, one of the most important functions of the Executive Government. The police, of which the Assembly claim the government to themselves, are to give effect to the law for the abolition of slavery. Parliament gave and received the most distinct pledges, that the execution of the new system should be confided to those who had no Parliamentary Papers, part 2; 278. 1. 1833–5. Page 75.

personal connexion with slavery or apprenticeship. To enable His Majesty's Government to fulfil that pledge, the people of this kingdom, by their representatives, cheerfully subjected themselves to a large annual expenditure. But *this Act would entirely reverse that policy.* Leaving the Special Magistrate to be named by the Crown, it places him, and the police, through whose ministry he must act, under the immediate direction and control of a body of gentlemen, every one of whom, in his individual capacity, will probably, as an employer of apprentices, be amenable to those magistrates, and to that police. The Assembly, by virtue of their majority in the Commission, acquire for themselves a legislative power, from all participation in which His Majesty is excluded, and over which no effective check can be exercised, even by the Council."

Lord Glenelg refers to the latter in his despatch to Lord Sligo of the 13th of June, 1835.

Parliamentary Papers, part 2; 278. I. 1833–5. Page 14.

"I perceive it is enacted, that the Courts of Quarter Sessions may take cognizance of offences committed by apprenticed labourers, in the same manner as in cases of free persons. The general rule I apprehend to be, that every misdemeanour committed by free persons, is cognizable at the Quarter Sessions. If the intention be to render the apprentices amenable to the same tribunals for every misdemeanour they may commit, then, as every disobedience to the statute law, under which they are placed, is an offence of that character, the Quarter Sessions, or, in other terms, *the local Magistracy, will indirectly acquire that jurisdiction, which has been studiously withholden from them by Parliament.*"

By means such as these, have endeavours been made to render the Special Justices (appointed to secure the rights of the apprentices) subservient to the will of the planters, attorneys, and overseers; or, by some legislative provision, to supersede their authority, and set their judgments aside.

IV.—The Failure of Equitable and Humane Efforts of Local Governors.

Where Colonial authority has interposed to prevent the cruelty that has been perpetrated, it has been met with opposition; or by attempts, too successfully made, to secure the removal of the obnoxious party. In one of the despatches of Sir Lionel Smith from Barbadoes, dated May 1, 1834, speaking of a message he sent down to the House of Assembly on the flogging of slaves, in which he recom-

mends the abolishing of such a power by owners, or employers, in anticipation of the system which was to commen on the 1st of August, and the confining of that power to magistrates only, he says to Mr. Secretary Spring Rice,—

"I enclose you the reply of the House to my recommendation, from which you will perceive that there is little chance of their attending to it." Parliamentary Papers, part 2; 278. 1. 1833-5. Page 69.

In another, dated 26th of August, 1834, he says,—

"The Police Bill was deferred till the eleventh hour, purposely, I believe, to force my assent." Idem, page 75.

In the examination of Mr. Robert Russell before the Committee of the House of Commons, as the confidential clerk of the Governor, he was asked,

"Was the Governor enabled, by law, to put an end to the system of the corporeal punishment of females in the workhouses?" He replied, "No, he was not; one reason assigned for its continuance was, that the Gaol Act, and the Act for building Houses of Correction and Gaols, gave the power to the *Local Justices* to frame such rules and regulations for the government of prisons, as *they thought fit.*" Report Commons Committee, 1836: Page 443—No. 5223.

"By whom was the punishment directed?" "By the Custodes and Justices of the parishes."

"Was it in an official communication made to the Government, which came to your knowledge, that this was stated?" "Yes."

In an address to the House of Assembly, Lord Sligo reproves their neglect of his recommendations. Date, February, 1836.

"The very extraordinary nature of the message I have received from the House of Assembly, compels me to point out to the Legislature of Jamaica, the position in which the conduct of one of its branches has placed the Colony; to that branch, therefore, must I more particularly address myself, while I review its proceedings during the present Session,—while I point out what *disposition* it has evinced to meet the wishes of the Mother Country. Two messages I have recently sent down, on the subject of the Police Bill, and the Act in aid, have placed my views of the manner in which these two measures have been treated in the Assembly, in too clear a light to require more than a very few remarks. I pressed on you the establishment of more Courts of Assize, so strongly recommended by the presentment of the Grand Jury. *You took no notice of it.* A revision of the laws affecting the discipline of the gaols, and other places of confinement, was recommended to you. *All these subjects have remained unnoticed.*

THE WHIPPING OF FEMALES, *you were informed by me, officially,* WAS IN PRACTICE; and I called upon you to make enactments to put an end to conduct *so repugnant to humanity, and so* CONTRARY TO LAW. So far from passing an Act to prevent the recurrence of such cruelty, *you have in no way expressed your disapprobation of it.* I communicated to you my opinion, and that of the Secretary of State, of the *injustice of cutting off the hair of females* in the House of Correction, previous to trial. *You have paid no attention to the subject.* I informed the House, that in the question of the British Government, the taxation imposed, by the local authorities, *on the property* of *apprentices* was *quite illegal. You totally disregarded this suggestion.* I sent you down no less than *four messages on the subject* of an extended system *of education;*—as no measure on the subject has emanated from the House, can I do otherwise than conclude, that *you are indifferent to it?* I informed you that £25,000 sterling had been voted, by England, for the support of education in the Colonies, with the promise of still further assistance being afforded; and *you have taken no steps to make it available.* I transmitted to you despatches of the Secretary of State, recommending the repeal of the 33d canon, with a view to increase religious instruction in the Colony. *You have not attended to the recommendation.* I recommended to you the introduction of an Emigration Bill. I pointed out to you the injury done to the poorer classes of the claimants for compensation, by the schemes of interested persons. I communicated to you the circumstances arising out of your own decision, relating to the Police Bill. *You have taken no notice of it.*"

Sturge's Journal: Page 170.

The noble Marquis, subsequently to his departure from the Colony, has been loaded with opprobrium by the local functionaries; accusations of calumny and falsehood have been unsparingly heaped upon him; and, in a debate in the House of Assembly on the 9th of February, 1837, he was made the subject of a violent attack, was "described as the calamity of Jamaica, and threatened with impeachment."

Idem, page 188.

Thus are the benevolent endeavours of the faithful representative of Britain's chief magistrate set at nought, by the contumacious defiance of a local legislature.

V.—THE INEFFICIENCY OF THE INTERFERENCE OF THE HOME GOVERNMENT.

In many cases this interference has only extended to suggestions or recommendations to the Colonial Assemblies;

whereas the Government of England undertook the charge of responsible control. The laws passed in those Houses have been so constructed, that it has not been easy to detect the covert design to perpetuate abuses, under the name and pretensions of remedial measures. In the examination of A. H. Beaumont, Esq., he was asked,

"You do not think the security which is afforded, by the power of the Executive, and of the Government at home, is sufficient?" "No. For the reason I have given. A clause may appear, to persons that are not acquainted with local circumstances, to be highly expedient, which may be extremely tyrannical."

Report Commons Committee, 1836: Page 376—No. 4303.

This gentleman's long residence in the island, his occupation as a planter, and his experience as a member of the Assembly, entitle his evidence on this matter to some consideration; while the appalling history of the Colonies, under the operation of the system, yields ample confirmation of its truth. Lord Sligo represented to the Colonial Office that the whipping of females was continued under gaol acts; as he says, in a letter to Joseph Sturge, Esq.,—

"I mentioned to you, that I had sent home certainly above 30 cases of females flogged in the Houses of Correction, and you can see them all in a House of Lords' Book, No. 232. You will see each case specified in it. It was proved, in more than one instance, that this flogging, which took place in St. Catherine's workhouse, was by direction of Mr. Charles Gordon, a magistrate. When a new commission was issued, in consequence of a new Custos being appointed to St. Catherine's parish, I desired the Custos to strike out Mr. Charles Gordon's name, and not to allow him to qualify. He has become a magistrate since, and I mentioned the matter to the Colonial Office. Whether he has been struck out or not, I don't know. All this you may mention as having been communicated *by me* to you."

Alluding to several reports of this inhuman outrage, Lord Glenelg thus conveys his instructions to the Noble Marquis, in his despatch of the 28th June, 1836:—

"*If* the law of Jamaica *really authorises* this practice of whipping females on the treadmill; or *if* any *reasonable doubt* exists respecting its *legality*, there is the most urgent cause for the interference of the *Legislature*. Unfortunately, this is not a solitary or insulated occurrence. Your Lordship has, on several occasions, adverted to the *prevalence* of the same custom. You will, therefore, *signify* to the Council and Assembly of Jamaica, his

Parliamentary Papers, part 3; 166. 1. 1836. Page 370.

Majesty's *wish*, that they should consider *how far* the law demands *amendment*, or *requires explanation*, in order to protect the female prisoners from this disgraceful and humiliating mode of punishment. It is really necessary that some effectual measures should be taken for the *entire suppression* of a practice so justly repulsive to the feelings of society at large, and so strongly stigmatised by the *recorded votes* and deliberations of both Houses of Parliament."

How this *wish* was *considered*, the subsequent *proceedings* in the houses of correction testify, where this indecent cruelty is still perpetrated.

In his despatch of the 17th August, 1835, after a lengthened statement of the bad effects of the eight-hours' system, and a strong expression of his own convictions on the matter, Lord Sligo proceeds:—

Parliamentary Papers, part 3; 166. 1. 1836. Page 71.

"Much may depend on the line which may be adopted by *the Government* with regard to the eight hours' system. I cannot help saying, that the minds of the Negroes would be by far more satisfield, if the nine hours' system were adopted; but finding that I cannot by law enforce it, I deem it a duty to seek your instructions on what I deem so important a point."

Lord Glenelg, in reply, says, in his despatch, 5th October, 1835,—

Parliamentary Papers, part 3; 166. 1. 1836. Page 73.

"A *recommendation* to secure to the labourers, for the cultivation of their provision grounds, the afternoon of every Friday, *might* be addressed to the Council and Assembly; and the *responsibilty of rejecting* that salutary proposal *might*, in that manner, be thrown upon them: but I am strongly opposed to proceedings of this nature, except on the most urgent and serious occasions. Enough, and, in truth, far more than enough, has already occurred, to induce the Negro population to draw invidious distinctions between the *disposition towards them by the Executive Government* on the one hand, and *of the local Legislature* on the other; and however inevitable may have been the causes which have compelled the Ministers of the Crown, or the Governors of the island, to provoke this unfortunate contrast, it is obviously pregnant with many great evils.—I, *therefore*, think it more wise, to *acquiesce silently* in the inconvenience which the refusal of the half Friday in every week may occasion, than to enter into a contest for the redress of the evil, with a distinct conviction, that though there is no prospect of success, there is a high probability of widening the breach, which it is my duty, as far as possible, to close."

In a letter read to a public meeting, by Joseph Sturge, Esq., from the Marquis of Sligo,

"His Lordship said, that he disapproved of what was doing in Jamaica;—*that laws were passed, and not disallowed,* which, in his opinion, infringed strongly on the Abolition Law; that he had represented these facts to the Colonial Office, and had not yet found out that *the slightest notice* had been taken of them. He had no wish to injure his party,—but he had a stronger party feeling for the poor blacks, whom he had tried to elevate in the scale of human nature; but he was, he confessed, to use a vulgar phrase, sick, sore, and sorry, to see all his efforts upset."

"The late Governor, the Marquis of Sligo," says Mr. Sturge, "after he had become acquainted with the oppressions to which the Negroes were subjected, endeavoured, with great firmness and magnanimity, to protect them in the enjoyment of their rights. He experienced *far less* difficulty from the turbulent *violence of the Colonists,* than from the *apathy or concealed hostility of the Colonial Office,* which subsequently led to his resignation of the Government." Sturge's Journal: Page 370.

So then, the Home Government pleads for its inaction, the utter hopelessness of attempting any intervention, and the danger of affronting those who have broken faith by an utter disregard of the solemn assurances they gave, to the Parliament and nation, that they would heartily and sincerely concur in carrying out the intentions of the British Legislature: while the Colonists, on the other hand, plead in defence of the repugnancy of their enactments to those very intentions, the continued tacit approval of the Government of the mother country. By this course of reciprocal evasion and jugglery, all hope is precluded of any amelioration in the condition of the negro, so long as a single relic of the present system is preserved.

VI.—The Practical Evils existing, in defiance of the Provisions of the Imperial Act:—

The co-operation of the causes now enumerated, has produced the most mischievous and afflictive results; and, in the language of Sir L. Smith, has, "in many instances, provoked *more severity and harshness towards the labourers than ever existed in slavery.*" Speech, 1st. Nov. 1836.

1. *It has been decided that defective registration of apprentices is no bar to the masters' claim.*

The 3d and 4th William IV. cap. 73, manumits at once, and unconditionally, persons not duly registered, in conformity with the laws of the several Colonies. The Chief

Bayley v. Ewart. Justice in Jamaica has adjudged that the omission of the triennial register, required under the Island Act, 57 Geo. III. cap. 15, is not a fatal defect; and pronounced the negro, whose registration was thus omitted in the registry of 1832, still in "*a servile condition.*"

Sturge's Journal: App. xxxvii.

"Should the attempt become general, to carry out this decision, and to re-enslave the few non-registered negroes who have recovered their liberty, the worst consequences may be expected to ensue; and, meanwhile, the precarious freedom which they enjoy, is nothing better than an unprivileged outlawry."

A question was proposed to A. H. Beaumont, Esq., on this subject:—

Report Commons Committee, 1836: Page 397—No. 4503.

"Do you mean to say, that there are a great many negroes unregistered, or a great many negro apprentices unregistered?" To which he replied, "I mean a great many negro apprentices unregistered, or else illegally registered: the Registry Act required, that they should be registered every three years; the first register commenced in 1817;—many were registered then, and were not regularly registered afterwards."

In a despatch, bearing date 5th of August, 1835, Lord Glenelg writes to Sir William Nicolay, Governor of the Mauritius,—

Parliamentary Papers, part 2; 278. 1. 1833–5. Page 214.

"I feel it my duty, with reference to this subject, to call your particular attention to the 1st and 12th clauses of the Act for the abolition of slavery; by which it is provided, that the apprenticeship shall be imposed only on those slaves who, on or before the time specified in the Act, are duly registered as slaves, according to the laws then in force in Mauritius. And that all slaves not duly registered as before-mentioned, shall be entitled to the unqualified enjoyment of their personal freedom on the 1st of February, 1835. It appears, moreover, that a claim has been made from Mauritius, and has been rejected by the Commissioners of Compensation, for including in the return of slaves, in respect of whom compensation was to be awarded, TWO THOUSAND, or thereabouts, admitted not to have been returned or registered. As these slaves come clearly within those clauses of the Act to which I have referred, and, consequently, could not be lawfully employed as apprenticed labourers from the 1st of February, 1835,—the day on which the Act came into operation in Mauritius,—I presume that you have already taken the necessary steps for declaring them absolutely free. You will, I trust, also have taken the same steps, with reference to any others who may not have been duly regis-

tered, as required by the Act. Should you have omitted this course, I have to convey to you the desire of His Majesty's Government, that you take immediate measures for carrying the provisions of the Act of Parliament, in the cases I have mentioned, into full effect."

Notwithstanding this mandate was issued in 1835, the country has yet to be informed whether or not it has been obeyed, in the exercise of justice to the negroes, in the first instance unlawfully imported, and, in this case, unlawfully retained in thraldom.

2. *The Classification of the Apprentices has been open to much abuse.*

The distinction between the classes of the predials and non-predials was supposed to be clearly and fully made:—"That no person of the age of twelve years and upwards, shall by, or by virtue of, any act of Assembly, ordinance, or order in Council, be included in either of the two classes of predial apprenticed labourers, unless such person shall, for twelve calendar months, at least, next before the passing of the Act, have been habitually employed in agriculture, or in the manufacture of Colonial produce." The House of Assembly in Jamaica neglected to pass any measure for carrying this provision into effect till very recently. Lord Glenelg, in his despatch of September 2, 1837, adverts to the "defectiveness of the original law of Jamaica in *omitting* to provide for any classification of apprentices." The delay was evidently calculated to admit of much intermediate oppression. In the same document he enters his objections to the "Act for the classification of Apprenticed Labourers," and says,—

Imperial Act, sec. iv.

No. 134.

"The criterion by which Parliament has thus determined who shall be predials, is *essentially different* from that which is given in the Act under consideration. The two are incompatible, and, in this respect, repugnant to each other. The consequence appears inevitable, that the Act of Assembly must be disallowed."

In commenting on an amendment of the Barbadoes Act, his Lordship observes, in his despatch dated 10th of June, 1835,—

"On the subject of the conversion of the non-predial into predial Apprentices, a considerable advance has been made, to obviate the objections raised by Mr. Spring Rice to the original Act. I fear, however, that the insuperable difficulty yet remains,

Parliamentary Papers, part 2; 278. 1. 1833-5. Page 85.

that any conversion of this nature, from one class to another, is inconsistent with the Act of Parliament."

Imperial Act, sec. v. and vi.

It is enacted, that the term of predial apprenticeship shall expire on the 1st of August, 1840; but "that no person, who by virtue of this act, or of any such act of Assembly, ordinance, or order in Council, as aforesaid, shall become a non-predial apprenticed labourer, shall continue in such apprenticeship beyond the 1st of August, 1838."

Parliamentary Papers, part 3 [2] Pages 100, 105.

Frequent attempts have been made to bring the non-predials into the class of predials, that the term of bonded labour might be extended to 1840. In Demerara and Berbice, all domestics on estates are classed as predials.

Journal, page 87.

"As we had reason to believe," says Mr. Sturge, "that, in many of the Colonies, the Apprentices had been fraudulently classified, we inquired of various persons, and find that all the plantation Negroes were returned by the valuers as *predial attached* labourers." He also records, that "Two of the Missionaries of the London Society informed him, that a local Magistrate, of Vere, observed, in their presence, that in that parish, they had *abolished* the distinction between predial and non-predial, by making all the Apprentices *predials*."

Journal, page 276.

3. *The manumission price now demanded is often exorbitant.*

Imperial Act, sec. viii.

It is "lawful for any apprenticed labourer to purchase his or her discharge from such apprenticeship, even without the consent, or in opposition, if necessary, to the will of the person or persons entitled to his or her services, upon payment, to such person or persons, of the appraised value of such services."

The provisions in the Colonies appear to fall very far short of the requirements made, in consequence of this part of the British Act. The House of Commons Committee report—

Report Commons Committee, 1836: Page iv.

"The defective constitution of the tribunal for the valuation of apprentices applying to purchase their freedom.—With reference to this objection, your Committee feel themselves bound to state, that a serious obstacle appears to have arisen to the fair and equitable operation of the process of compulsory manumission. It was clearly the intention of the British Parliament, that the apprentice should, by law, enjoy the right of having his services appraised at a *fair value,* at which he should be enabled to purchase his own freedom; nor can your Committee suppose that the intention of the Jamaica Legislature differed, in this respect,

from that of the British Parliament. They find, however, that *undue* and *excessive* valuations are alleged, on official authority, in many instances, to have occurred: and they cannot but attribute this evil, in a great measure, to the constitution of the tribunal to which the valuation is by law confided, and which appears to them to give an undue preponderance to colonial magistrates. Although no valuation can take place in which the special magistrate does not concur, it is equally true that *both, or either,* of the colonial magistrates may, by adhering to a higher appraisement than that which the special magistrate thinks just, *render the proceeding nugatory.*"

The question proposed to Sir George Grey,—

"Do you know, practically, whether the court always consists of one special and two local magistrates, or whether the practice has not, in some cases, been inverted?" Report Commons Committee, 1836: Page 472—No. 5567.

obtained this reply:—

"I think it consisted of one special magistrate, and one local magistrate, where they could agree without calling in a third; but that where there are three, *two* are *always* local magistrates."

In the same examination he further said—

"There is, most probably, a bias on the minds of colonial magistrates, which would not exist in the minds of disinterested persons. I have no doubt that the law is objectionable in theory, and this has been admitted in the correspondence that has taken place. There *might be a less partial* tribunal." Idem, No. 5568.

Lord Glenelg admits, in a despatch, 11th of July, 1836,

"The *prevalence* amongst some of the ordinary magistrates, of opinions and feelings on this subject, of which," he remarks, "I will only say, that they are incompatible with the proper and impartial discharge of the duty confided to them." Parliamentary Papers, part 3; 166. 1. 1836. Page 395.

The most extravagant prices have been put on apprenticed labour, by these "fair and impartial tribunals." Sir George Grey says, these

"Have been *unreasonable,*" and "*frequent.*" Report Commons Committee, 1836: Page 471—No. 5564.

Lord Glenelg writes,—

"It is impossible to advert to some of the more recent valuations, without admitting the conviction, that they have been greatly exaggerated beyond the real value of the services rendered." Parliamentary Papers, part 3: 166. 1. 1836. Page 395.

This has continued, notwithstanding Lord Sligo's representation had called for the condemnation of "the *habitual injustice* with which appraisements were made," on the part of the Earl of Aberdeen, in 1834. Parliamentary Papers, part 3; 166. 1. 1836. Page 29.

Lord Sligo, in his despatches of March 18th, and June 23d, 1836, furnishes reports of several cases of excessive valuations, from which the following three are selected:—

Parliamentary Papers, part 3; 166. 1. 1836. Pages 262 and 387.

Annotta Bay Court, 14th March, 1836.—Mary Allen, about 40, non-predial, valued for two years and five months, at the net sum of £48 6s. 8d.; the sum not paid; Apprentice said it was too much.

Note by the Marquis of Sligo.—I cannot but think this another instance of most extravagant valuation.

Buff Bay Court, 8th March, 1836.—Eleanor Williams, *alias* Eleanor Martin, aged 40, predial unattached, valued for four years and five months, £92 15s., deducting for contingencies, left the net sum awarded £61 16s. 8d.; the sum not paid; Apprentice said it was too much.

Note by the Marquis of Sligo.—I cannot think that a woman of 40 years of age, in this climate, having had six children, one of whom is only five months old, one who was *entitled to sit down* under the custom in the old slave time, if all of them were alive, can be worth £21 a year. I do not think that an able male negro, in general, is valued much higher. These high valuations, I think, are very unfair towards the apprentices.

PROTEST of Mr. Special Justice Gurley against the valuation of Sally Carty, a predial attached. Value, £77 5s.; deducting for contingencies, the nett award was £41 10s.

"I protest against this valuation in the *first* place, my Lord, as it has appeared, in evidence, that the woman is working in the second gang, that she has five children, and is now pregnant with the sixth. I protest against it, in the *second* place, because I am myself hiring a stout, able woman, without any incumbrance, for £16 per annum, without being liable for contingencies, such as clothing, medical attendance, &c. I protest against it, in the *third* place, because the remainder of the apprenticeship of 60 able hands, was purchased in this district, not long since, for £700. And, *lastly*, I protest against it, because the apprenticeship of Edward Mason was not valued at £10; although he is a far more able servant, according to the evidence, than Sally Carty."

Mr. E. B. Lyon, a magistrate in Jamaica, informed Joseph Sturge, Esq.,—

Sturge's Journal, page 278.

"That he had valued 160 apprentices since the commencement of the present system. He remarked, that in the *early part* of the apprenticeship, the valuation of predials by himself and the associated local magistrates, averaged *five* and *six* doubloons; now, for a *fraction of the term*, they are appraised at *nine* and *ten*. Do-

mestics were *then* valued at from *four* to *five* doubloons, who are now, for *the short remaining period* of their service, estimated at the *same rate.*"

Sir Lionel Smith, so recently as the 31st of October, 1837, says, that, "as the term of apprenticeship draws to a close, the demands for the sale of services have greatly increased." Ninth Message.

4. *Very inadequate provision is made for the comfortable maintenance of apprentices.*

The British act enforces the provision of sustenance as amply under the present system as during slavery. It requires "a supply of food, clothing, lodging, medical attendance, medicine, and such other maintenance and allowances, as by *any law* in force in the Colony (at the time of the passing of the act) to which such apprenticed labourer may belong, an owner is required to supply to and for any slave, being of the same age and sex as such apprenticed labourer shall be." And, if no such provision were made, or not adequately made, then such should be enacted by the Local Legislature, as might be necessary. This, in the case of Jamaica, is professedly recognized; but the important distinction is made between "*any law* in force in the Colony," and *one particular statute*, intituled, "An Act for the Government of Slaves now in this Island;" thus contracting the privileges of the apprentices. Imperial Act, sec. xi. Jamaica Act, sec. 21.

On this a quibble has been raised, with respect to the significance of the terms "allowance" and "indulgence;" by virtue of which many of the necessary auxiliaries to the negro's comfort have been taken away; since they have not been by *that* law allowed, however much general and long established custom has regulated their supply. Report Commons Committee, 1836: Page 25 et seq. No. 230—246.

"They were thus enumerated some time since, by the planters of the parish of Trelawney. 'A weekly allowance of herrings and salt cod-fish; also oatmeal, flour, sugar, rum, &c., and sundry articles of clothing, at crop over and Christmas, as rewards for good conduct; and to women, with six children, a weekly or daily allowance, according to their respective cases, of rice, sugar, &c.;' and this '&c,' has been practically understood to comprise the time allowed to mothers nursing, and the employment of a certain number of negroes, in cooking and preparing the labourers' meals; and, in short, most of those other conveniences which experience had proved to be indispensable." Report Commons Committee, 1836: Appendix, p. 13.

Sturge's Journal, page 282. App. xxviii. (Magisterial Report.) Sturge's Journal, pages 137, 361. App. xliii. xlvi. Sir L. Smith's Message, Oct. 31, 1837. Sturge's Journal, page 175.

Now, however, the supply of clothing is often lamentably and indecently deficient on many estates. Medical regulations are oppressive,—on some no medical attendance at all is afforded, and on others the negroes are called upon to pay for it. The allowances of field cooks, water carriers, and nurses have been discontinued, to the especial injury of mothers and children; and the salt and salt fish allowances have been withheld, and are purchased, at an exorbitant price, by the negroes. Of this Sir George Grey says, "I think it very injudicious." Accordant with which is the testimony of the Committee of the House of Commons:—

Report Commons Committee. Page vi.

"In connexion with this subject, your Committee would observe, that they have examined into the continuance of certain indulgences which were usually granted to the negro, when in a state of slavery, and which, it has been urged, are secured to him in the same manner as the other allowances, by the Imperial Act, during the period of apprenticeship. Although your Committee do not feel warranted in putting this construction upon the Act, yet they conceive, that it is to be regretted that these indulgences should in any case be withheld, as long as the apprentice works in a proper manner for his employer, during the time which he is bound to give him."

Without entering into the logomachy alluded to, no impartial man can suppose that it accords with the spirit of a measure remedially intended,—to deprive the negro, by any ambiguity of expression, of such provision, called either allowance or indulgence, as was held necessary or expedient for him in his former state. The vagueness of the letter may be adhered to, though the spirit of the Act, and the intention of its framers, is evaded.

In manifest violation of the law, an inadequate quantity of food is given. In proof of this, it is only necessary to cite the sections of divers Colonial Acts, as compared with the scale of allowances under the former system. In Demerara, Berbice, Tobago, Trinidad, Tortola, St. Vincents, St. Kitts, and other Colonies, they are less than half of what was enjoined by Slave Acts, in opposition to the Imperial Law, that they should continue the same, if adequate, and, if inadequate, should be amended.

In an order in Council, under Slavery, it was enacted, that—

Order in Council of Nov. 2, 1831.

"Every owner or manager who shall propose to maintain his slaves by an allowance of provisions, shall be bound to supply of

good, average, merchantable quality, sound, and fit for consumption, provisions to the amount, and of the kinds following, viz.:—Each and every slave above the age of *ten* years, shall receive, in each week, not less than 21 pints of the flour or meal of Guinea, or Indian corn — or 21 pints of wheat flour — or 56 full-grown plantains—or 56 pounds of cocoas or yams,—and also 7 herrings, or shads, or other salted provisions equal thereto."

Subjoined is a Schedule, appended to an order in Council, transmitted to Demerara and Berbice, for the regulation of allowances of food under the Abolition Law:—

Order in Council, 5th June, 1834. Parliamentary Papers, part 2, 1833–5. 278. 1. Page 142.

Description of Persons.	Salt Provisions.	Plantains.	Or other Farinaceous Food in lieu of Plantains.
Class 1. Males or Females above the age of 12 years,—	Three pounds of salt fish (cod,) or 4 pounds of herrings, mackerel, or shads, or 2 pounds of salt beef, or pork, or 4 pounds of fresh beef or pork, with half a pint of salt.	Two bunches of full-grown plantains, weighing at least 35 pounds *each*; if less, the deficiency to be made up, that is to say, the allowance not to be less than 70 pounds weight, without reference to bunches.	Twenty-five lbs. of yams or potatoes, or 20 pounds of eddoes or tanyahs, or 10 pints of wheat flour, or 10 pints of Indian corn, meal, or 10 pints of rice.
Class 2. Boys and Girls under the age of 12 years,—	One-half of the above.	One-half of the above.	One-half of the above.

In the Barbadoes Law it is enacted, that—

Barbadoes Act, sec. 27. Parliamentary Papers, part 2. 1833–5. 278. 1. Page 301.

"Each and every apprenticed labourer, above the age of 16 years, shall receive, in each week, not less than 30 pounds of plantains, potatoes, yams, or eddoes, or 10 pints of Guinea or Indian corn, and 1 pound of cod-fish or herrings, shads, or other pickled fish, or salted provisions, equal thereto; and every apprenticed labourer, from the age of 12 years to the age of 16 years, shall receive two-thirds of the above allowances of food; and every apprenticed labourer, from the age of 6 to the age of 12, shall receive the one-half of the first-mentioned allowances of food; and

children under 6 years of age, being apprenticed labourers, shall be provided with proper and sufficient food for their support."

In an order in Council, approving of the measures adopted for carrying into effect the Abolition Act, in the Mauritius, it is declared:—

Order in Council, 17th Sept., 1834, cap. iv. sec. 3. Parliamentary Papers, part 2, 1833–5. 278. 1. Page 372.

"Each and every apprenticed labourer, above the age of 10 years, shall receive, in each week, not less than 6 pints of wheaten or rye flour or rice, and 9 pints of corn meal or farine of manioc, or 7 pounds of biscuit, or 50 full-grown plantains, or 21 pounds of yams, or sweet cassada, or sweet potatoes, or eddoes, or tanyahs, and 3½ pounds of good salted cod-fish, commonly called salt fish; and to all apprenticed labourers under the age of 10 years, one-half of the above allowance."

The Tobago Act provides, that—

Tobago Act, sec. 12. Parliamentary Papers, part 2, 1833–5. 278. 2. Page 417.

"Each apprenticed labourer, above the age of 10 years, shall have a weekly allowance of 7 quarts of corn-meal, or five quarts of rice or flour, or 20 pounds of yams, or 25 pounds of sweet potatoes, or 30 pounds of full-grown plantains; and every apprenticed labourer below the age of 10 years, one-half of the above."

The Tortola Law enacts, that—

Tortola Act, sec. 32. Parliamentary Papers, part 2, 1833–5. 278. 2. Page 349.

"Every employer shall give to each of the predial apprenticed labourers, above the age of 12 years, 2 pounds of salted provisions, or 4 pounds of fresh fish, and 6 pints of corn, or beans or peas, or 4 pints of wheat or rye flour, or 6 pints of Indian corn meal, or 4 pounds of biscuit, or 20 pounds of yams, potatoes, or other esculent roots, or 15 pounds of plantains or bananas; and to each of the other predial apprentices such sufficient quantity, in the same proportion as the *employer shall think proper*, according to the different labour, size, strength, age, or otherwise, of such apprenticed labourers."

With such Laws in the hands of the Colonists, the case of the Apprentices, in many of the Islands, is truly deplorable; for instead of 21 pints of flour or rice, &c., there are only allowed at present, in some cases 10, in others 6, and in one only 4.

In the Colonies where provision grounds are allotted to the Apprentices, it was required, that—

Imperial Act, sec. xvi.

Grounds adequate in quantity and quality should be given; that due and sufficient time should be afforded for the cultivation, according to "the extent of such grounds," and "the distance at which they shall be from the ordinary place of the apprentices'

abode;" that "proper rules should be established for the prevention and punishment of any frauds that may be practised, or omissions which may occur;"—securing to the labourers the full benefit of the time for this purpose, in which their service is not, by law, due to their employers, and enjoining "exactness" in the computation of that time.

The provision grounds and markets lie, frequently, from one mile to three miles from the Apprentices' home, some ten, twelve, and even fifteen miles. The plan of working nine hours on the first four days of the week, and half that time on the Friday, has been recommended as best calculated to afford the Negro a fair opportunity of cultivating his grounds to advantage; but, by the introduction of another system of working eight hours on the first four days, and eight hour and a half on the fifth, this opportunity has not been afforded, as it divides his time into small portions, to his prejudice. In some cases, where the grounds lie at a distance from his dwelling, the time left is not sufficient for him even to go and return, and no allowance is made on this account. By this arrangement, he is in effect despoiled and cheated of this weekly period, and the "fraud," prohibited by the Imperial Act, is virtually committed upon him.

Lord Sligo's Despatch, 17th Aug., 1835. Parliamentary Papers, part 3, 1836, 166. 1. Page 71. Sturge's Journal, App. Page 1.

Lord Sligo, having found that the eight hours' system, which he at first recommended, was in this way injurious, endeavoured to obtain the universal adoption of the nine hours, by which the half Friday would be secured to the Apprentice; but Lord Glenelg "silently acquiesced in the inconvenience" occasioned by the former.

In his examination, Sir George Grey being asked respecting this matter, said,—

"A great many communications upon the subject have been received from Lord Sligo. It has been stated, that Lord Sligo himself was an advocate for the eight-hour system, and that he recommended that, in preference to the nine-hour system. To a certain extent this is true; but, in justice to Lord Sligo, I am bound to state, that he has exerted himself recently, within all the limits of his lawful authority, to establish the nine-hour system, in preference to the eight hours, contrary to the opinion he had himself originally entertained, of the latter being the most beneficial to all parties. He subsequently ascertained, that the negroes preferred the nine-hour system, and that very general complaints had arisen of the eight-hour system being adopted."

Report Commons Committee, 1836, Page 463. No. 5530.

Lord Glenelg, in his despatch, 5th October, 1835, expresses his opinion, that--

Parliamentary Papers, part 3, 1836. 166. 1. Page 73.

"It appears to be universally admitted, that the construction which would be most beneficial to the labourers themselves, is that which would exempt them from work, in their employers' service, on Friday afternoons."

In reply to this question,—

"Does Lord Sligo state, that if the employer wanted to get work done, the nine-hour system would be adopted; if he wanted to annoy the Negro, the eight-hour system?"

Sir George Grey said,—

"Yes, certainly; I do not mean to say, that Lord Sligo implies, in all cases, that it was done for that object, but he thought it was so in some cases, as he could discern no other reason."

His Lordship himself declares—

"The policy of the eight-hour system, I consider to be bad, and I do so after a *year's close watching* of the Negro character."

The Committee of the Commons House of Parliament report, that—

Report Commons Committee, 1836, page vi.

"It has been urged as an objection against the Jamaica law, that it contains no enactment to regulate the distribution of the time which the Apprentice is bound weekly to give to his employer. The result has been, the want of uniformity in the distribution of the legal time. Two systems are prevalent in Jamaica; the one termed the nine-hour system—the other is termed the eight-hour system. From the evidence which your Committee have received on this subject, there appears to be no doubt that the former system is very generally and decidedly preferred by the Apprentices, as it leaves them a larger portion of time, free from interruption, at their own disposal, for the cultivation of their grounds, or for any other purpose. Your Committee are convinced, that that system must prove most conducive to the interests of the employers, which will secure the most cheerful acquiescence on the part of the Apprentices."

This neglect is still continued, in utter disregard of the Imperial Act, which calls for the establishment of rules and regulations, to carry into effect the provisions of the 16th clause.

It must never be forgotten, in the case of all the Colonies, that, though their enactments are sanctioned by Colonial authority, or even by the Home Government, it is expressly provided,—

"That it shall not be lawful for any Governor, Council, or Assembly, or for any Local Legislatures, or *for His Majesty in Council,* by any Acts of Assembly, Ordinances, or Orders in Council, to make or establish any enactment, regulation, provision, rule, or order, which shall be, in any wise, repugnant or contradictory to this present Act, or any part thereof; but that every such enactment, regulation, rule, or order, shall be, and is, hereby declared to be absolutely null, void, and of no effect." Imperial Act, sec. xvi.

In the important article of the provision of maintenance, the *letter* of the Imperial Act is violated, and the promises of concurrence, by which the payment of the Twenty Millions was obtained, are broken;—since Laws are actually enforced in the British Colonies, which the Statute ordained for their regulation, absolutely declares to be "null and void."

5. *The recognised rights of the Apprentices are infringed.*

The Apprentices are not only hindered from an advantageous appropriation of their time, for cultivating their provision grounds; but "the paths leading from the huts, to the provision grounds, have been stopped." Lord Sligo, 13th Aug., 1834.

The labourer is not allowed to go beyond a certain boundary, except in some few special cases, without a pass,—but under fear of apprehension and punishment as a "*vagabond.*" Now, the draft order in Council, transmitted to Jamaica, provided, that the *employer or special justice* might grant the pass; in the local statute, this is *limited to the employer.* The former prescribes his boundary as that of the "*district;*" the latter substitutes for this the more contracted limit of the "*plantation.*" Jamaica Act, sec. 27. Parliamentary Papers, part 2, 1833–5. 278. 1. Page 273.

By means of the *Vagrancy Law,* attempts have been made on their liberty. The Attorney General holds, that this is inapplicable to the Apprentices; whereas, the Chief Justice has promulgated a different opinion from the bench on several occasions. Lord Glenelg, in reference to this question, writes to Sir Lionel Smith:— 32d Geo. III. cap. 2.

"I am not competent to weigh the conflicting opinions which may be offered as to the construction of the law; neither do I consider that it is material that such a point should be further discussed. It is sufficient for me to know, that the practical effect of the opinion entertained by the Chief Justice, is to ensure such an administration of the vagrancy law as it would be the object of His Majesty's Government to avoid." Despatch, 25th May, 1837. No. 99.

Mothers of six children, and aged persons, who were never required to work, previous to the present system, are called out to labour. Lord Sligo, in his despatch, bearing date 7th September, 1835, says,—

Parliamentary Papers, part 3.—No. 166. 1. 1836. Page 87.

"The proprietors have, *in many instances*, in the harshest manner, compelled poor and helpless males and females, sometimes with only one leg, and at others with only one arm, and all most feeble, to work in the field."

Report Commons Committee, 1836. Sir G. Grey, page 473.—No. 5572.

Idem, R. Matthews, Esq., App. page 241.

The state of the law respecting marriages, as bearing on prior usage, was such as to jeopardize the conjugal interests of many, the legality of whose marriage was not formerly disputed.

Glenelg's Despatch, 15th of March, 1836. Parliamentary Papers, part 3, 1836. 166 1. Page 12.

In reference to this evil, the House of Commons Committee report:—

Report Commons Committee, 1836, Page vii.

"Strong objections have been urged against the present state of the law with regard to marriages, which confines to clergymen of the Church of England the power of solemnising the marriage ceremony. It appears to your Committee to be of the utmost consequence, in such a state of society as now exists in Jamaica, that all ground for these complaints should be speedily and completely removed."

Jamaica Law, sec. 27.

Husbands and wives have not, in all cases, been allowed to enjoy a proper interchange of matrimonial rites, being unable, if resident on different plantations (in consequence of the law above cited), to visit each other. Joseph Sturge, Esq., says,—

Sturge's Journal, page 149.

"During our stay in Antigua, we met a gentleman from Barbadoes, who informed us that *he had thus punished* [*i. e.* with the tread-mill, on charge of trespass] husbands and wives residing on different estates, for visiting each other; observing, *that the law allowed* the magistrate *no discretion.*—Another, on being asked why he inflicted such a penalty? said, *the law was* IMPERATIVE."

Sturge's Journal, App. Page lxxxvii.

Mr. E. B. Lyon, in one of his magisterial reports, cites two cases, in which female apprentices, who had purchased their freedom, were forbidden to enter the houses of their husbands, unless they paid a weekly sum for their privilege. This peremptory command was given "*the moment their certificate of freedom was granted.*" The same Magistrate says, that "at Island Head Plantation, Robert Graham

purchased the remainder of his term, and was *immediately* ordered off the estate, and *forbidden to enter the house of his wife.*" This is the portion allotted to a free man; and this the condition of his wife, still an apprentice, concerning whom it is declared, by Mr. Stanley, that she "should have the *power of claiming* to be put in a situation, in which *(inter alia)* she should have the *full enjoyment of domestic ties.*" "A few weeks ago," continues Mr. Lyon, "he crept into the house of his wife. He is a Baptist, and they joined in prayer, and sung a hymn. His arrival was reported to the overseer, who instantly ordered the constables to watch the door, and apprehend him, which was done; but, by some means, he escaped and came to me. I trust, I have for a time, secured to him his domestic rights."—"My endeavour to protect the Apprentices in their civil rights, has created a considerable degree of irritation against me, among the Magistrates and Attorneys of the district generally."

In the case of pregnant women, and mothers suckling infants, the full amount of labour may be required, as no exception is, by law, made in any one respect on their behalf. And although Lord Sligo recommended, that mothers attending on their sick children, should not be compelled to pay back the time so occupied, yet this may be still demanded. Subjoined are the remarks of Mr. Jeremie, on the operation of the Act, in which the Apprentice may be compelled to work *penally for the benefit of the employer*, for a longer period than is necessary to indemnify him for the loss of time incurred by his absence.

Jamaica Act, sec. 22, 23.

"These clauses may be also made to apply most harshly in practice. A mother claiming the usual indulgence of half-an-hour, or even five minutes, to nurse her child, may be deprived of a whole day's labour; or, in other words, of nearly the whole time allowed her by law, for her own benefit during the week."

Report Commons Committee, 1836, App. page 2.

One female has given birth to a child in going out to her work; and another has been labouring on the tread-mill under the lash till within a few weeks of parturition. In one recent instance in the parish of St. Ann's, it is reported, that a female, for breaking a dozen plates, who "had been not long since confined with twins, was ordered to be *kept in the workhouse, with her two infants, on short allowance.* The latter part of the sentence was changed, however, at the intercession of a humane person."

Among the cases of flogging sent down to the Assembly, by Lord Sligo, which he forwarded also to the Colonial Office, is the following:—

Sligo's Despatch, 13th June, 1836. Parliamentary Papers, part 3, 1836. 166. 1. Page 380.

"*Falmouth, 20th June,* 1835.—Sarah Jarrett, and three other women, the same day.—Sarah Jarrett was brought to bed of a child, within a month after the punishment was inflicted."

Jamaica Act, sec. 13. Parliamentary Papers, part 2, 1833–5. 278. 1. Page 151.

The treatment of free-born children is also matter of complaint. The law provides, that if it be made to appear before any special Justice, that inadequate provision is made for a child, not being six years old, he shall be empowered to apprentice such child, to the master entitled to the services of its mother, till the age of 21; by which means, on increasing the destitution of the infant, by depriving the mother of opportunities of affording sufficient sustenance, the employer may obtain a long vested right in bonded service. This power is vested in the hands of ONE Special Magistrate.

By the most exemplary maternal solicitude and fidelity, the attempt has often been defeated; but where this solicitude has failed, and the failure has been concealed from the view of the estate officers, the sacrifice of life is unknown.

At one period, in Berbice, Demerara, &c., Sir J. Carmichael Smyth said.—

"It has been represented to me, that several Special Justices conceive that it will be their duty to cause all the free children of the apprenticed labourers to be bound Apprentices. I do hereby declare and make known, that all and every such compulsory proceedings, were they even legal, would be highly irritating and impolitic"—

Though this proclamation was made on the 16th August, 1834, he again says, in a government notice, 22nd January, 1835,—

Parliamentary Papers, part 2, 1833–5 278. 1. Page 172.

"The Lieut.-Governor has learned, with very considerable regret, that on three estates in district C., on five in district E., on four in district F., and on one in district B., the children under six years of age, are allowed neither the food, the clothing, nor the medical assistance to which they are entitled by law, previously to the 1st of August. The attorneys in charge of the estates, have taken a most erroneous view of what they have doubtless conceived to be, the interest of their employers. The miserable saving of the small quantity of plantains and salt fish which can be consumed by children of such tender years, ought never to have been put in

competition with the anger and discontent, which cannot but be generated in the minds of the parents of the infants alluded to. The labourers would rather see their children perish, than take any step which would throw them back again towards a state which (in their opinion) approximates to slavery.

"A great deal has been said, and a great deal has been written, relative to the propriety of importing free labourers. These young children on the estates, are free labourers, than whom no better can be procured. If treated with kindness, and trained with care, they will grow up an attached and a useful body of free labourers, to the great benefit of the estate on which they may have been brought up, as well as to the Colony in general."

The preamble of this part of the Imperial Act supposes *absolute destitution* on the part of the children, which is the only case that could justify a provision of this kind; whereas the Jamaica Act, though according with its letter, is at variance with its spirit, by the power it gives, in enacting such a provision where inadequate maintenance is made to appear to the view of the Special Justice.

In the apportioning of the Apprentices' time of labour during forty-five hours in the week, or forty-and-a-half in the home-fed estates, the *discretion of the Master* is the only guide. The Imperial Act requires, that "Exactness in the computation" of such time shall be secured. But this is defectively performed, and, by consequence, the labourer's hours of service are capriciously extended. The infraction of the Apprentice's time by mulcts, has been extensively practised, by which, in some instances, he is compelled to labour for fifty-one hours without ceasing. In crop time, this temptation is sometimes too great to be withstood.

Lord Sligo's Instructions to Special Magistrates. Report Commons Committee, 1836. App. page 232.

Report Commons Committee, 1836. page 509. No. 5864.

On these points the testimony of many eye-witnesses is concurrent.

Sir J. C. Smith. Parliamentary Papers, part 2, 1833-5. 278. 1. Page 172.

It has been, and still is, a cause of sincere regret to the friends both of the Employers and Apprentices, that such annoying and irritating practices should be permitted to exist.

Sturge's Journal. page 297.

Rev. J. Clarke's Letter to the Government Secretary. Vide Sturge's Journal, App. xl.

In some cases, the first Colonial Statutes gave the Master the power of compelling "the immediate and continued service" of the Apprentices, during any "emergency." The terms of this enactment were so vague, as to call for an amendment by the order of the Home Government. Accordingly there occurs, in the second Act, this explanation;—

Jamaica Act, 1, sec. 60.

"Whereas doubts have arisen as to the meaning of the words 'urgent necessity,' in the 60th Clause of the said Act, for removal

Jamaica Act, 2, sec. 10.

thereof, be it enacted, that such words shall be deemed and taken to mean, cases of hurricane, tempest, earthquake, flood, fire, *or other misfortune,* the act of God, and which could not have been prevented by previous due caution on the part of the employer."

Efforts have also been made to extend the term of bonded servitude. In the Imperial Act, by the unlimited power given to the Magistrates to punish offences by mulcts of time, the means is afforded of prolonging the retention of the services of the Apprentice, by the master, to any extent not greater than seven years, beyond the expiry of the present system in 1840.

An attempt has been made in the Mauritius, to perpetuate slavery by means of a Vagrancy Law. It is, however, satisfactory to know, that it has been disallowed. In one of its clauses it was to be enacted,—that every labourer who, under 60 years of age, should be unable to procure employment, should be sentenced to three months labour on the public works;—if, at the end of three months, he was unable to procure employment, he should be placed on some plantation, or in some manufactory, for the space of three years; and if, at the end of three years, he was still unable to find an employer, he should again be fixed in the same way for three years longer, and so on;—thus establishing a most oppressive and cruel system, which the masters would not find it difficult to work, when combining for the purpose. *The act passed the Local Legislature*, but, by the Home Government, has not been permitted to be put in force. Although the scheme was unsuccessful, yet its proposition and adoption in the Colony proves the subtle inveteracy of the evil which is still in existence, waiting and seeking for the opportunity of daring and direful operation.

Vide Appendix.

An order in Council was issued by Her Majesty in Council, shortly after her accession to the throne, granting to the Demerara Planters the right of importing "Hill Coolies" from the East Indies—and substituting for the permission to bind Apprentices for *three* years, the term of *five*.

Task-work is prohibited, unless by the full consent of the labourer. The scales for its regulation are too high, and their enforcement has led to much dispute between the Members of the House of Assembly,—the Employers and the Magistrates,—and the Officers of estates and Apprentices. It appears that they are sometimes compulsorily enforced, without the concurrence of the Special Magistrate.

Jamaica Assembly. Debate of Nov. 1st, 1837.

The payments for extra labour are very disproportionate and inadequate. Jobbers receive for eight hours' day-work, 2s. 6d.; Apprentices, for eight hours' night-work, some 8d., some, 1s., the highest, 1s. 4d.

One of the Witnesses before the Committee, said,—

"The work of any Negro belonging to a jobbing gang, was, at the very lowest, worth, at eight hours a day, 2s. 6d.; and if they were persuaded to give their labour for 1d. or 1½d. an hour, it was a fraud upon the Negro, for it is not half the worth of that portion of labour; or it was not more than half of what would be given to one of the jobbing gangs."

Report Commons Committee, 1836, page 359. No. 4063.

This was in many cases done.

Lord Sligo, in his despatch of the 18th July, 1835, apprizes the Colonial Office—

"It has reached my ears, that many of the managers have, in consequence of the facility with which this crop has been got off, and the seeming satisfaction of the Apprentices at the rates of wages hitherto paid them, come to a resolution of refusing the terms they have this year given, in the hopes of getting them to accede to cheaper terms."

Parliamentary Papers, part 2, 1833-5. No. 278. 1. Page 266.

Thus, through the advantages acquired by the vagueness of permissive enactments,—by evasions of the provisions of the Imperial Act,—by crafty impositions on the Apprentices, have endeavours been made to deprive them of their liberties; or so to induce their surrender, as to profit the Master, to their manifest injury.

6. *Unjustifiable punishments are inflicted on the Apprentices.*

The Imperial Act declares, that "neither Master nor Local Magistrates, but only Special Magistrates, shall inflict punishment." Notwithstanding this, they are, to a certain extent, arbitrarily and irresponsibly imposed by the Employers and their agents.

The Jamaica Act contains this proviso;—"Provided always, that if the attendance of a special Justice cannot be procured within twenty-four hours, it shall and *may be lawful* for the *Proprietor* or *Manager* aforesaid, to order the release of such Apprentice as aforesaid, after the expiration of twenty-four hours." The only provision here contained is *permissive;* and there is nothing to prevent confinement, in a dark dungeon, for a longer space of time, in this

Jamaica Act, sec. 39.

summary manner. That the possession of this power has been experimentally proved, it is only necessary to cite the Marquis of Sligo's own declaration, that—

"Frequent instances occur, of owners placing their Apprentices in confinement for twenty-four hours, or, indeed, in some cases, for a longer period, without any charge being brought against them; and these instances are often only discovered by accident."

The *Local Magistrates* claim a jurisdiction in the workhouses and gaols, and their power is not uselessly possessed. They have also interfered with the peculiar province of the Special Justices, so as to excite the attention of Sir L. Smith.

Circular, No. 1516, Nov. 10, 1837.

"His Excellency the Governor has observed, by *public advertisements*, that Justices who are not of the Special Commission, have frequently committed Apprentices to the house correction as deserters and vagrants, *contrary to the 21st clause of the Abolition Act*, which assigns exclusive jurisdiction over Apprentices to Special Justices of the Peace only."

As respects the power which is given to Special Magistrates, in their penal judgments, it is to be observed, that in several parts of the Local Acts, there is a great want of precision in the enumeration and classification of offences, and the punishments they involve. To cite one instance in Jamaica,—*an act of drunkenness*, at whatever time committed, whether in that claimed by the master or the labourer, is classed with *an act of wilful negligence, whereby property is damaged*, and the same penalty is attached to both.

Jamaica Act, sec. 28.

Jamaica Act, sec. 29.

Many of the punishments appear excessive. Two weeks' hard labour, or 39 stripes, may be awarded on the charge of *insolence*;—while no greater amount of punishment awaits an act of daring *insubordination*.

Barbadoes Act, sec. 104.

In Barbadoes, an Apprentice guilty of *uttering any slander*, may be condemned to hard labour three months, or to close confinement one month, and if a male, to 39 stripes; and no greater punishment attends his conviction of *an act of trespass*. Further,—an Apprentice being absent without leave, may be compelled to pay back to the employer two extra hours for every hour of absence, or punished with confinement and hard labour for three days, or by solitary confinement for the same period; and, on a second offence,

Barbadoes Act, sec. 58.

by a month's hard labour, or solitary confinement for a week, or, if a male, by 20 lashes.

It is also a cause of complaint, that in some of the enactments, the extent to which a penalty may be exacted, is not defined. The Jamaica Law contains a proviso,— that, in cases of indolence, or neglect, or improper performance of work, the Special Justice may sentence the offender, either alone, or in addition to flogging and hard labour,—to extra labour, for the benefit of the employer, for *any such number of hours or days*, as the justice of the case *may seem to require*, not exceeding fifteen hours in any one week. The second Jamaica Act enables any Special Justice to *substitute any given number of hours* of work on the tread-mill, in any House of Correction, or otherwise, for ANY *of the punishments imposed* by any act on Apprentices, as he, in *his discretion*, shall see fit.

Jamaica Act, sec. 44.

sec. 23.

Punishments of a very severe nature are in the hands of *one* Special Magistrate; as, for example,—that of hard labour for six months, or 50 lashes, for attempting to quit the Island. So is the clause, by which a mulct of fifteen hours per week may be awarded to the master, to be paid at *any time within seven years after the expiration of the apprenticeship*. Whether the penalty be proportionate to the degree of guilt or not, it is manifestly too great to lie within the power of any single individual.

Jamaica Act, sec. 36.

Jamaica Act, sec. 37.

Imperial Act, sec. 20.

Under the Jamaica Act, a gang convicted of the vague charge of indolence, or neglect, or improper performance of work, may, *each and all*, be sentenced to 50 lashes, if males, and if females, to three months' imprisonment and hard labour, or twenty days solitary confinement; and then, *in addition* to this, *to labour for any number of hours or days*, in their own time, for the benefit of the employer, as the Special Justice *may think proper*, not exceeding fifteen hours in any one week. There is *no preventive* against taking from the whole gang, the *entire of their time*, up to *the end* of the apprenticeship.

Jamaica Act, sec. 44.

In Barbadoes district D, during the month of December, 1836, the magistrate reported having mulcted 226 negroes in 2,200 days, as punishments for various offences.

Sturge's Journal: Appendix, page 26.

In the penal gangs, all are worked in chains; and the neck collar is put on females. The women are put to the tread-mill, as well as the men, where the work is severe. The effort to turn the wheel may be rendered extremely difficult, and its speed will then become very slow; or, it

Report Commons Committee, 1836: Page 442—No. 5192 et seq.

may be made exceedingly rapid, the speed being then immense;—and this varies according to the caprice of the supervisor, by whom the regulating lever is moved at pleasure. It is described by Mr. Sturge:—

Report of Birmingham Breakfast.

"Almost every one of these instruments of punishment is of a different construction. This was a cylinder, about ten feet in diameter, with broad steps. The hand-rail above it has eight pair of straps fastened to it, with which the hands of the prisoners are secured. The board under the hand-rail descends perpendicularly towards the wheel, and does not therefore afford the slightest protection to the prisoners in case of their hanging. The steps of the wheel project about twelve or fifteen inches beyond the board, and are bevelled at the edge, so that the keen side revolves much against the bodies, knees, and legs of the prisoners, with torturous effect." "It is an instrument of a dreadful kind, and one of the supervisors 'acknowledged, that it was so severe a punishment that it could not safely be inflicted more than two or three times a day.'"

Sturge's Journal: Page 190.

The system of flogging is continued, by legal enactment, among the men;—and, in the workhouse discipline, among the women. Under the Slave Law, 39 lashes was the maximum for domestic offences, for which, now, 50 may be given. The following list shews the punishments which may be inflicted under the Jamaica Laws:—

	Lashes.
Absence for two days in a fortnight	20
Refusing or neglecting labour	20
Wilful negligence—damaging property	20
Drunkenness—first offence	20
Frivolous complaints	20
Absence for three successive days	30
Wandering beyond plantation without leave	30
Absence for one week	39
Insolence	39
Keeping fire-arms, gunpowder, &c.	39
Insubordination	39
Drunkenness—second offence in the same month	40
Endangering property by careless use of fire	50
Ill use of cattle	50
Injuring property	50
Destroying property	50
Combined resistance	50
Riotous assemblage	50
Attempting to quit the Island	50
Indolence	50

	Lashes.
Neglect of work	50
Improper performance of work	50
Assisting Apprentice to quit the Island . .	50
Establishing a distinct community . . .	50
Inferior misdemeanors, whether against employers or any other persons	50

There are twelve offences, for which various punishments may be given of 20, 30, 39, 40 lashes, and thirteen for which 50 lashes can be inflicted.

The following is a SUMMARY OF PUNISHMENTS inflicted on the Apprenticed Labourers in the British Colonies: viz. in the first five Colonies, mentioned below, from the 1st of August, 1834, to the 31st of May, 1836, a period of 22 months; and, in the other Colonies, for the terms respectively specified. Compiled from Parliamentary Returns.

COLONY.	No. of apprenticed Labourers.	Number Punished.		Total.	By Flogging.	Average Number of Stripes.	Total Amount of Lashes.	Other Punishments.
		Males.	Females.					
Jamaica	260,000	35,536	22,881	58,417	10,770	22½	242,311	47,647
Barbadoes	69,000	9,030	8,120	18,050	2,466	14½	35,757	15,584
British Guiana.....	72,000	7,691	8,539	16,230	2,668	20	53,360	13,562
Grenada.....	21,500	2,667	2,195	4,862	399	20	7,980	4,463
St. Lucia.....	10,500	1,114	767	1,881	747	19	14,193	1,134
	433,000	56,938	42,502	99,440	17,050		353,601	82,390
St. Kitts (9 months)..	13,500	1,536	1,778	3,314	358	14	5,012	2,956
Nevis ditto	6,200	330	213	543	261	16½	4,356	282
St. Vincent ditto	19,300	2,021	1,861	3,882	476	22	10,472	3,406
Cape of Good Hope (for 12 months)....	....	814	326	1,140	—	—	—	—
Mauritius (13 months)	54,000	10,946	3,425	14,371	7,304	18½	131,472	7,067
Montserrat (18 ditto)..	5,000	904	602	1,566	346	19	6,574	1,220
Trinidad ditto....	16,800	1,900	1,563	3,463	1,050	18½	19,425	2,453
Honduras ditto....	1,650	79	100	179	33	27	891	146
Tortola (19 months)..	4,200	401	287	688	146	12½	1,825	542
Dominica (20 months)	12,000	1,271	894	2,165	716	28½	20,406	1,449
Tobago (21 months)..	9,800	1,511	952	2,463	636	12½	7,950	1,827
Bahamas (21 months)	10,200	632	467	1,099	161	7	1,127	938
	152,650	22,345	12,268	34,873	11,487		209,510	22,286
Grand Total ..	585,650	79,283	54,770	134,313	28,537		563,111	104,676

In reference to arbitrary punishment, in the houses of correction and workhouses, extracts from the communications of a Special Magistrate to the Marquis of Sligo, may be adduced. Mr. Baynes dates the first, Aylmers, St. John's, 29th June, 1836.

"Within these few weeks, the House of Correction has been opened for the reception of prisoners. I had ever observed and deprecated the savage and disgusting custom of putting the neck-collar on females, and have openly expressed my opinion thereon, long before the completion of the House of Correction. On my first visit to that Institution, your Excellency may judge of my surprise, at finding a miserable object, a female of middle age, committed by me as a runaway, whom I had *positively directed in my committal* to be exempted from all descriptions of labour, and not to be put on the tread-mill, being manifestly sick, and afflicted, as the supervisor afterwards informed me, with that dreadful disease, the cocoa-bay, loaded with a heavy chain, and secured by the neck by a collar attached to it. I immediately gave the supervisor, Mr. Patrick Thomas, orders to remove the chain and collar, not only from this individual, but from several others in the same situation, *all females.* This was done—and I gave him positive directions never to put a chain on a female on any account, if an apprentice committed by me. I also directed him *not to cut the hair* of females, nor to put them on the tread-mill, unless positively so commanded in my committal. I regret to say, that Dr. LOANE, *the senior Magistrate* of this parish, forgetting the high and responsible situation he fills, has, *in manifest violation of the Abolition Law,* and of the undoubted privilege of the apprentices to be punished by a Special Magistrate only,—interfered with, and obstructed me in the faithful execution of some of my most troublesome duties, by ordering *the said female apprentice to be collared and chained, and put to the tread-mill, previously having her hair cut;* all in contempt and contradiction of the *lawful authority and sentence of me, the* SPECIAL JUSTICE of the district, and the sole Magistrate possessing any jurisdiction whatever over the said apprentices, as far as regards the invasions of the act for the abolition of slavery."

The second is dated 5th July, 1836:—

"I reported to your Excellency seven instances of what I termed irregularity, which have lately occurred in the St. John's House of Correction. What name to give to the following facts, which have come out *in evidence* before Mr. Bedford and myself, I am at a loss to conceive. From Friday morning, at eight o'clock, the total quantity of food served out to the unfortunate prisoners in the House of Correction, about ten or twelve in number, until four o'clock in the afternoon of Monday, was four heads of corn, during the whole of four days, and half a shad per diem. This, the entire weight of which was not, perhaps, more than twenty-four ounces, was, I repeat, the total quantity of food allowed them for four days. This is sufficiently dreadful; but what will your Excel-

lency feel, when I add, that the above allowance—certainly not, if continued for eight days, sufficient to have saved these unhappy creatures from death by starvation—was appropriated out in the following manner?—three heads of corn on Friday; one ditto on Saturday; none at all on Sunday; none on Monday till evening, when they got some cocoas. Their sufferings, the deponents affirm to have been dreadful. The cause of this execrable barbarity I have not yet discovered. Though extremely unwell, and greatly harassed, I shall proceed to Point Hill, at once, to make further inquiries."

The condition of the gaols has been matter of reiterated complaints, occurring in official correspondence. It will suffice, in proof of this general statement, to adduce Lord Glenelg's despatch of the 31st May, 1837. He enters at great length into the subject, and thus classes his animadversions:— No. 100.

"The first defect which I have to notice, is a want of uniformity in the management of the different gaols in the island;—the punishment being in some places severe,—in others so trifling as scarcely to be regarded.

"The second defect to which I beg leave to direct your attention, arises from the construction and arrangement of the gaols.—Many of the gaols and buildings are defective for the purposes of the Act, as is evident from the reports of the custodes.

"Another defect which I have to notice, refers to the nature of the labour and employment of the prisoners.

"The last defects I have to notice, are the neglect of frequent periodical and casual visitations by the magistrates; and the want of adequate provision for the religious and moral instruction of the Negroes.

"The clause in the Gaol Act of Jamaica which relates to the appointment of Visiting Justices to inspect each prison, house of correction, hospital, and asylum, if necessary, once every day, seems to have been *almost totally disregarded in* ALL *the institutions*."

In his instructions of the 18th January, 1836, the Marquis of Sligo directs the Special Magistrates,—

"In their adjudications of punishments, to take this as their great end and object—THE TOTAL ABOLITION OF THE LASH." Report Commons Committee, 1836: Appendix, page 229.

How far this object has been attained, may be learned from his Lordship's despatch of the 13th June, 1836, in which he states, that he is convinced that the practice "has been carried on to a greater extent than he has been able to Parliamentary Papers, part 3, 1836; 166. 1. Page 380.

ascertain." Sir Lionel Smith, the present Governor, is said to have remarked, on the effects of the flogging,—"that he had seen soldiers who had received 300 lashes, not halfso much mangled, as the Apprentices under the operation of the *Jamaica cat.*"

The atrociously inhuman practice of flogging females is still maintained, in the system of prison discipline. John Jeremie, Esq., in his evidence before the Committee, says,—

Report Commons Committee, 1836: Page 36. No. 343, et seq.

"That the Act in aid sanctions, indirectly, female flogging, even for predial and domestic offences; and, that it strikes at the very spirit of the Imperial Enactment. The Imperial Act, by the 17th clause, prohibits the whipping or beating of females for any offence whatever, except under some law or police regulation in force against, or applicable to, all other persons of free condition. It appears that the whipping of free females is *allowed* in houses of correction and workhouses; but on such occasions it is of course restricted to persons confined in those places by virtue of some general law, and not by virtue of laws relating to Apprentices; but apprenticed females, who have merely violated an apprenticeship enactment, may also be sent to the workhouse; and the moment they enter it, they are subjected to the general regulations of that workhouse, and have been flogged, as I understand, in many cases, in consequence."

The effect of these two enactments, taking the 22nd section of the Act in Aid in conjunction with the 17th of the Imperial Act, is to subject females to flogging for domestic offences.

In the analysis of the Jamaica acts, it is justly observed:—

Report Commons Committee, 1836: App. page 26.

"The attempt to distinguish between the original sentence of imprisonment, and the discipline that may, and most probably will, follow upon it, (the offence committed being no offence against a general law of the Colony), is *a mere evasion*, though hitherto *a successful one*, of one of the most *peremptory and stringent* provisions of the Imperial Legislature."

One of the most devoted advocates of the cause of the Negro, says,—

D. O'Connell, Esq., M.P. Speech at Exeter Hall, 23d Nov. 1837.

"There was one point which I was the humble instrument of getting introduced into the Bill,—it was a clause, as I thought, to prevent the flogging of women. The 17th clause of the Emancipation Act, absolutely prohibited the Colonial Legislature from *making laws* of a peculiar description, and one of these was *the punishment* of apprenticed labourers, being *females, by whipping.*—Then came a *proviso,* that nothing contained in that Act should

exempt the Apprentices from punishment, by any law or regulation being in force against, or applying to, persons in a free condition. It is said—they may flog where white persons could be flogged. The Act of Parliament, however, says, 'Any law or regulation, being in force against, or applying to white persons.' But is apprenticeship law applicable to white persons? In point of law, and of plain common sense, the females could not be flogged, because white persons could not be flogged under the apprenticeship law; and it was only left open to flog Apprentices for the same crimes that white persons might commit. They were intended to be upon the same footing. True, females are not ordered to be flogged, they are sent to the tread-mill; but there is a man who flogs them there if they do not *dance*, as they call it, according to his pleasure."

That this is *frequently* practised, is evident from the testimony of many suffering witnesses, as well as from Government inquiries.

JAMES WILLIAMS, *whose narrative has been substantiated by an investigation before Government Commissioners*, records some heart melting tales of merciless and agonizing cruelty. Vide page 51.

"There was one old woman with grey head, belonging to Mr. Wallace, of Farm; and she could not dance the mill at all; she hung by the two wrists, which were strapped to the bar, and the driver kept on flogging her; she get more than the rest; her clothes cut off with the cat,—the shoulder-strap cut with it, and her shift hung down over that side,—then they flog upon that shoulder, and cut it up very bad; but all the flogging couldn't make she dance the mill, and when she come down, all her back covered with blood!" Williams's Narrative, page 7.

"There was a great many woman in the workhouse, and several have sucking child; and there was one woman quite big with child, and them make her dance the mill too, morning and evening—she not able to dance good, and them flog her. She complain about her stomach hurt her, and I see her several times go and beg the overseer not to work her on the mill; but him say, not him send her there, and he must do his duty.—All the woman that not able to dance, was flog most dreadful." Idem, page 12.

"Elizabeth Mason, from Mount Campbell, was in for seven days, to dance the tread-mill; she not able to dance good; after she been on a little time, she miss step, and drop, and hang by her two wrists; then the boatswain flog her with the cat, as hard as he could put it,—then she try to fetch up, and catch the step, but fall again, and them keep on flog, and when they tire of flogging, Idem, page 17.

then they let her alone, and let the mill go on mashing her legs; all the skin was bruise of her shins, and her legs cut up with the cat."

"There was another woman, from Drax Hill, on the mill. She didn't dance good, and they flog her very much; and when she find the flogging come too hard, she call out, '*Massa! me no one flesh; me two flesh!*'—She was in the family way,—the overseer said he didn't care!!"

In the report of S. Bourne, Esq., a Special Magistrate, dated March 30th, 1836, he says,—

Parliamentary Papers, part 3: 1836. 166. 1. Page 344.
Vide page 43.

"There have been several cases recently before me of an aggravated natnre. An *overseer* has been *convicted* of flogging the children when they do not please him, and of putting even *girls* on the back of the negro, and flogging them himself."

In his despatch of the 13th June, 1836, the Marquis of Sligo forwards the cases which he laid before the House of Assembly, to the number of twenty-four, in which females had been subjected to corporeal puishment. Some of these are here selected.—

Parliamentary Papers, part 3: 1836. 166. 1. Page 380.

"*Half-way Tree, since June,* 1835.—Agnes Davis, flogged by Edward Phillips, *in the field,* on Monday, and again on Thursday;—proved *in evidence,* that *many other women* were flogged at the same time.

"Between the 15th of October and 15th January.—Jane Rentford, by Nelson, the boatswain, with a cat, when on the tread-wheel; she fell off the rail, and cried for water, and the boatswain flogged her across the shoulders with the cat. Whiteman, the *overseer,* was present, and *ordered* it.

"Henny was severely flogged on the mill by Woolfrys, the driver, by Whitmore's orders.

"Amelia Black, apprentice to Andrew Simpson, on coming into the workhouse, her *head shaved* by Mr. Liddell;—*he kicked* her with his feet in the presence of Neptune and Mrs. Liddell. When put on the mill, was struck by Neptune, in the presence of Whitemore and Liddell, who did not stop it. Neptune next day struck her more severely; saw *many females* with marks of the cat on their back.

"*Falmouth, 20th June,* 1835.—Sarah Jarrett was brought to bed of a child, *within the month* after her punishment was inflicted.

"*Mandeville, about the 10th of September.*—Mary Sarjeant and Sarah Crozzle were seen in Mandeville workhouse, by a Special Justice, with a *severely lacerated* back, the result of flogging;—

and as the Justice entered, fell from the wheel to the ground, in a state of debility; the driver ran to flog her, and had his cat uplifted, when the Magistrate stopped him, and reported the case.

"*St. George's, 15th May.*—Anna Maria Thompson. At the *inquest* held on the body, it was found, by the Supervisor, that he had seen her flogged;—and that the driver had orders to flog any one who did not perform the work. Moody, the driver, swore he had flogged her *four times in the week.*"

The following reports were also presented to the Assembly:—

"*Spanish Town House of Correction, 12th June,* 1836.—Examinations before Special Justices Moresby, Higgins, and Hill. Parliamentary Papers, part 3: 1836. 166. 1. Page 381.

"Colin M'Kenzie, constable and head task-master, sworn; states, that in April, 1835, he was appointed task-master to the mill; his particular duty was to look after the mill, directing its labour, with a boatswain under him;—that sometimes the magistrates, who might casually visit, have given various orders with respect to prison discipline, which deponent always considered it was his bounden duty to execute;—that, on several occasions, *Mr. Charles Gordon, a magistrate of the parish,* had directed deponent to use the cat, in coercing females as well as males on the tread-mill;—that this had been done in *Mr. Charles Gordon's presence by his express orders, to one and* ALL THE FEMALES,—this has occurred when they hung down;—on these occasions they have been well licked, the boatswain striking all the parts of the legs that were bare;—that *this coercing females with the cat having been done in defiance of Mr. Special Justice Moresby's orders to the contrary,* deponent has told Mr. Gordon, that he would not use this disciplin but by *express orders from Mr. Gordon himself, as a magistrate,* and then he would not do it unless Mr. Gordon were present;—these orders have been given, under these circumstances, by Mr. Gordon; and, by deponent, the punishment of the cat has been inflicted on females, not once, but *several times.*"

"*Prospect Hill, 3d March,* 1836.—Catherine Shaw, Susannah White, Isabella Williams, Becky Walker, and Little Farry put on the back of William Bryant, and flogged by Mr. Chevannes;—reported by Mr. Bourne. Vide page 42.

"N.B.—Catherine Shaw aged twelve years; the rest, likewise children."

In a letter of H. Moresby, Esq. to Lord Sligo, dated Kingston, 5th January, 1836, he reports:—

"I proceeded yesterday to the House of Correction, to obtain the information desired by your Excellency; and on making the necessary inquiries from Mr. Aitchinson, the superintendent of Parliamentary Papers, part 3: 1836. 166. 1. Page 383.

that institution, I was informed by him, that the flogging of females had been discontinued, since he had held the situation of Superintendent.

"This statement, being so contradictory to the affidavits I had previously taken, and the information I had received, I requested of Mr. Aitchinson to accompany me to Mr. Coffee, the head boatswain. Mr. Aitchinson demurred;—but on my proceeding to the tread-mill, where Mr. Coffee presides, Mr. Aitchinson *peremptorily and publicly ordered Mr. Coffee not to answer any questions* I might put. I still proceeded, and asked Mr. Coffee if it was the practice to flog females, either with the cat, pointing to one hanging up close by, or with a stick, whenever they refused, either from incapacity or obstinacy, to dance the mill. Mr. Coffee said, he could not disobey his superior by answering me."

Prefixed to this are the affidavits of Martha Whittaker, Jane Browne, and Amelia Browne, sworn 13th June, 1836, before George Ouseley Higgins, Esq. In each case, the injury sustained was so severe as to require medical treatment.

The following extract of a letter to the Editor of the Falmouth Post, from a gentleman of unimpeachable christian character, appears in that paper of November 9th, 1837:—

"I am sorry to inform you, that a knowledge of the awful disclosures made before the Commissioners, Messrs. Gordon and Daughtry, of this renowned parish, has not put a stop to the perpetration of acts, so disgraceful to humanity, and so injurious to the prosperity of the colony. The day after you left this, my informant states, that one of our would-be great men, a resident proprietor in the interior of the parish, aided and abetted by his *mother*, his *sister*, and his brother-in-law, *a candidate for holy orders*, caused a most unmerciful flogging to be inflicted on the back and shoulders of one of his female apprentices, for no other offence than that of looking upon him (as she solemnly avers,) while inspecting the gang in the field. The unfortunate woman states, that her master, in the first instance, struck her in the field with the constable's long stick, and afterwards made three men bring her into the house, when the youthful student of divinity struck her in the face with his fist,—the amiable sister produced *two horsewhips*, handing one to one of the three men, and, in conjunction with the aged mother, goaded him on to CUT HER WELL, gave him the other whip in the middle of the flaggellation, saying, the first DID NOT CUT HER BACK ENOUGH, and told him that he must give their victim *two doubloons' worth*,—one for the master and one for her. She even suggested that the woman should *be*

stripped; told the mother of the sufferer, who was called in to be a spectator of her daughter's grief, and lacerated flesh, that if she said a word she should get as much, and prevented her, during a fainting fit, occasioned by the flogging, when an exposure of her daughter's body took place, from pulling down her clothes,—although the master and the man who had flogged her were present. The person employed to inflict this illegal punishment executed his commission faithfully; for the poor woman's back and shoulders, when I saw her a few days after, were *covered with fresh sores.* At present I withhold the names of the parties, the case not having been brought before a Judicial Tribunal, and being anxious to obtain the testimony of the mother in confirmation of the woman's account; but I wish you to publish the facts."

It would never be believed that such practices should obtain under a system, which assures its subjects of absolute freedom, subject to this restriction, and this restriction only, that they shall render an apprenticed service to their employers;—and one of whose fundamental articles is, that "WOMEN SHALL NOT BE FLOGGED;"—were it not that the witnesses are so many, so various, and so credible. Apprentices and planters, mill drivers and missionaries, magistrates and governors, concur in verifying their statements, by appeal to a full and fair induction of facts, that females are ignominiously,—scandalously,—indecently,—extravagantly,—and perpetually subject to the torture of the cat and the whip. With the most contemptuous disregard of the British Act, and the solemn determination of the British Parliament, and the unanimous execration of the British people, is this torturing outrage, in their own Colonies, continued. The hateful climax of fraud, deception, and iniquity, is attained;—WOMEN ARE FLOGGED.

7. *The inadequacy of the Penal Laws affecting the Masters and their subordinate Agents.*

There is no reciprocity in the penalties prescribed by the Local Legislatures; and, in their enforcement, injustice has been repeatedly suffered by the Apprentices. The master is remunerated to excess, by mulcts of time and extra labour, for any loss of the one, or insufficiency in the other. The Apprentice is not recompensed for injury; and, in the case of a complaint being deemed frivolouus, and dismissed, he is liable to incarceration or other infliction.

Report Commons Committee, 1836: Appendix, pages 4, 18, 19.

The highest penalty that can now be enforced upon an employer, or any of his estate officers, is £5, or five days' imprisonment; whereas, under the Slave Code, a much greater fine was allowed;—for an offence, on the commission and proof of which, the payment of £20 might be demanded,—now the maximum is 40s.;—other penalties were fixed at £5, £20, £25, £100, or imprisonment for twelve months; and in some cases the offender was declared unfit to exercise authority over any labourer within the precincts of the Colony. If the Slave Law was just in its provisions, what must be said of the Apprentice Law, a remedial measure, with the highest penalty of £5, or a week's imprisonment?

Jamaica Act, sec. 68.

It is also declared, that "all fines and penalties imposed, are to be applied for the use of the public of the Island."

A review of the Colonial Laws shows, that an enormous amount of punishment maybe awarded against the Apprentice, in labour during his own time, according to the *discretion and opinion* of any Special Justice on the *seeming requirement* of the offender's case. The master is not merely repaid for any detriment to his property or work, but gains positively a great advantage by the imposition of the penalty; while the fine which the magistrate is empowered, but not compelled, to demand of the employer, is, of itself, inadequate to cover the loss, in many instances, endured by the Apprentice; and which, when paid, instead of assisting him to recover the damage, passes into the coffers of the public,—that is, of the aggregate body of those who are liable to be convicted of the charge to which that punishment is attached. A twofold injustice is done to the labourer,—a twofold premium is offered to oppression.

Jamaica Act, sec. 44.

As the Special Magistrate is appointed to protect the Apprentices, and so to maintain a constant supervision over the estates on which they are employed, as to prevent any abuse of the power of the master; it would appear to an impartial mind, that it was not only a legitimate, but an indispensible employment of authority, in making himself acquainted as fully as possible with their condition, to inquire, on his judicial visitation, whether they had any grievances of which to complain. This would be only giving the timid a fair opportunity of making known the wrongs, which humanity and law require to be redressed; but the gratuitous mention of which, would subject them to renewed

maltreatment. It is, therefore, impossible to discern the equity of one of the charges of a Colonial Judge to the jury, in which—

"He determined, or concurred in the determination, that a Special Justice has no right to ask an apprenticed labourer, what complaint he has to make; but must confine himself to going to the plantation, to receiving such complaints as may be preferred to him there, and to holding, within the limits of the plantation itself, and not elsewhere, a court for hearing, and adjudicating upon the complaints, which he may so receive."

Glenelg's Despatch, 11th April, 1836.—Report Commons Committee, 1836: App. Page 237.

"The Court also held, that no Special Justice of the Peace had a right to send any person to a plantation, to warn them that a special court would be held to hear complaints."

Vide Trial Mason versus Oldrey.—Report Commons Committee, 1836: App. Page 239.

Hereby the Apprentice is not only deprived of the full benefit of magisterial investigation, but it is decided by the Supreme Court, that he is not to have any opportunity of preparing to submit a case to the bench, by such a notice of its session, as should enable him to arrange for the production of witnesses, (which certainly requires some previous consideration and time,) in support of his allegation.

If, in consequence of being placed in this unfortunate predicament, the applicant cannot secure and arrange adequate proof, when a hasty summons admonishes him that the court is sitting, and the complaint, which of itself may be true, but not borne out by judiciously and fairly selected evidence, is adjudged to be frivolous; the complainant is there and then made the defendant,—ipso facto, he is held guilty of a "*frivolous*" charge; and, for an offence bearing a name so vague and indefinite, he may be sentenced to the endurance of 20 stripes, or to labour for his master's advantage in his own time, paying double what he may have lost in attending the court.

Jamaica Act, sec. 40.

Should a complaint be really unfounded, resulting from an erroneous judgment of his legal rights, or an excess of sensibility in the sufferance of legalised wrongs, the punishment, then, far exceeds the criminality of the accused. The operation of this clause is calculated to *deter the labourer from any representations at all* to his lawful and stipendiary protector; under the fear, that through the vagueness of the law, the disadvantages of his servile condition, the crafty policy of the task masters, or any collusion with the judicial functionary, the charge should call down upon

him, in addition to the increased wrath of the oppressor, the unmerited condemnation of the bench.

In cases of clear and manifest guilt, juries have ignored the bills of indictment. No evidence more decisive on this question is needed, than that of Sir George Grey. He takes occasion to observe:—

Report Commons Committee, 1836: Page 483. No. 5628.

"Looking at the state of colonial society generally, as affected by the long continuance of Slavery in the West Indies, there is much reason to *distrust the impartiality of juries,* as at present constituted; not that I mean to imply, that they are guilty of a deliberate violation of their oath as jurymen; but it is the case in this country, and everywhere else, that persons are liable insensibly to be affected by influences which ought not to find their way into a jury-box; and *the greater the division of one class of society from another, the greater the distrust* I should entertain of the decisions of juries, constituted from one class of society only."

In Hanover workhouse, an aged and diseased man died in consequence of the injuries there sustained; and though the attempt was made, by the medical practitioner, to shew, that death might have been occasioned by other means, yet it must appear to every impartial judge, who is removed from the influence of colonial interests and sympathies, that on balancing the probabilities of the two cases presented by that gentleman, the preponderance would be found greatly in favour of the charge,—that the parties inflicting the punishments were guilty of *murder.*

The following are extracts from the minutes of evidence:—

Parliamentary Papers, part 3, 1836: 166. 1. Page 301.

Wednesday, 16*th March,* 1836.—The trial at the instance of the King *v.* Thomas Jenkins, John Thomas, and Archibald Campbell, for the murder of Frederick Shrieves, was proceeded in.

John Castello deposed, that he lives at Lucea;—witness knows the house of correction;—was at a coroner's inquest;—sat there, and was the foreman;—the inquest was on the body of a man named Frederick Shrieves, who was a very aged man, and apparently a very diseased one;—the inquisition was taken on the 21st of August, last year;—on examining the deceased, found his legs swollen with elephantiasis, and *his back* dreadfully lacerated, and *actually in a state of putrescence;*—thought that the laceration was with the cat,—this came out on the jury:—Shrieves died that morning, certainly *not twenty-four hours before the jury sat.*

Cross-examined.—Witness thinks Shrieves died from the repeated floggings he received;—cannot say that the *back-bone* bore marks of repeated floggings, but it bore that of *a very severe one.*

"Richard Kennedy deposed, that he remembered Shrieves coming to the house of correction, where Mr. Jenkins was overseer;—that he was locked up in a dark room, by Mr. Jenkins' order;—he came into the house of correction on a Saturday, about eleven o'clock;—on the *Tuesday* after, Shrieves was making a noise, and he was ordered to be flogged by Mr. Jenkins, and John Thomas gave him the flogging;—Shrieves was *quite sound* at the time when he was ordered to be flogged;—he got lashed from the drivers;—some of the beating he got, Mr. Jenkins did not know of;—he was a lame body;—witness remembered John Thomas beating Shrieves, and told him to take care, as he would get himself into crime for that man; and he answered, not to bother him;—John Thomas penned Shrieves up in the kitchen, and beat him with his cat, and with the stick also; and, on his coming out, told Archibald Campbell that he had given that fellow a good beating, until his cat-stick broke. John Thomas beat Shrieves again on *Wednesday*, with Mr. Jenkins' knowledge;—witness told John Thomas repeatedly, not to carry Shrieves out to work, but he would, until one day Mr. Jenkins went out to the gang, and ordered him in; Shrieves came that day home in the cart, and Mr. Jenkins ordered him to be locked up in the dark room; Shrieves remained there until the evening, about four o'clock, when the gang came home, and they gave him a little water, but *he got nothing to eat* that day, *until Thursday* he got a a quart of corn;—*he got a beating about eleven o'clock,* by John Thomas;—the man was put into the dark room, and the next morning (Friday) he died!

Frederick Spence deposed, that he was working at Miss Hine's house, before Shrieves' death;—heard one of his young men say, "They will kill the man!"—came out and saw John Thomas beating Shrieves on the king's road; Shrieves was working, and chained to another man;—saw John Thomas flogging him, and he fell down; the flogging was not stopped; Shrieves was beat on the ground;—witness went down to the bay, and told Mr. Jenkins what had happened with the driver and Shrieves, when Jenkins replied, "*He was only doing his duty, and that he was the* FIRST DRIVER *in the Island.*" Witness told Mr. Jenkins, "If you will continue to permit the driver to flog that man Shrieves, *he will surely die;*" and told Jenkins, that if he (witness) should be in the parish when that man died, he would go voluntarily and give his evidence at the Coroner's inquest. Witness saw Shrieves after his death; went in after Coroner's inquest, and saw his back in a state of mortification; in witness's opinion mortification had taken place.

Thomas Lee deposed, that he is a mason by trade; remembered seeing Shrieves on the 14th of August;—saw Mr. Jenkins ride

up; Mr. Jenkins said, "Tell John Thomas, when he comes, to bring up Frederick Shrieves, Esquire, of Dumbarton Castle, the parson man, and I will give him a flogging." Upon this, Shrieves said to Mr. Jenkins, "Are you going to flog me again? Only last week you took me to the morass, and gave me 300 lashes." Mr. Jenkins said nothing to him, but rode off.

By Jury—Shrieves *did not seem to give cause* when he was flogged. Witness could not bear to see a man of Shrieves' age flogged by a driver.

William Brown, an apprenticed labourer, deposed, that he remembered old Shrieves;—witness remembered being at the house of correction for running away;—heard Shrieves making a noise on Sunday night, that Archibald Campbell had taken away his money from him. [Witness proceeds to state, that, on hearing the disturbance, Mr. Jenkins came.] Mr. Jenkins ordered Campbell to take him down to the marl-pit, to flog him. Shrieves was then chained with witness; Campbell went to the sea, and wet his cat, and ordered four men to hold his hands and feet; witness being chained with him, was ordered to hold his head down. Mr. Jenkins came before the flogging commenced;—they flogged Shrieves till the blood ran down, when Mr. Jenkins ordered witness to go and duck him in the sea; after which, they brought him up, and he went to work in the field until a week after, when he was not fit for work again.

Reverend John Stainsby deposed, that he is clergyman at St. Lucea;—that he remembered Shrieves being at the Lucea House of Correction for some time;—witness saw him previous to his death;—witness's impression was, that Shrieves was in a state of insanity;—witness, on one occasion, looked at Shrieves particularly,—his back being turned to witness, and having no clothes on his shoulders and back, saw stripes thereon;—Shrieves spoke incoherently, and said something like a prayer to Jesus Christ;—his feet were in a swollen state,—had elephantiasis on both feet; witness considered him in such a state that no order given to him had any permanent impression on his mind.

Dr. George W. Towton deposed, that he is one of the medical attendants at the Lucea House of Correction;—remembered when Shrieves was confined there;—his feet were a little swollen and large; he had the appearance of elephantiasis at the time;—he said he was very weak;—complained to witness on the 19th of August,—his complaint was debility;—repeated flogging, want of food, and locking up, would increase debility;—no application was made to witness, as doctor, till the 19th of August, when witness ordered Shrieves to get nourishment, tonics, and spirits;—witness cannot say what Shrieves got; he came to witness and said, "he was sick;"—felt his pulse, but *did not examine his back;*

Shrieves was an old man; flogging, under certain circumstances, if blood came and matter was formed, would create mortification on such a subject as Shrieves. Witness was called in by the Coroner, and looked at the body;—both shoulders had *stripes on the shoulder blade; there* the skin was broken in one place, and *was discharging matter a little offensive;* some of the marks appeared to have been for a week or ten days—they were weals;—the marks were not sufficient to cause death;—witness is of opinion that they were not the cause of his death; the *back* was free from mortification; Shrieves was not labouring under fever, nor did he die of fever;—he made no complaint to witness about being flogged; he walked pretty well on the 19th of August; the wound witness perceived on the shoulders was healing;—if the death of Shrieves had proceeded from flogging, it would have caused mortification.

Thomas Smith (called for the defence) deposed, that witness kept the workhouse books; that the allowance per day was either a quart of corn and a herring, or the same of flour or rice;—the food did not vary every day;—knew Shrieves;—never heard him complain that he had no food;—is *pretty sure* that he had it;—Shrieves was a noisy crazy fellow.

Thomas addressed the Jury,—that all he did was by the orders of Mr. Jenkins; and appealed to them if they had ordered persons under them to perform what they told them to do, whether they would not require it to be done, throwing the responsibility upon Mr. Jenkins. Campbell also said a few words in the same strain.

Mr. Attorney-General explained the law, on the difference between murder, and the minor offence of manslaughter. His Honor next summed up the evidence with great clearness and impartiality.

"*March* 19.—The Jury find a verdict of 'NOT GUILTY;' but think it their duty to observe, that the prisoners were guilty of cruelty, and evinced a great want of feeling and humanity towards the deceased Shrieves.

(Signed) "RICHARD ROE, Foreman,
"*Cum Sociis.*"

On this abominable business, Lord Glenelg very properly remarks, in his despatch, 14th June, 1836:—

"I have perused the proceedings in the trial of Jenkins, Thomas, and Campbell, with feelings which I will not attempt to express. At a time when I have been led to entertain hopes (upon the whole, I trust, not unfounded) that an improved state of public feeling had taken place in Jamaica, it is matter of deep regret and mortification, that a case should present itself, in which *no con-*

Parliamentary Papers, part 3: 1836. 166. 1. Page 306.

viction could be obtained for a *murder,* committed with the *most malignant* cruelty, and *proved by clear and uncontradicted evidence.* I perceive that Jenkins has now been indicted for an aggravated assault. It is not stated that the same course has been taken with regard to Thomas and Campbell, whose conduct seems to have been little, if at all, less inhuman."

By these means, in this and in other cases, the reports of which are found at length in the Parliamentary papers, justice has been withheld from the suffering Apprentices, and they are denied their last solace. It is, indeed, "less terrible to endure, than to complain."

Such, in substance, are the evils at work under a system professing to secure immediate relief, and progressive improvement, to the sable subjects of the British crown. It is not affirmed that they all co-exist, at the same time, on every plantation; but it is asserted, on the authority of the Executive itself, that, on many of the estates, they are even now co-operative in debasing the character and condition of the Negroes. Unhappily, the British Law and the British Government have been alike inefficient, in endeavouring to assert their rights, and obtain redress.

In his message to the House of Assembly, of the 31st of October, Sir Lionel Smith recommends,—

"Amendments to such of the practices of the law as have been found by the records of the Special Magistrates, the principal cause of complaints among the apprentices, and of consequent collision between the planters and Magistrates.

"In these suggestions his Excellency proposes nothing which can materially tend to increase expenses not already established by law or usage.

"Prudent and humane planters have already adopted what is recommended, and their properties present the good working of this system in peace and industry, without their resorting to the authority of the Special Magistrates; but there are other properties where *neither the law of apprentices nor the usages of slavery have been found sufficient to guard the rights of the apprentices.*

"First—The Magistrates' reports show, that on some estates *the apprentices have been deprived of cooks and water carriers* while at work in the field,—thus, the time allowed for breakfast, instead of being a period of rest, is one of continual labour, as they have to seek for fuel and to cook.—The *depriving them of water carriers is still more injurious, as the workmen are not allowed to quit their rows to obtain it.* Both these privations are detrimental to the planters' work. Second—A law seems wanting to supply the estates' hospitals with

sufficient attendants on the sick apprentice, as well as for the supply of proper food, as they cannot depend on their own grounds whilst unable to leave the hospitals. *The 8th clause of the abolition law has not been found strong enough to secure these necessary attentions to the sick.* Third—In regard to jobbers more exposed to hardships than any other class. A law is greatly required, allowing them the distance they may have to walk to their work, at the rate of three miles an hour, and for compelling the parties hiring them to supply them with salt, food, and meal; *their grounds are oftentimes so many miles distant, it is impossible for them to supply themselves.* Hence constant complaints and irregularities. Fourth—That mothers of *six children* and upwards, *pregnant women,* and *the aged* of both sexes, would be greatly benefitted by a *law enforcing the kind treatment which they received in slavery,* but which is now considered optional, or is *altogether avoided on many properties.* Fifth—Nothing would tend more to promote general contentment, and repress the evils of comparative treatment, than the issue of fish as a right by law. It was an indulgence of slavery seldom denied, but on many properties is now withheld, or given for extra labour instead of wages. Sixth—His Excellency, during the last session, had the honour to address a message to the house for a stronger definition of working time. The clause of the act in aid expressed that it was the intention of the legislature to regulate "uniformity" of labour, but in practice there is still a great diversity of system. The legal adviser of the crown considers the clause active and binding; the Special Magistrates cannot, therefore, adjudicate on disputes of labour under the eight-hour system, and the consequences have been continual complaints and bickerings between the Magistrates and managers, and discontent among the apprentices by comparison of the advantages which one system presents over the other. Seventh—If your Honourable House would adopt some equitable fixed principle for the value of apprentices desirous of purchasing their discharge, either by ascertained rates of weekly labour, or by fixed sums according to their trade or occupation which should not be exceeded, and allowing the deduction of one-third from the extreme value for the contingencies of maintenance, clothing, medical aid, risks of life, and health, it would greatly tend to set at rest due cause of constant disappointment. In proportion as the term of apprenticeship draws to a close, the demands for the sale of services have greatly increased.

"It is in the hope that the Honourable House will be disposed to enforce a more general system of equal treatment, that his Excellency now circumstantially represents what have been the most common causes of complaint among the apprentices, and the island is subject to *the reproach that the negroes, in some respects, are now in a* WORSE CONDITION THAN THEY WERE IN SLAVERY."

VII.—The Submissiveness and Subordination of the Labourers.

That "the Negroes are quietly and industriously labouring, under oppressions and injustice, which, were they not the most patient race on earth, or restrained by religious principle, would drive them to desperation," is proved by accumulated evidence in the innumerable reports of the Custodes and Magistrates, as printed by order of Parliament. Sir George Grey, in his examination, was asked,—

Report of Commons Committee, 1836: Page 491—No. 5668.

"Slavery will have expired on Monday next, for two years. Do you happen to know of any instance, in which there has been an insurrection of the negroes during that time?"

He answered,—

"No instance of insurrection has occurred within that period; there were some instances of insubordination, and of resistance to lawful authority, just at the commencement of the apprenticeship, in some of the colonies; these arose, I think, from misapprehension of their condition; but nothing which could be termed insurrection, or any thing like it, has since occurred."

Sir George Grey was also asked,—

"Do you go so far as to think, that the disposition of the negroes to *work for wages* has surpassed, not only the low expectations of the planters, but, the most sanguine expectations of the warmest friends of the negroes in this country?"

He said,—

"I think it certainly has equalled the expectations of their sanguine friends. Judging of the negro character, by examples in the army and in the navy, and wherever the negro has been brought into contact with white men, in places where slavery did not exist, I am not aware of any inferiority, either in willingness to labour, or in general efficiency."

Sir J. C. Smyth thus wrote from Demerara, in 1825, relative to the quantity of Sugar exported from that river during the previous six months:—

Parliamentary Papers, part 2; 1833-5. 278. 1. Page 174.

"The facts upon which I have reasoned, have been carefully collected from the books of the Custom-house, and justify, in my humble opinion, the most sanguine expectations, as to the future industry of the apprenticed labourers."

MEMORANDA.

"Slavery ceased on the 1st of August, 1834. Whatever sugar was shipped from this river, during the month of October, November, and December, 1834, was produced by the labour of

the apprenticed labourers. If we compare the quantity as alluded to, with that shipped in former years, which was produced by the labour of the slaves, the result will enable us to form some opinion as to the working of the system."

After presenting the details of his calculation, his Excellency says,—

"It appears that from the River Demerara alone, 4,676 hogsheads of sugar, during the last six months, more than (with a diminution of one-sixth of his labour) the planter had a right to expect; and more than was produced by slave-labour, during the same periods, in 1831 and 1832. The accounts from Berbice are still more favourable."

In the same despatch, Sir J. C. Smyth says,—

"I cannot lay before your Lordship a stronger proof of the established tranquillity of this colony, even in the opinion of the colonial members of the court of policy, than by informing your Lordship, that instead of a serjeant and ten policemen, for each of the twelve judicial districts of this province, we have not as yet one single policeman. In no one part of His Majesty's dominions is the law more promptly obeyed, or the public tranquillity more firmly established."

Lord Sligo's memoranda are to the same effect, and show, that, in spite of *manifold obstructions interposed by the masters*, the produce of labour has been highly satisfactory. He concludes with this observation:—

"I enclose herewith, some memoranda I have made, of conclusions I have come to; and have to apologize for the prolixity of the communication; but, when I see attacks made on me here every day, accusing me of wilful and gross misrepresentations; and, when I know that they will be eagerly conveyed to England, I am anxious to send home the *antidote*, if I am able to furnish one, so as to be in time to correct the effects of the *poison*, which I know to be on its passage home."

Parliamentary Papers, part 2; 1833-5. 278. 1. Page 215.

By these memoranda, in addition to the many statements of Special Justices in their returns, it is proved, that under indignity, and barbarity, and injustice, the negro still toils on. If he has murmured, it is all he has attempted to do;—retribution he has not sought. Many seem to sink into despondency; but others have learned, by the influence of high and evangelical principle, so to exercise themselves, as to have "a conscience void of offence towards God, and towards man." Committing their cause to Him that judgeth righteously, and drawing nigh unto that Throne, where they have "obtained mercy and grace to help" them, in the time

of their need, they have renewed the energy of patient spirits; and, having "respect unto the recompense of reward," they still "endure, as seeing Him who is invisible."

VIII.—THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF REFUTING THE STATEMENTS PUT FORTH RESPECTING THE EVILS OF THE SYSTEM, AND THE IMPRACTICABILITY OF ITS EFFICIENT OPERATION.

The abundant references, in the present summary, to parliamentary documents and official reports, might have been much increased;—and the testimony of many enlightened observers of the condition of the Colonies, corroborates the evidence therein furnished. In the preceding pages, extracts have been given from the narrative of James Williams, formerly an apprenticed labourer, belonging to a master of the name of Senior. Joseph Sturge, Esq. has, in his possession, the most satisfactory testimonials of his good character and veracity. Although this publication, when it appeared in the Colonies, called forth the most abusive and approbrious denunciations of parties implicated, the following official record, of the Government Commissioners of Inquiry, now gives it full authority. The Commission consisted of a Local Magistrate and a Special Justice, who both appear to have most faithfully and efficiently performed the duty assigned to them.

At the close of their labours, they handed in to the Governor the following Report:—

"*Falmouth, Oct.* 21, 1837.

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR LIONEL SMITH, &c., &c.

"May it please your Excellency,—The Commissioners, in the prosecution of the inquiry which your Excellency was pleased to intrust to them, having taken the *fullest evidence* they could obtain upon the several subjects which the investigation was designed to embrace, have now the honour to transmit, for your Excellency's information, an authentic copy of their entire proceedings.

"In reporting upon the *general results of this extended inquiry*, it has become the duty of the Commissioners to state, that the allegations of James Williams's Narrative have received few and inconsiderable contradictions, whilst *every material fact has been supported and corroborated* by an almost unbroken chain of convincing testimony.

"Such being the conclusion of the Commissioners with respect to the Narrative, it can scarcely be necessary to add, that the

Abolition Law has not been properly administered in some parts of the parish of St Ann's; that the House of Correction of that parish was, until recently, a place of licentiousness and cruelty; and that the tread-mill has been, from the time of its erection, and still is, an instrument rather of torture than of just and salutary punishment.

"Upon these topics the commissioners have thought it right to report specifically, but with reference to others of no less interest, they leave the evidence to speak for itself; persuaded that the whole detail will be found important enough to command your Excellency's immediate attention.

"George Gordon, J. P., St. James'.
"J. Daughtrey, S. M."

IX.—The Abolitionists in the Colonies.

Antigua set the noble example, and made the grand experiment, of entire emancipation; and, though the measure was ultimately carried only by a casting vote, yet, after two years of trial, it has "succeeded beyond the expectations of its most sanguine advocates." Sturge's Journal: Pages 18—79.

In Montserrat, an effort to introduce a similar measure was made, but failed. Some of the proprietors, however, adopted it on their own estates. "The five estates," says Mr. Sturge, "on which the Apprentices were liberated, are quite as efficiently cultivated by free labour as they were before." The testimony, even of opponents, assures us, that slave labour of every kind is more costly than that which is free.

The result of a recent debate on this subject, in the Jamaica Assembly, has just been communicated, agreeably with the vote of the House, through the local journals.

House of Assembly, Thursday, Oct. 26, 1837. Jamaica Watchman, Nov. 4, 1837.

A motion was made that the House do come to the following resolution:

"Resolved,—

"That this House, having reference to the Address presented to his Excellency, the Governor, this day, wherein they declare their anxiety to adopt all measures calculated to secure a successful transition from the apprenticeship to freedom, deem it highly inexpedient to entertain any measure, having for its object the abbreviation of the term of apprenticeship, as fixed by the abolition law."

Another motion was made to amend the said motion, by leaving out all the words after the first word '*that*,' and inserting, in lieu thereof, the following words:—

"This House, deeply convinced of the propriety of equalizing the apprenticeship, and hereby placing the entire apprentice population of the Island on a footing, and anxious to secure the future peace and prosperity of the country, whilst, at the same time, it carefully guards the interests of the masters and apprentices, pledges itself to adopt, whenever called upon to do so, such Legislative measures as may be necessary to secure to the predial apprentices the enjoyment of unrestricted liberty, from and after the 1st of August, 1838, provided her Majesty's Government will guarantee to the persons entitled to the services of such predial apprentices, such compensation, either by a total or partial remission on the duties levied, in the mother country, on the produce of this Island,—or, by a further grant of money, as may appear to this House fair and reasonable."

A debate thereon arising, and the question being put on the said amendment, the House divided—the ayes went forth :—

Ayes, 11.—Mr. Hart, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Jordon, Mr. Lake, Mr. J. S. Brown, Mr. Good, Mr. Whittaker, Mr Sanguinetti, Mr. Hill, Mr. Anderson, and Mr. Osborn.

Noes, 18.—Mr. Mitchel, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. R. Allwood, Mr. Watt, Mr. Grosett, Mr. Collman, Mr. J. Allwood, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Barnett, Mr. Dallas, Mr. Barclay, Mr. Townshend, Mr. Milner, Mr. Lowndes, Mr. Leslie, Mr. Wright, Mr. Berry, and Mr. Fairweather.

It passed in the negative.

Then the original motion being again read, was agreed to by the House.

ORDERED,

That the above division, with names and numbers, be published once in the several newspapers of the Island.

By the House,

JOHN G. VIDAL,
Clerk of the Assembly.

Notwithstanding this decision, it is gratifying to learn, that a feeling decidedly favourable to the emancipation of the Negroes is gaining strength in the Colonies.

X.—AS THE FRIENDS AND PROTECTORS OF THE INJURED SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF AFRICA, THE BRITISH PEOPLE ARE ONCE MORE SUMMONED TO THEIR DEFENCE.

Parliamentary Papers, part 2; 1833–5. 278. 1. Page 14.

Lord Glenelg has pointed out with sufficient clearness, the sacredness of the compact to which the British Government, Parliament and people were parties, on the one hand,

and the Colonists on the other; "to the faithful performance of which either party is bound by the most solemn obligations." If, on the one part, "the payment of the compensation money was the inevitable duty of this country, it is no less clearly due, that every one essential or valuable provision" of that compact, should be by them, on the other, scrupulously preserved. The former has been fully complied with—the latter shamefully and openly violated.

The question now raised, by the abettors and defenders of the planters, whether the compact SHALL BE *broken*, by any demand the nation may prefer, cannot be entertained; as the proof, that it HAS BEEN *broken* in the multitude of instances adduced in the foregoing statement, is strong and undeniable.

In the injured negro apprentices, the inalienable rights of man are, up to this moment, outraged, and the charter of his liberties trampled in the dust. Under the indomitable and execrable tyranny held over them, and the disgusting and enormous indignities offered, especially to the tender sex, the sable petitioners for mercy have imploringly groaned out their plea—"*I am a* MAN *and a* BROTHER!" "*I am a* WOMAN *and a* SISTER!" and the plaintive remonstrance has been but the signal for renewed, ignominious, aggravated torture.

In them, the majesty of the British people is insulted,—the solemnity of British law contemned,—the sanctuary of British freedom profaned. Their liberators from bondage extravagantly paid twenty millions sterling with interest, that the High Court of Judgment might preserve, undefiled, with even the semblance of a blot of injury done to their enslavers, the record that "*they should enjoy* EVERY RIGHT *and* EVERY PRIVILEGE OF FREEMEN," subject only to the restriction of a term of bonded service, during a portion of their weekly time. Of the article for which the stipulation was made, and the price munificently advanced, the supposed purchaser has been unsuspectingly defrauded; and the covenant ratified with him, has been unrighteously broken, while the menaces and defiances of the opressor, adding insult to injury, have contravened the honest sincerity of his purposes, and withered the fair blossoming of his hopes.

Many of them prefer an especial claim to the sympathies of the christian community. As brethren and sisters in

" the adoption of the Spirit,"—" the household of Heaven," they sigh and cry in that continued bondage which has deprived them of the gift of God to men created free, despoiled them of their natural and civil rights, robbed them of their hire, and plundered them of the treasure bought for their enrichment. The voice of the Supreme admonishes the defrauder, " Behold! the hire of your labourers, who have reaped your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped, are entered into the ears of the Lord God of Sabbaoth." That voice called forth an agency, by which the promise of freedom was obtained; and, now the pledge is unredeemed, it again summons that agency to arise. To those who are influenced by principles of justice, and governed by the law of Christ, is the cause entrusted, as to the avowed and recognised conservators, not of the Negroes' civil liberty alone, but of their religious privileges. It is the cause of justice, and of mercy; and its advocates neither desire, nor seek, to inflict the smallest evil on the task-master, but rather to free the land from a curse,—the slave from his fetters,—and, if possible, the oppressor from his doom.

What is to be done? The compact is broke by the very party who now plead the inviolability of its sanctions. They have cancelled its obligation, and the way is open for the British nation, by their representatives and government, to advance and perform the duty imperatively devolving upon them. Experience has proved that no modification of slavery, under a milder name, can change its essence,—mitigate its rigor,—curb its violence,—or cripple its might. Experience has also demonstrated, that its prompt and utter destruction is attended with safety, pregnant with hope, and succeeded with prosperity.

Britons! your decree is law. Senators! your fiat is resistless. Illustrious and amiable Queen! your mandate is invincible. It is but to determine, to declare, to command; and the Empire, the Legislature, and the Monarch, already so great among the nations, will become yet more exalted and majestic in proclaiming, amid the joys and blessings of the bond, the applauding acclamations of the free, and, under Heaven's approving smile, THE ENTIRE, AND IMMEDIATE, AND UNCONDITIONAL EMANCIPATION OF EVERY NEGRO UNDER BRITISH RULE.

APPENDIX.

THE following Order in Council was issued on the 12th of July, 1837, by which the Demerara Colonists obtained the right of importing into British Guiana any number of "Hill Coolies," from the East Indies, they might desire to obtain:—

"THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL:—

"WHEREAS, by a certain order of His late Majesty, King William the Fourth, made with the advice of his Privy Council, on the first day of March, 1837, it is amongst other things ordered, That no person who hath been, or who shall be, bound to any other person for the performance, in British Guiana, of any agricultural, manufacturing, handicraft, or other description of labour or service whatsoever, by any indenture of apprenticeship, bond of service, agreement, or other instrument, of any kind, in writing, shall by force and virtue of the ordinance (in the said order mentioned) be articled servants, tradesmen, or labourers, within the meaning, or for the purposes thereof, after the expiration of *three* years from the date of such indenture, bond, agreement, or instrument:—And WHEREAS, it is expedient to amend the said order in manner hereinafter mentioned: It is therefore ordered by Her Majesty, by and with the advice of her Privy Council, that no person, being *a native of any place within the East India Company's Charter*, who hath been, or who shall be, bound to any other person for the performance, in British Guiana, of any agricultural, manufacturing, handicraft, or other description of labour or service whatsoever, by any indenture of apprenticeship, bond of service, agreement, or other instrument of any kind, in writing, shall, if such indenture, agreement, bond or instrument, hath been, or shall be made within the limits of the said Charter, become or be an articled servant, tradesman, or

labourer, by force and virtue of the ordinance of the Lieutenant-Governor, and Court of Policy of British Guiana, of the 22nd day of June, 1836, after the expiration of *five* years from the date of such indenture, bond, agreement, or instrument.—And it is further ordered, that every person, being a native of any place within the limits of the said Charter, who hath been, or who shall be bound by any such indenture, bond of agreement, or instrument, made within the limits aforesaid, for the performance of any such labour or service as aforesaid, shall, at the expiration of the period for which he or she shall be so bound, be entitled to be sent back to the *port or place at which such indenture, bond, agreement, or instrument hath been or shall be so made,* as aforesaid, at the costs and charges of the person or persons whom he or she shall have therein bound himself or herself to serve, or the heirs, executors, or administrators, of such person or persons; or of the person or persons who at, immediately or before the expiration of the said term, shall be entitled to his or her services.

"And the Right Honorable the Lord Glenelg, one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, is to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

(Signed) "C. GREVILLE."

To this Order the objection is taken,

First—That it extends the term of *three* years to *five.*

Second—That it confers the right to procure the Apprentices from a given locality, without prescribing or limiting the means by which they are to be obtained.

Third—That it contains no provision by which their maintenance or protection is to be regulated.

Fourth—That the mode in which it gives them the right of demanding to be sent back at the end of the bonded servitude, is so capable of evasion as to be of little or no service.

In reference to this last clause, it is only necessary to remark, that they are required to be returned, if they desire it, *not to the place from which they were taken*—the place of their abode—*but to any port or place where the bond or instrument in writing may be executed.* Practising on the ignorance and credulity of these ill-fated victims, the Colonial Agents may delay the signing of these documents until they reach the port of their *disembarkation,*—so that when the five years shall expire, they may there be turned adrift, instead of being conveyed to their former homes.

It is a matter of deep regret that such a permission should have been given under the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, proposed, as it is understood to have been, by a party who has uniformly and openly been opposed to the feeling of the anti-slavery community. By this concession, a traffic in human flesh and blood, under imperfect limitations, analogous to that of the odious slave trade, may be at once commenced, and unceasingly perpetuated.

ERRATA.

Page 3, margin.—For "Dated Nov. 11th, 1837," *read*, "Oct. 31st, 1837."

Page 19, margin.—For "Jamaica Act, sec. 21," *read*, "sec. 16."

Page 28, margin.—For "Jamaica Act, sec. 13," *read*, "sec. 18."

D. MARPLES AND CO., PRINTERS, LIVERPOOL.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE GREAT

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING,

HELD AT THE

Town Hall, Birmingham,

ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14th, 1835;

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

NOTICES OF THE CONDITION

OF

THE APPRENTICED LABOURERS

IN THE

WEST INDIES,

UNDER

THE ACT FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

IN

THE BRITISH COLONIES.

"I have seen what has been done by the West Indian Assemblies. It is arrant trifling. They have done little, and what they have done is good for nothing; for it is totally destitute of an *executory* principle. This is the point to which I have applied my whole diligence. It is easy enough to say what shall be done:---to cause it to be done, *hic labor, hoc opus.*"

Letter to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas (afterwards Viscount Melville), from the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, in the year 1792.

BIRMINGHAM:
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1835.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

It is impossible to state the embarrassment and difficulty occasioned to the Abolitionists, by this single circumstance—they are allowed to use the materials confided to their examination, under such limitations, and injunctions of privacy, as very considerably dilute the strength of their whole argument. They are compelled, in fact, to withhold names and details, on the cautious principle which has been frequently adopted by Government, in its published official Reports of seditious and treasonable proceedings; and which documents, as prepared by a Committee of Secrecy, are given to the public with a certain character of reserve and mysteriousness, and with mutilations of evidence, obviously injurious to the object in view. They consequently create suspicion; and yet are found to be absolutely necessary for the personal safety of the parties, who had furnished the very evidence on which such Reports, and subsequent measures, have been founded. The reader of the following extract from a confidential letter, from an official resident in the West Indies, will observe the bearing of the preceding remarks on our immediate subject:—"It is necessary to warn our friends against giving publicity to any correspondence with persons here. You will be plied by many insidious persons from hence; who, under the pretence of friendliness to the cause, will seek to know the sources of your information, to destroy those who correspond with you. Let me request of you, therefore, to be watchful, and never to shew your letters. Copy out the information if you will; but let them know nothing of names and persons. * * * * * I have reason to think that Mr. —— will seek an introduction to

some of the societies that devote themselves to the progress of the measure." But, in reality, the difficulties of the Abolitionists are greater even than are thus intimated. Their *most important* documents are forbidden, either to be cited or even named; neither can we say further on this point, than add the assertion—the validity of which we cannot otherwise support—that if we were indulged with an unrestricted use of our papers, we could prove, from concessions and complaints made by the friends of the Planters themselves, that the present course of Colonial proceedings is injurious to all parties, subversive of every principle of Government, and confirmatory, in a more emphatic sense than ever, of what is copied on the title from the sagacious and prophetic pen of Burke, upwards of forty years since; and when the West Indian question was comparatively a novelty. To what this great statesmen said, may be added the memorable declarations of the Right Hon. George Canning—"that the masters of Slaves are not to be trusted in what concerns legislation for slavery: that, however specious their laws may appear, they must be ineffectual in their operation, because there is something in the nature of absolute authority, in the relation between master and slave, which makes despotism in *all* cases, and under *all* circumstances, an incompetent and unsure executor, even of its own provisions in favour of the objects of its power." Could the Abolitionists of the present day have desired testimonies more decidedly in their favour, more definite in their principle, and more practical in their intention, than were thus advanced, prospectively, by Burke and Canning?

The Resolutions passed on the occasion are subjoined:—

I. That it is the conviction of this Meeting, that in the Act for the Abolition of Slavery, which passed the British Legislature in 1833, those parts of it which continued a system of coerced labour under the name of Apprenticeship, and which awarded the enormous sum of £20,000,000 sterling as a compensation to the Slave-proprietors, would never have been agreed to, but on the solemn and reiterated assurance of the framers of this measure, that the one branch of the enactment was necessary to promote the industry and good conduct of the Negroes, and the other to secure the cordial co-operation of the Planters in the work of emancipation.

II. That it is, therefore, with grief and indignation that this Meeting has learned, on the most conclusive evidence, that both these great objects of the measure have been signally defeated in most of our Colonies; that, except in Antigua and the Bermudas, where complete emancipation has been granted with the happiest results, the Apprenticeship has been made an instrument of the basest fraud and the most cruel oppression: that even many Stipendiary Magistrates, sent out by this country as the official guardians of the Negro, have become the mere tools of the Planters, and sanctioned by their authority, for the purpose of extorting labour, the infliction of corporal punishment to a fearful extent; that, while the allowance of food and other necessaries, which in some measure alleviated the former condition of the Slave, have been most cruelly and unjustly withheld, the time allotted for the cultivation of his provision grounds (which are often upwards of ten miles distant), has either been so apportioned as to be useless to him, or he has been compelled by fines, *in time*, for alleged misconduct, and other pretences, to devote it without compensation to the use of his master; that, by an unjust and oppressive system of valuation, which places on the Negro a much higher price as an Apprentice than he formerly bore as a Slave,—a fact of itself sufficient to prove the entire perversion of the design of the Imperial Act,—obstacles, almost insurmountable, are thrown in the way of his self-redemption; and that, while every provision of the Legislature for his benefit has been thus practically set at nought, many Stipendiary Magistrates who had the integrity and boldness to raise their voice against these proceedings, have been driven by the persecution of the Planters to reign their commission in disgust.

III. That under these circumstances, this Meeting considers it to be the duty of the friends of the Negro throughout Great Britain to employ the most vigorous and decisive measures for awakening the Country from its delusion on this subject, and as the recess of Parliament does not admit of an immediate address to the Legislature, it recommends that in addition to diffusing a knowledge of the facts as widely as possible among the people in general and their representatives in particular, Memorials should be presented to the Government, urging them to use without delay the powers with which they are invested, in enforcing obedience to the Imperial Act; and, it

being now manifest that the Apprenticeship has not only signally failed of its object, but that the Colonists have been guilty of a general and flagrant violation of the conditions on which the grant of £20,000,000 was made to them, calling upon His Majesty's Ministers to bring in a Bill as early as possible after the meeting of Parliament, for the entire abolition of the Apprenticeship, as the only means of securing a faithful execution of the compact.

IV. That it is the earnest hope of this Meeting that Parliament will at once remove those bounties and protecting duties on the Sugar of the West Indies and the Mauritius, which have hitherto formed the chief if not the sole support of the system of slave cultivation pursued in these Colonies; as, after the lavish donation of £20,000,000 sterling to the Slave-proprietors, there does not remain on their part the shadow of a claim for the continuance of these protections, whilst the manner in which they are now abusing the liberality of the British nation constitutes a new and powerful reason why every encouragement to maintain coerced labour under any form should be withdrawn from them, and proves that while such encouragement is suffered to continue, the emancipation of the Slaves can never be permanently secure.

V. That the Memorial be addressed by this Meeting to Lord Melbourne, and signed by the Committee of the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society, and that the Members for the Borough be requested to present it to his Lordship.

REPORT, &c.

The HIGH BAILIFF commenced the proceedings of the evening as follows :—

Having been requested by the gentlemen composing the Anti-Slavery Committee to take the chair upon the present occasion, I feel it an honour certainly; as well from the benevolence of their motives, as from the high honour it confers upon myself to preside at a meeting of my fellow-townsmen. But the merit of their proceedings—and I am sure you will agree with me in thinking it great—belongs to them exclusively. It is my duty therefore, having been called to the Chair, to pass through the usual forms; and, what at a Birmingham Meeting is indeed very light, to preserve order. I shall now content myself with addressing you very briefly upon the important subject that has called us together ; to show that I am not indifferent to the cause which, looking to the gentlemen who surround me, I am sure will be ably and eloquently advocated. Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the *mode* in which the abolition of Slavery shall be effected, there can be none whatever as to the necessity of the measure itself. There was a deep and determined feeling, on the part of the English Nation, that Slavery should be abolished throughout her Colonies. *(Loud applause.)* Many excellent men indeed, blamed the Government for the Abolition Act, so far as regarded compensation to the planter, and the system of apprenticeship ; but the scheme of compensation, I, for one, thought honourable to this country. We had been a guilty nation; and it appeared but just, that we should share a portion of the punishment; and, instead of laying the heavy penalty upon the heads of the Planters, make a sin offering for the guilt of our country by a tax upon ourselves. The act was hailed with gratitude by millions, and it gladdened the departing spirit of Wilberforce. The bargain was sealed and ratified; and it became therefore, from necessity, the basis of our future proceedings; and the starting-place of our further exertions. It was rational to expect that the effect of such a measure on the minds of the Planters would be most violent; and we have not been disappointed. The Planters have borne the strongest testimony in their power to its justice and utility, by meeting its intentions with the most rancorous and violent opposition—their bad passions were aroused, as they contemplated the brightening hopes of the Negro, and they gave vent to their deadly revenge in acts of cruelty and blood. I will, however, say, let our vigilance rise with their exasperation. Let our watchfulness keep pace with their crimes. They are amenable to the British Nation for their enormities; and their inhumanity only justifies

the act of the British people. Free themselves, they are the decided enemies of freedom to their slaves; and hence arose some of the difficulties that beset this Government, and the necessity, for example, of looking to England for men to enforce the new laws on unwilling subjects. There was a difficulty in finding proper persons to send out on so important a mission, since it was not likely that men of standing, of experience and education, and of sufficient authority and influence would be found willing to risk the dangers of a noxious climate, and undertake the responsible duties of local magistrates, unless they had a local interest in these Islands. This is one of the difficulties that beset the Government; and it therefore becomes our duty to *back* them in their proceedings by all means in our power.—It has been the habit of my life always to endeavour to pursue a moderate course. Justified by long experience of its utility, I shall on the present occasion recommend a course of moderation. *(Murmurs of disapprobation and cries of No, No!)* Yes—I feel satisfied that this is the most effectual means of achieving a righteous cause; that you will find it most conducive to prosperous results, and that by steadily pursuing it, in a few short years you will see the slaves entirely free. In the mean time private exertion is wanted. The Government had an arduous duty to perform; but if we do *our* duty, and call upon the Government to do theirs, I doubt not that they will do it fearlessly—and, after all, the event must be left in the hands of Providence.

JOSHUA SCHOLEFIELD, Esq. M.P. began by expressing the disappointment of his just expectations with regard to the clauses respecting apprenticeship, While he felt regret however at this, he altogether agreed with the recommendation of the Chairman, that moderation should be adopted. All *knew* how painful it was to have to encounter interested views; and although he had never assented to the grant of twenty millions, he did agree to the vote of fifteen millions, as a peace offering, which in his conscience he believed could not have been justly withheld. For, to the disgrace of England, man was permitted to have a legalised interest in his fellow-man; and therefore it would be unjust to lay the blame on the Planter alone. On these grounds he conceived that the slave-owners had a just claim for compensation, before their property was taken away from them—*(Loud cries of No, No.)* He must say, Yes, Yes;—he must say, that the man who purchased a negro had a right to that property; and before he was deprived of it, the country had a right to make compensation. *(Much disapprobation and cries of No, No.)* It was the understanding on the part of the Abolitionists, that the period of apprenticeship was to have been coercion of labour in its mildest form, similar to what constituted the service of apprenticeship in this country; whereas it had been made, on the contrary, by the Planters, a period of cruel exaction of service, which increased ten fold the horrors of slavery; and by which they extorted from the bones, and sinews, and blood of the slave, the labour of fourteen years within the period limited by law to seven years.—*(Cheers.)* The originators of this measure of abolition had never contemplated such a frightful state of things, as now unhappily existed; and therefore the object of this meeting, and of the resolution which he held in his hand, was to express a conviction of the unjust operation of the apprenticeship scheme; and

that nothing but the solemn assurance of the framers of the measure that it was essential to the well being of the Negroes themselves, would have induced them to give their sanction to it. Much had been said with respect to the mode adopted for keeping the Slaves under the continued coercion described as apprenticeship; but for his part, he agreed in thinking that a gradual apprenticeship would tend to their ultimate good; and it was with this view he had voted, in his place in parliament, for what had proved to be a most objectionable system—a system which he still considered wise and judicious, if followed up in a proper spirit by the Planters; but which had been instrumental in drawing down upon the unhappy Negro an increased oppression, which no one could more sincerely deprecate and regret than himself.

The Rev. WILLIAM MARSH, Rector of St. Thomas's, Birmingham, was persuaded that but one feeling pervaded the vast assembly he had the honor to address; and that was, that their fellow-men and fellow-citizens—no matter what their colour—should enjoy the same privileges as themselves. As far as human citizenship was concerned, he gloried in the name of Briton; for by the principle of their constitution, privileges and social rights were granted to all, independently of their religious opinions. Although everything human was liable to abuse, and in course of time might require correction, yet this principle they still cherished with undiminished ardour. He begged the country to understand that Anti-Slavery Associations were not paralyzed; that they had still good feet to stand upon, and that they would send forth their voice throughout Europe, Asia and Africa—aye, and America too *(Cheers and cries of hear, hear,)* until she had heard and trembled at it *(renewed cheers.)* Why was that celebrated principle, the Balance of Power in Europe, so much admired? Why was it considered so essential? Why! Because it prevented the many from trampling on the rights and liberties of the few. For what were they assembled in that Hall to-night? To plead the cause of the Slave—that is, to plead the cause of liberty for the Slave. Why, he thought that they had already obtained it by the voice of public opinion, and the sacrifice of twenty millions of their property—*(hear, hear.)* But it appeared he was mistaken—the Negro was still in slavery, and all their labour had been in vain. Let them not, however, relax in their endeavours in the good work to which they placed their hands; and success would be certain to crown their labours.—While travelling in Ireland some years since, and while often in dread of his life from the spirit and recklessness of the post-boy, as he goaded his poor animals furiously along, whenever he popped his head out of the chaise window to remonstrate with Pat, the answer, he always received was, "Never fear your honour—Never fear your honour"—*(Cheers and laughter.)* Now, although they had been disappointed—although they had been, as it were, on a precipice with reference to their cause—did any one express doubts to him of the happy termination of their journey, he would say in the language of his friend Pat, "Never fear your honour—never fear." *(Immense cheering.)* But were they to be told that because a few may have made a bad use of liberty that the multitude were to be kept in Slavery? This he considered most fallacious reasoning, for it applied to every man who abused any favour conferred upon him. In the Committee the other day they had had a discussion

on the word *indignation*, some contending that the term was *too strong*; but he was not ashamed to confess that he did not vote for the omission of the word, as he could not repress the indignation that *he* felt when he reflected, that after the sacrifice of twenty millions of their money, the name of Slavery had been alone exchanged for a measure of ten-fold oppression. He was aware where he now stood—that he did not stand in New York, where although Slavery did not exist, yet no man was allowed to open his mouth in favour of liberty. He stood in the presence of John Bull—an honest and right-feeling animal—he is no longer a bull, but a man; and a good natured one when properly treated; and who would give more money to benefit mankind than all the rest of the world put together; but he did not like to be cheated. John Bull had therefore a right to say to the Planters, "What has become of my money—how have you fulfilled the contract made between us? (*Cheers.*) If you have not fulfilled that contract, you have no right to my money—and if by any means you have got possession of it, I will not rest satisfied, until I make you fulfil your agreement."—*(Loud cheers.)* He thanked Providence for the information that had circulated throughout the kingdom upon this subject, and the feeling that was abroad in favour of the Slave; it would soon he trusted be brought to bear with irresistible force on the minds of King, Lords, and Commons; and having reason on their side, he might with confidence exclaim "Never fear your honour—never fear."—*(Cheers.)* He trusted the time would soon come when the object the meeting had in view, the equal enjoyment of the privileges of the Constitution by their fellow creatures of every shade of colour, would be attained; and that that, and similar meetings held throughout the country, would tend to accelerate the period when slavery and corruption would yield to truth and virtue, and tyranny and oppression give place to liberty, happiness and peace.

Mr. GEORGE EDMONDS next presented himself to the Meeting, and observed, that it had been asserted, on the part of the High Bailiff, that there was a determination among the people of England to abolish Slavery. Now, he perfectly agreed that such had been, and was their determination, but he would ask, had they abolished it? No, they had not. They would no doubt that night hear from Gentlemen who spoke from experience, a detail of facts such as would convince them that so far from its being abolished, they had but *sunk* the name of Slavery in the hypocritical, base, deceptive term of Apprenticeship—a term intended to deceive the people of England.—*(Loud cheers.)*—Yes, they would learn from those Gentlemen that they had got Apprenticeship for Slavery—not apprenticeship, as was understood by the term in this country, but a vile system that exacted labour under fear of the lash; and the consequence of which was, that they were obliged, after the tremendous sacrifice of twenty millions of money, to start again with a new question—How were they to get rid of this apprenticeship? The Chairman had told them that England was a guilty nation. To this in the sense implied in the observation of that Gentlemen, he could not subscribe. He would ask them in what consisted *his* (Mr. E's.) guilt, when he had been incessant in his efforts to rouse the public feeling against Slavery; or where was their *Chairman's* guilt, when he was writing eloquent poems upon the subject, and would if possible have inspired every human being with the

same detestation of the system that he himself felt?—*(Cheers.)* For his own part, he must farther say, that he conceived it to be a mistake to say that they should have paid twenty millions to obtain the abolition. The original intention was to lend, and lend only fifteen millions to the Planters, but from some cause known only to the actors in the scheme, they were compelled to give, not lend, to those individuals, twenty millions of their money. He should like to see the bottom of this matter—he should like to see the whole case brought forward and logically discussed, and he should like to hear from the honourable gentleman by what right was every British family taxed £5 to pay for the emancipation of the Slaves.—But yet, they were a guilty nation! A guilty nation indeed! In what, he would again ask, did their guilt consist? Was it because they used sugar cultivated by the Slaves? But did they not *pay* the Planters for it? Well—they were to pay the twenty millions, and that was called a "sin-offering," and the people were the sinners! He would ask his honourable friend present, who were the sinners? Had the people ever sanctioned the use of the whip?—had they ever encouraged the punishments basely inflicted on females, violating at once the natural delicacy of their sex, and horrifying by their cowardly atrocities the imagination? No, they never did. He had always protested against the crime of slavery, and he defied any man to show any connection between the people and the system. The people, however, so far from participating in the crime, were willing to make any sacrifice to remove the evil; and *hence* their tacit consent to such a lavish expenditure. They knew it was true, that the slave-owners were actuated by fiendish passions, but still they did not imagine that they would have been as base and wicked as they turned out to be. They thought that twenty millions would have satisfied them; but what had been their return for thus liberally rewarding them? Why, a new and systematic plan of punishment had been adopted by them, and acted upon with the utmost cruelty. According to the present system, the child may now be separated from the mother, as before the passing of the Emancipation Bill. The poor Negro who lost half-a-day was now compelled to work for three days, as a punishment; and the most atrocious part of this regulation or law was, that the three days' labour, thus imposed, were for the Planter; who often struggled to find out imaginary faults in order that he might inflict real injuries. They can now make the Slaves as miserable—nay, more miserable than before. And let wives and mothers hear this—and for a moment imagine themselves giving the consolation of the breast to their tender offspring—if it should be discovered that the unhappy parent spent half-an-hour in thus ministering to the wants of her helpless infant, what did they imagine was the punishment inflicted for this inhuman crime? Why, this unfortunate being was obliged to forfeit a day's work—a day's work under a burning sun! If one of the Negroes was found rambling beyond his master's plantation, he was made to work for him for forty-two consecutive hours; and if he got drunk—a high offence in the eyes of those moral men—he had to work four days as a punishment, although, perchance it could be proved that the Planter, for the base purpose of getting four days' additional labour, had made the poor wretch drunk for the purpose. Thus throughout this monstrous system, they saw wherever wealth was, more wealth

was to be given; but where the people were wretched, additional humiliation and injuries were heaped upon them. The act gave to the master the benefit of the Slave's delinquency, but in no instance did it give to the Slave compensation for the crimes of the master. For mere insolence—and how difficult it was to define its meaning—for a look or a word, if construed into that offence, the poor wretch was liable to thirty-nine lashes. Again, should the Negro cut a sugar cane for his use, an offence tantamount to pulling a turnip out of a field in England, he was liable to receive *fifty stripes* or be imprisoned for three months; and as a wind-up to this horrible system, if one of them were found carrying a knife in his pocket without permission of his master, though it might be, that it had been unintentionally placed there after eating his dinner, he was liable to receive, just thirty-nine lashes, and no more! He would not mention any further facts. These were some of the laws of the new system of apprenticeship; and he would now put it to the meeting whether they did not agree with him in thinking, that they had been completely defrauded of their twenty millions? And would not those simple facts inspire their souls with detestation of this horrible traffic in Slaves, for Slaves they were still under the worst sort of coercive labour. After this, let them imagine to themselves the advice they had received to use moderation! Let them imagine themselves receiving thirty-nine lashes, and at every lash hear the word moderation till at length they got out thirty-nine moderations—*(Great laughter.)* The real fact was, that by moderation they wished to conceal the working of the system; and he believed if their worthy Chairman and Mr. Scholefield were to express their real opinions upon the subject, they never would have made use of the term moderation. Could men talk of moderation when they *knew* that twenty millions of money had been taken from the people. Could they talk of moderation when they saw the system of refined cruelty that was still carried on—Let the man who talked so place himself in the condition of the slave—let him be deprived of wife and child, or perchance see the mother bleeding under the lash for giving suck to her infant, with a thousand other atrocities of its kind—should such a man talk to him of moderation, he would not believe him; else he must be unworthy of the name of a human being, or some vampire animated by an infernal spirit. Why did not the Government at once exercise its power and put an end to the system? Was it to be endured that those villainous Planters should defy the people of England, after wheedling them out of twenty millions of their money! After this, did any man talk to him of moderation, he would beg him to instruct him in the meaning of the word.

The Rev. JOHN BURNETT, in allusion to what had been spoken before, said that he hoped he should be allowed to be moderate in his own way. He held it to be moderation to cry out, when he saw men in possession of the minds and bodies and souls of their fellow-creatures—he held it to be moderation to cry out, when he saw the wretched females still subjected to the lash—he held it to be perfect moderation to cry out, when he discovered men attempting to throw something like the guise of a political creed over eight hundred thousand of his fellow-men, labouring under oppressive bondage. So far from remaining silent, had he a voice loud as the Atlantic wave as it lashed those islands so long stained

with blood, he would give that voice its loudest emphasis in crying out against the abomination of Slavery. These were his views of moderation; and when he discovered gentlemen sitting down with all the coolness of arithmeticians, calculating the prices of men and the value of blood;—looking to the children rising into life, and to the aged moving towards the tomb, and exclaiming with the voice of oppression, "These are the men to be disposed of"—and counting the number of their victims as they would the bricks and stones of the palaces in which they dwelt—when he discovered this, and found the result of their calculations translated into memorials, and submitted deliberately and coolly to the Legislature—when he discovered this, he held it to be moderation to denounce the deliberate wickedness of such men.—In the midst of these their calculations of iniquity, however, they were producing results that would appear against them at the great day, when God would reckon with the murderer for blood. It might be asked if all those proceedings were really going forward, whether they had thus been carried on in past generations, and how it was that this crying iniquity had been so long winked at? Without entering into a direct reply to this inquiry, he would say, that under the implied circumstances, the act must be regarded as a matter of compromise—of compromise arising out of the timidity of one party and the cupidity of another. He did not wonder therefore that the act had found its way into being, but he was truly rejoiced to find such an assembly as the one he had now the pleasure to address had come together for the purpose of revoking it. They had treated the Planters as they would have treated injured men; but could there be, he would ask them, greater criminals than those who persecuted their fellow-men? Why, in legislating for the Slaves, did they enter into something like a commercial bargain, as if they had to do with honourable or honest men? In the West Indies society was not like that of this country—there it had risen out of oceans of blood and generations of bondage—and in blood it had attained its maturity. It was necessary that this horrible state of things should have been taken into account by the framers of the measure—but they sided with the oppressor against the oppressed—they feared to offend the Planters by throwing surmises into the act against them; common sense should have told them not to insult them, but common prudence should have taught them enough of their history to beware of them.—Taking this view of the act they might have expected that it would present something calculated to benefit the Negro; but such unhappily was not the case. The act, as originally intended, had for its object, the freedom of the Slave, and compensation to the master for his good conduct to the Slave for a certain period. These were the objects as stated in the act itself; and in dealing with such men it might have been supposed that the Government would have taken care that they did not abuse its provisions. But what was the fact? *One-half* of the act was taken up about the compensation to the Planters, but the same degree of care was not taken to secure equal benefits to the Negroes. Were gentlemen aware that Slaves could be sold, and were actually sold at the present moment? Were they aware that they could be handed over in legacies like money or cattle from one proprietor to another by the act itself? Were they aware that the act provided for their being brought into the market with

the estates on which they laboured, and that they could be transferred like goods and chattels? Such, however, was the fact, for the law still sanctioned the sale of human beings in the West Indies under the name of apprentices. But it may be said by some, that this apprenticeship was for the benefit of the Negro—that it was done in order to fit him for freedom. If properly applied, he admitted that it might have had such an effect. Formerly he was flogged *for his benefit*, and he would continue to be flogged for his *benefit* so long as they suffered it to be done. Who ever heard of a memorial or a petition coming from the Colonies for the abolition of Slavery? No one. On the contrary, they were the determined opponents to the freedom of their black fellow-subjects. It was gravely asked what would become of the Slave without this apprenticeship—what would become of him if told to go about his business? Just, what would become of thousands then before him, if Birmingham was placed in the situation of a Planters estate—they would go and seek employment elsewhere.—But again it was sometimes said in defence of this, that the Slaves could not secure employment; just as if the masters could live without employing them. Were the men of Birmingham sent about their business to-morrow, would they not discover other channels for their industry, leaving their masters to starve in their workshops amidst a wilderness of raw material, as the Planter would be left to starve on his estate? Would the sugar cane grow at the bidding of these great men? or would their wants and necessities, for which they themselves knew not how to provide, be supplied by invisible hands? He put the master and the labourer precisely on the same ground. There must be a working population as well as an employing one, else the rich would very soon become a starving population: while this was the case, the balance of necessity would create a reciprocity of interests, until at length the white master would be found to combine with his black fellow creature, and the inequalities of colour would be lost in the common advance of mind. If they looked carefully over the act of parliament, a copy of which he then held in his hand, in connection with all its faults, it would not appear that they had much reason to laud its framers, while it continued to act towards the Slaves as goods and chattels to the end of their apprenticeship. It had been said by the advocates of this measure, with a force that intimidated many from coming forward and at once protesting against its enactment, that apprenticeship would be the only means of ensuring the freedom of the Slave, by first instructing him how to obtain the necessaries of life. But was an apprenticeship of six years necessary to learn how to dig cane-holes, to cut them, and to take them to the boiler—all which, if they were already ignorant, might be learned in infinitely less time: this was not the case with the Slaves however, for they knew this "art and mystery" at present as well as any artisan in Birmingham, so celebrated for mechanical proficiency, knew the calling to which he belonged. Now, if during these six years the Negro was employed in holing, boiling, cutting and threshing canes, he would wish to know whether such work was a preparation for freedom? It was such a preparation as some horses were subjected to in training, when after years of hard labour, wound up in bad treatment, they were left rotting in some ditch by the way side, or killed for the sake of the skin. This was the kind of preparation the unhappy Negro was receiving for

his final emancipation in 1840. It may be said, might they not be educated ? The Act said so, and on liberal principles ; but what had it provided for this education ? Literally nothing. They took the twenty millions, and thought the education would do another day. No step up to the present moment had been taken to secure to them this important blessing, except the mere preliminaries of drawing up outlines and plans on which to ground the subject of their education : and after the system to be adopted had come out and was put in operation, how long did they think the Slave would have to learn ? Yet were the means afforded him to-morow, how could the Negro learn, when even his very existence was measured out by time ; and if remiss in his duty, that time was taken from him and applied to the benefit of the Planter ; and should the miserable being err but a hair's breadth from the path marked out by the law, he was deprived of another span of his wretched existence by his master under the name of a *fine !* Was this consistent with the just and liberal principles of the British Constitution, or was it worthy of the bold and manly feelings of Britons ? The Act said it was just and expedient that they should be free, therefore it was unjust and inexpedient that they should be held in bondage—should it enact that they were to have partial freedom, and yet allow a portion of that partial freedom to be taken from them ! If there was a single doubt as to the motives which actuated the Planters, he would refer to their acts for its solution. What was the course pursued by those men ? Why, immediately after the passing of the Act in this country, they introduced laws into the House of Assembly, not for the purpose of securing the freedom of the Slave, but of getting hold of the twenty millions. One of these measures was to the effect, that when the servant injured his master, the latter was to receive compensation *in time ;* but when the master infringed the law, the fine was to go to the *public*—and who were the "Public" of Jamaica ? Why, the Planters ; so that the fine might be said to pass from the right-hand pocket into the left. This was a specimen of Colonial justice and legislation. The Planters thus receive the produce of the fine on the Slave, but the Slave received no remuneration for the injuries inflicted on him. If this was not a proof of British justice, it was at least a proof of the necessity of their interference. Three months had scarcely passed away after the Apprenticeship scheme had received the sanction of the King and Council, and when they felt secure of receiving the compensation money, when these men, become more avaricious from the wealth thus poured in upon them, endeavoured to pass another Act for the purpose of remunerating themselves for any little advantages they had granted to the Slave. They had the hardihood to send this infamous document to this country for the sanction of William the Fourth, but he was happy to say it was returned to them unattested. The Act provided that there should be special magistrates to take care of the interests of the Negro. But was it likely that men of large fortunes would accept of such situations, and when men of small ones were sent out, it could not be expected that they would defend the Negroes ; for if they did their duty, they were sent (as the expression was understood) to Coventry, by the Planters ; and of course, not being able, for various reasons, to associate with Negroes, they were excluded from what was most delightful to man—the society of his fellows. If on the contrary they went to the

West Indies to whom could they *there* look for the discharge of such duties? There they were confined to the whites, and consequently to the Planters, the determined inveterate foes of freedom; therefore it was to the British public alone the Negro could look for emancipation. If any thing was required to exhibit more forcibly than another the feelings of those men, it was the extract of a letter which he would read to them addressed by a Planter to a Special Magistrate to try some offending Slaves—He would not mention the name of the Magistrate or Planter, but merely assure them of the truth of his statement. The Planter observed in the letter in question, that on Friday the Negroes left the field before the hour prescribed by the Act—that the authority of the head people was destroyed, and *unless the lash was applied* they might expect to see nothing but insubordination and rebellion. Lord Chesterfield said in one of his letters to his son, *the graces, the graces, the graces*—Now those who know the Negroes, say *the cat, the cat, the cat*—If you will make an example of the above, I shall be glad to see you as soon as convenient. That is (continued the Rev. Gentleman) *if he would give them the cat!* This Planter added, as a fitting postcript—I wish you had the command of a good ship, and that you would ship three steady magistrates here, accompanied by three persons six feet high, able to give forty-five lashes. He did not purpose reading the whole of this document, which would occupy too much of their time and their feelings. He would however tell them of another case, that of a poor Negro woman, who was wantonly shot through the leg by her master, and when the facts were brought before a grand jury, they ignored the bill, and refused to let the case go to a trial. True, she was guilty of an act of disobedience; to shoot her for it was the act of a fiend in human form, but that a trial should be refused was monstrous in the extreme. If they looked to the state of society indicated by acts of atrocity like these, it would give them some insight into the character of those they had to deal with. This was but one isolated circumstance out of a thousand; but he would ask was there a man who had ever heard for generations in England of a case in which a trial was refused when a woman was shot by a man! It required a certain state of society and of public opinion to tolerate or countenance such violence—and when such crimes were permitted to go unpunished, when such cruelties did reach our ears, we naturally associated the acts with the practice of barbarians, not with the happy destinies of men living under the British Constitution. Their whole nation must be degraded and sunk below civilization before such a state of things could be suffered. Was it a punishment for the folly of the English Nation that such things were permitted, and which when one hears on the authority of such men as the Marquis of Sligo, what can one say to the temerity that practises them, or the coldness and apathy that allowed them to be practised? The Marquis of Sligo, in his despatches, had alluded to the fact, that the women working in the fields had been, since the passing of the Act, deprived of those persons who used to nurse their children—the water-carriers had been taken away from them, they had lost the portion of salt-herrings that used to be allowed to them, and they were also deprived of other portions of their food, which the Planters contended had been only their perquisites. These were facts which had come under his knowledge, but he could tell them nothing of

the unfortunate beings confined in work-houses—nothing of their treatment in the hospitals, deprived of medicines or care to soothe their afflictions—nothing of the disgusting scenes of cruelty committed upon them—nothing of the pains they endured under all these accumulated sufferings. No; the Marquis of Sligo could tell them nothing of this catalogue of human misery which was hidden from his eye, but he bore testimony to their propriety and good conduct under those sufferings and trials which he had endeavoured to pourtray. Looking to these things he should simply say, that a grand and solemn duty devolved upon them, a duty which devolves upon you, Sir, (addressing the Chairman), a duty which devolves upon me, and a duty which devolves upon every man and woman in this assembly, with reference to these unhappy people; and upon what principle shall that duty be discharged?—Shall we wait for six long years to see the termination of this gradual emancipation? This I have already described. Do you want this? No, Sir, we do not like it—we will not have it. What sort of emancipation is it then that we require? Taking the state of society in the West Indies into account, with the experience we have had, we should be committing over again the weakness of which we have already been guilty in passing the Act, if we were to look for any thing but Emancipation—whole Emancipation—Emancipation without conditions. *(Loud applause)*. The only principle I hold, and on which I think we can now act is—the most unqualified and immediate Emancipation—*(Cheers and a cry of "be moderate.")* He thought he was perfectly moderate—he thought it perfect moderation to say, let those Planters have nothing further to do with the Slavery of their fellow-men. Take the whole history of the world since the creation, and tell him where such an Apprenticeship was ever thought or heard of to be laid upon men and women up to sixty years of age? Just suppose one of these aged beings coming amongst them that night, and saying "Massa, me one of the apprentices—Negro very happy after six years." *(Laughter.)* What would they say? Would it not be a mockery to think of these poor wretches looking forward to happiness *in six years* while standing on the verge of the grave? Now that they saw this act personified in all its frightful features before them, they must regard it as truly horrible. Only a few weeks before the question of Abolition had been introduced, this Apprenticeship scheme, if they had offered twenty millions of money for *all* the Negroes in the West India Colonies the Planters would have held a jubilee of joy. *(Hear, hear.)* If they took the old and the young, the sick and the maimed, on the whole, they would find that the twenty millions amounted to nearly thirty pounds a-head! What an enormous price was this—and yet these men had the effrontery to say "you are robbing and plundering us." When they heard of such things, was it not enough to rouse the indignation of that meeting and every similar meeting that was held throughout the country? He would therefore say to that meeting, Go on;—discharge the duties which devolve upon you—do not be immoderate—there can be no want of moderation in saying "We humbly beseech your Majesty." There can be no want of moderation in petitioning the House of Commons and the House of Lords—and in coming together in thousands and tens of thousands, as we do this night, to give vent to our oppressed feelings, and expression to the majesty of our indignation. *(Applause.)* If

there is no want of moderation in doing this, then would I say—memorialize—petition—meet—consult; but by all means do it quickly; for while you are on your knees praying to heaven for the boon, the aged Negro borne down beneath the weight of sufferings and years, is rapidly passing to that bourne where there is no tyrant to oppress, and no slave to be made the tool and victim of the tyrant. In conclusion I would beseech you not to trust any individual—When you come into the field in the hour of a nation's trouble, would you for a moment trust a single individual or allow him to suppress your energies? Would not every man feel that his country's safety hung upon his single arm, and that the victory he hoped to achieve would be his own. *(Cheers.)* He would advise them to adopt precisely this plan. Trust no man. Let him argue thus—If I can speak and act in liberating my fellow-man, it would be unjust to press upon another that responsibility which belongs to me. I respect Members of Parliament and Ministers of State—I am willing, nay anxious that they join hand in hand in the great work of human Emancipation; but I will not trust them in it alone. *(Cheers.)* I would however say to them—You have already heard the thunders of a people's energies asserting a nation's rights—and they were not withheld; when you again hear the same mighty voice demanding the liberties of a race whose only crime is their colour, I would call upon you to do them also justice; and for the rest I would say, "England expects every man to do his duty."

The Rev. ROBERT HALL, of Boston, U.S. was introduced to the Meeting as one of the twelve individuals who had formed the first Abolition Society in the United States. If he felt diffident in addressing so large and respectable a Meeting as the present, he would find an apology in the fact, that he was addressing them on the subject of human rights, —the human rights of Britons. He was an American. *(Cheers.)* He was proud of his country, but he had no sympathy with her vices,—no apology to offer for her crimes; and, least of all, for that crime which degraded the image of God to that of a brute. He was grieved to acknowledge that his own country stood pre-eminent in this guilt; but in making this acknowledgement, let it not be supposed that he loved America the less, but that he loved the cause of liberty still more. While advocating the cause of human rights that night, he could not forget that two millions and a half of his fellow-citizens were groaning in bondage, of the same bone and flesh that they were made of, sprung from the same Creator, and possessed of the same capacities for woe and happiness. *(Hear, hear, hear.)* He could not forget, that as a consistent American, they expected that he would that night plead their cause. He would offer no further apology, but throw himself upon their indulgence, and in pleading the cause of American slaves, he would be pleading the cause of their own, for he could not now be convinced that there were not *British* slaves. He would state to them some facts with respect to Slavery in America, with which perhaps they were not acquainted. In some of the States of America the slave was doomed to perpetual bondage. In the States of Lousiana (the most wicked and criminal of the States in this respect), the penalty of five hundred dollars was exacted for instructing a Negro; and conviction of the offence a second time was death by the law. In Colombia, there was what was termed a very

flourishing slave-trade, carried on; as also in the State of Washington, which might be termed its head-quarters. More than twenty thousand slaves were annually imported into Norfolk, Baltimore, Alexandria, and Virginia; and in the latter place, he knew of six thousand having been *bred* and sold in one year. As to the free people of colour, their condition was, in many respects, as humiliating and degrading as that of the slaves: they were treated as a different race from their white brethren: they were not permitted to leave the State to which they belonged, under the penalty of a heavy fine. And in South Carolina and Maryland, these laws were most severe. In the free States they suffer still more from the prejudice that rankles in the white man's bosom, than from the laws, unjust and oppressive as they are. The free coloured man was excluded from the tables of the public taverns,—from the inside of the stage-coach, and was driven from the cabins of the steam boats, and obliged to keep on deck, even in the most inclement weather. The rev. gentleman here mentioned a specific circumstance that had come under his own knowledge, in which a Missionary, a free man of colour, had come to Boston last year. He was a most estimable and devout Christian; and at a Meeting which took place in that city, the power, eloquence, and depth of feeling with which he spoke, roused the sympathies of a vast audience: on his return home, he got into the steam-boat, and although in a delicate state of health, he was not allowed by his white brethren the shelter of the cabin. He was obliged to remain on deck during a most inclement night! The free blacks were not only treated thus, but their children were excluded from the schools: riots continually took place wherever they were received, and mobs were collected to drive them away. In one instance, in which an Academy had been erected for their exclusive use, an infuriated mob collected, surrounded the building, and dragged it* from the hill on which it was built, into the middle of a swamp. The rev. gentleman next went into the history of Abolition Societies in America, which dated their origin from the termination of the war of Independence, when the American Congress declared all men free. Many Abolition Societies were then formed, who recognised this principle to its full extent; and their effects were rapidly seen in the emancipation of the slaves of New York and Pensylvania; but after a while the interest died away; other cares claimed the attention of the rising State, and it was only a short time since, that those indefatigable champions of human rights,—Garrison, and his few associates—tore asunder the veil which covered the deformity of their country, and revealed the horrid anomaly of Slavery in a land of freedom. He was aware of the prejudices that existed in America against the growth of Abolition feeling, which arose principally out of the identity of interest between the North and the South. Hence the atrocities committed under the name of *Lynch Law*, and the rewards which were daily offered for the conviction of persons found *guilty* of dissemminating Abolition principles. There was one difficulty, however, which was severely felt by the friends of liberty in America,—and that was the example of England, in adopting the system of Apprenticeship, instead of freedom, (*Hear, hear.*) He contended that nothing but immediate and uncondi-

* It was made of wood, and moveable.

tional emancipation was the right of the slave. They should hear of nothing else,—this should be the rock on which they took their stand; for they knew that they could not depend upon the assistance of the Almighty if they did not hold on stedfastly by this principle. He appeared before them that night as the advocate of the Amerian slave; and he would speak to them in the fulness of his heart, and in all sincerity, hoping they would do a great deal for their own; and assist him by example, to call out loudly for the abolition of the Apprenticeship system, and for the establishment of the rights of their fellow-creatures to the privileges of their institutions. And from the experience he had, he felt persuaded that if each individual persisted in doing his duty, Slavery would expire in America, and that shortly.

JOHN SCOBLE Esq., Secretary to the London Anti-Slavery Society, said it was quite refreshing to see an American on that platform, and to find Gentlemen from that country uniting with them on the subject of the Abolition of Negro Slavery. He was happy to confirm Mr Hall's statements from private correspondence which he had with the other side of the Atlantic; and as he had detailed to them much valuable information on that point, he (Mr. S.) should not detain them by dwelling upon it. He proceeded to observe, that the present system must be purified before they could expect to see the Negro in possession of those rights to which he was entitled. Mr. Burnet had brought before their notice instances of cruelty practised by the Planters. These, alas! were but specimens; for he dare not go into the revolting detail in an assembly like the present. He had said nothing of the mortality among the helpless children, from the cruelty exercised on the mothers. True it was that flogging of women had been abolished by Act of Parliament; but although they ceased to be flogged in the open field, yet when they were brought within the work-house, they were then flogged with as harsh severity as before the Abolition Act had passed. At the next assembling of Parliament he would bring before their notice documents on this most interesting and important subject. The ingenuity of the Planters in discovering every variety of punishment was unheard of in the days of Slavery. From the reports of special Magistrates it appeared that in various plantations dungeons were built, six feet by four, in which women were immured for twenty-four hours! Even their scanty clothing—that slight defence against the rays of a tropical sun—was not now allowed them. A look was construed into insolence: and would any one admit that a system which generated such acts as these was one consistent with the principles of British justice? He trusted that this respectable assembly would sympathize, not so much with the Anti-Slavery Society of Birmingham as with the unhappy Negro—that they would make his cause their own—that they would never stop till the Negro possessed as much freedom as the artisans of our native land, and that they would demand for him, in connexion with their fellow subjects, the immediate and entire abolition of slavery.

The Rev. THOMAS SWAN urged the Meeting to use vigorous and decisive measures for awakening the country from its delusion. Yes, the country was asleep,—the people of England were slumbering, and required to be awakened; and he trusted that that Meeting would sound forth the first note of preparation. The claims of justice and humanity

had been pleaded that evening; and, blessed be God! in this highly-favoured country, the friends of the Negro were still to be found, and Britons were anxious that slaves should cease to breathe in any quarter of the world. Britons were unacquainted with an aristocracy consisting merely in the colour of the skin, and despised that republic which boasted its love of liberty and respect for the rights of mankind, while it kept the Negro in bondage, and shut out from him, not only the light of freedom, but the light of celestial knowledge. The people of England were reposing in the idea that Slavery was abolished; but such was now found to be all a delusion. They had been all deceived. How miserably had they been disappointed! How completely had the benevolent designs of the humane been thwarted on that day when the slaves had been brought under the scheme of Apprenticeship,—a system proved to be worse than Slavery. He trusted that the feelings of to-night would not evaporate with the meeting; but that the facts of the case would be blazoned forth through the length and breadth of the land—facts that required only to be known, to call forth general indignation. They had heard that night that the Negroes in their West India colonies still groaned under the yoke of bondage,—that nine-tenths of the Special Magistrates were under the influence of the planters,—and that under the new scheme the mortality had become greater than before. He would tell the ladies and gentlemen present that night that all that had been hitherto done only rendered the condition of the slave worse. Up to the present period they were still in misery, in the hands of their oppressors; and, by some informality, the Act had had the effect of augmenting the power of the planter, and increasing those means of oppression which they were too ready, on every opportunity, to exercise. Were they, under these circumstances, to be talking of moderation? This was not a party question. Here Radical, Whig, and Tory, might all become united. From what had been advanced, it was clear that half-measures would not do; and he rejoiced in being enabled to tell the people of this country that the people of Birmingham would not be silent;—they would cry aloud,—their voice would be echoed throughout the kingdom, until having careered throughout the remotest corners of the earth, its thunders would burst the fetters of the slave.

The Rev. J. A. JAMES said that if it were indeed a fact, which abundant evidence from various and independent sources proved that it was, that the Apprenticeship Act, instead of being a measure of relief to the Negro, had been used as an instrument of cruelty; if the Stipendiary Magistrates, sent out to be the expositors and defenders of his rights, had become his oppressors: if females were still exposed and flogged, and the men suffered corporal punishment contrary to law; if the colonial legislatures were pertinacious in resisting all the beneficial operation of the Imperial Act, and discovered a perverse ingenuity in thwarting all the benevolent intentions of the mother country,—then what remained for that meeting to do, but to be satisfied no longer with remedial palliatives, and half measures, but to go back to the position they once occupied, from which they had been lured in an evil day, and demand for the Negroes, immediate, complete, and unconditional emancipation. He was quite aware that it was a bold, decisive, and to many doubtless, a startling requirement to ask for the abolition of an Act which had cost

this country twenty million sterling, which had so recently been passed with all the most impressive formalities of British legislation, which had been considered the great charter of Negro liberty, and a mighty achievement of English benevolence,—but he was bold enough to ask for this bold measure. He was quite aware that he should be met with the objection that such measure would be a direct breach of national faith, for so indeed it was viewed by some. He would be one of the last men to advise the attempt to do away the Act, if such a step involved any compromise of principle, or brought any stain upon our national honour. It is true when he first read the plan of Lord Stanley he threw it down with indignation and exclaimed, rather than accept so partial a measure, he would fight the whole battle over again. But still, had the colonists faithfully and with good intention fulfilled their part of the contract, he would never have asked for its being set aside, but have quietly waited for the expiration of its term. But when instead of this, they received it in the first instance with the surly growl of disappointed tyranny, and since then, had extracted much of the little honey it contained, and envenomed its poison, since they had employed all the subtleties of law and all the chicanery of legislation to nullify its beneficial provisions,—since they had passed acts contrary to its spirit and design,—he felt no delicacy in going up to the legislature and asking them to tear it in pieces and scatter it to the winds of heaven. Faith had been broken; notoriously, publicly, and shamelessly broken; but by whom? By the colonists. He considered that there were always two parties to a contract, and if the one party failed in their obligations, the other were no longer bound by theirs: there were reciprocal obligations, which were cancelled on both sides, if refused by either. He felt himself therefore quite relieved from all delicacy on this subject and hoped the meeting would also. The Apprenticeship Act had failed in its object, and ought to be repealed. For what was that object? Let it be loudly, repeatedly and emphatically declared, that this object, was not to pay twenty millions to the Planters—this, it is true, was one of its provisions, and enactments, but not the main object of the Bill; but its great design was to give a measure of substantial freedom to the Negro, and to impose no more restrictions than were necessary to carry it into safe and easy operation. In this they had signally failed, and the delusive statute ought to be immediately annulled.

He congratulated his fellow-townsmen on the honours, of which they may be almost proud, of being the first town in the Empire that had raised its public and indignant voice against the present state of our Negro fellow-subjects; they had given the key-note to that chorus, loud and deep, of sympathy for the Negroes and resentment against their oppressors, which was about to be raised, he hoped, through the length and breadth of the land. Let them go on to take an interest in the cause. They had liberty,—they enjoyed it,—and would suffer no man to take it from them. Let them recollect that the noblest end of freedom was to employ it in gaining the liberty of others, and that its sublimest position was to be seen smiting off the fetters of the slave. They would be advised to let alone the business, for that the Act would expire in five years. It might be well enough for those in the possession of liberty and all its comforts, to speak of five years as a short term; far differently

would it be viewed and felt by those in bondage. Let them think of the lashes that would be inflicted, tears that would be shed, the groans that would be heard, and the hearts that would be broken in those five years; and would they speak lightly of this mass of misery? And moreover, it should not be forgotten, that goaded by disappointed hope and a sense of aggravated wrong, the Negro, hitherto exemplary for his patience, might throw off his forbearance, rise upon his oppressor; and the whole system of slavery even yet be drowned in the blood of the blacks, or the whites, or of both. They would be told, that if the Act were to expire to-morrow the Negroes would be much at the mercy of the Planter, and that it would be wise therefore to conciliate him. So it would, if it were possible. Let the friends of the Negro in this town come forth and not be weary of well doing: they and their fathers had helped to extinquish the infernal slave trade—they had changed the name of slave into that of Apprentice—and now there was but one thing more for them to do, and to do immediately; and that was to seek that the delusive and equivocal name of Apprentice, might be lost for ever in the intelligible appellation of FREEMAN: when they had done this, and not till then, should they allow themselves to consider that they had done their work.

Captain MOORSOM, R. N. was happy to perceive the determination manifested by the meeting, to persevere till the system was totally abolished; and he trusted that when the subject was again submitted to Parliament, the Member who promised again to introduce it would be backed by the moral sense and moral power of the people; aud would meet his opponent in the Senate hand to hand, and foot to foot, with an unflinching mind, and unfluttering heart. While he felt fully confident of the triumphs of justice and of mercy, he also felt assured that every contrivance would be had recourse to by the Planters, to weave round the negro the meshes of slavery; and would he not have the power to do so, as no doubt he would have the will?

At the close of the Meeting the following Memorial to Lord Melbourne, was carried by acclamation.

MEMORIAL TO LORD MELBOURNE.

"That your Memorialists, although generally of opinion, in the first instance, that the Abolition Act was, in its own nature impracticable, were willing to afford it an equitable trial; waiting the result under a hope that, in the event of its failure, such legislative measures would be pursued, as should coincide with the reasonable expectations of the British public.

"The experiment of one year has not only justified their previous opinion, but proved, that the Act, instead of attaining its professed object, has directly, or indirectly, augmented the evils of Colonial Slavery.

"To this disastrous issue must be added the fact, that as the enormous sacrifice of twenty millions to the Planters was made under an implied covenant, that they should faithfully perform their share towards carrying into effect the provisions of the Act, and as such condition has not been performed, we consider the nation to be virtually released from

any obligation to discharge a debt thus cancelled. The transaction, indeed, on the part of those who receive the bounty, without affording the relief in consideration of which it was granted, we regard as having the character of a practical and deliberate fraud; and such as, in all other human contracts, would be universally and deeply resented.

"The present course of proceeding, if not vigorously and perseveringly resisted, will, in the apprehension of your Memorialists, terminate in our having presented a gratuity of twenty millions to the Planters, and in an indefinite continuation of Slavery.

"Under these circumstances your Memorialists appeal to his Majesty's Ministers at the close of a Session, during which this urgent subject was not suffered to be examined; and aware, also, of the long period likely to elapse before it can again be offered to Parliamentary investigation.

"In the interval, the sum of fifteen millions, being the first instalment of what cannot *now* be equitably claimed, will have been paid; and the Treasury of the United Kingdom so far abandoned to an Act of spoliation.

"We consider it to be superfluous to extend the present Memorial, by adducing such facts as would authenticate the general statement; knowing that sufficient evidence is already deposited in the Colonial Office; and that his Majesty's Government has also received detailed representations of the incompetency of the Abolition Act to its purposes, and the defeat of its more efficient clauses by Colonial Legislation. We therefore refrain from what would be only a repetition of facts either acknowledged to exist, or not denied, or attempted to be refuted, by any party interested in their authenticity; more particularly as a Memorial recently presented by the Anti-Slavery and Abolition Societies of the Metropolis, containing a condensed analysis of the general subject, and which, as we understand, was received without the least intimation that it conveyed a single exaggeration of fact or argument, is deposited in the hands of the Colonial Secretary, as an accredited reference to the points under discussion.

"It may not be unadvisable to state, that the present unsatisfactory condition of the Sugar Colonies is acknowledged by all parties, and looked upon as the immediate consequence of the working of the Apprenticeship scheme; and that, therefore, the advocates for the Abolition of Slavery are supported by public, and even hostile opinion, in their remonstrances as to the necessity of revising the present existing system.

"It would be disingenuous, indeed, to allege that your Memorialists only aim at a farther experiment, under the Imperial Act, of what may be accomplished by an improvement of subordinate Legislation among the Colonists themselves; as though we depended upon their intention, or power, to establish a polity of justice and mercy, with an ultimate view to the abolition of Slavery. On the contrary, we would distinctly state our conviction, that nothing short of the entire emancipation of the Slave from every restraint, except such as may be, and is, equally imposed upon the white population, will effectually destroy, or even materially alleviate, the oppressions of the Colonial system.

"But as long as the measures of Government at home are subject to revision and practical repeal, by inferior powers, we are compelled

to view all attempts towards the actual abolition of Slavery as nugatory.

"Under the influence of this conviction, we can only express our surprise that, considering the discretion vested in his Majesty's Ministers, it should be deemed obligatory to distribute any farther portion of the public revenue among claimants who have actually forfeited all right to the Parliamentary bounty, by disobedience to a statute founded on the principle of a formal and inviolable covenant. It appears to your Memorialists, that such distribution is directly a measure of injustice to those, from whose resources the sum of twenty millions is abstracted."

APPENDIX.

The subsequent extracts are selected from a vast mass of papers; and have chiefly appeared elsewhere. But as our space is limited, the details are confined to the state of things in Jamaica, well known to be the most important of the Western Islands; and where, of course, the actual Abolition of Slavery would be most extensively beneficial to the Negro population, and most influential, as an example, to the rest of the Sugar Colonies.

May 28, 1835.—"On many of the estates, they began, from the 1st August, a system of annoyance towards the Negroes which only shows me ten times more strongly than I thought when I wrote before, the real and secret history of former times. They turned women of seventy years of age, with more than ten children alive, who during slavery were always exempt from labour, or at least any thing more than nominal labour, to the field. Another cruelty is that of depriving the *working* and *suckling* mothers of the assistance of these women to watch their children in the trays under the shade in the field, in order that the mothers may come and occasionally suckle them. It came to my knowledge that in some instances they forced them to work all day with their children *tied on their backs*." *February* 24, 1835.*—"The new law made in aid of the Abolition Act, is very bad: Apprentices are now valued at 60, 80, 90, pounds; *in fact they cannot now purchase themselves*. Some of the Special Magistrates flog most cruelly." *October* 18, 1834.—"If a person not practically acquainted with the economy of a plantation had sat down to imagine a scheme that could entirely mar the benevolence of this great measure, he could never have devised an

*"I have just learned that Mr.——has been suspended from his office as Stipendiary Magistrate; and that ——— has been compelled to resign. Dr. ——— says they are two of the best men in Jamaica. Dr. ——— has been ordered to another district; and he has refused, and is determined to try the power of the —— to act in this arbitrary way. Seventeen Special Magistrates have died, resigned, or been suspended during the year; all of whom, with the exception of J——, are, I believe, the friends of the Negro. Whom have we left? I fear those only who are friends of the planter."---*From a more recent communication.*

expedient equally successful with that by which the creole mind turned the whole blessing into a curse."†—"Overseers and book-keepers are not only adverse to the new system, but interested in defeating it. It has deprived them of authority; in a few years it will deprive them of bread. Their irritation is exhibited on every trivial occasion, in expressions of invective and abuse. The vexations the Negroes endure, consist in withholding the customary allowance of salted provisions, rum, and sugar; or, where they are continued, of exacting from the Negro such extra labour as the law allotted for the necessary cultivation of the Negro grounds. It is in vain that the Attorney-General has invoked the spirit of the law where it has been deficient in the letter, to secure for the Apprentice the continuance of their usual allowances, and those privileges, which the old law afforded to the slaves, of exemption from field labour for those women who had six children living on a property, or the allotment of lighter work for those in the last months of pregnancy, or the abstraction of sufficient time from their masters for the necessary performance of the offices of maternity which was formerly permitted to the mother in the field." *March* 16, 1835—"The system is working worse and worse. Some of the Special Magistrates appear to have no regard whatever to law.—A number of liberal and upright Special Magistrates have resigned their commissions in disgust; and those who remain in the special commission are persons who were formerly overseers, and others who themselves are apprentice-masters; and the severe floggings they inflict, and their disregard to the interests of the Apprentices, as well as the favours which they receive from estates, show that they are not fit for the important and responsible office which they hold. The Apprentices view them with distrust and indignation, instead of confiding in them as friends and protectors. Their hopes are in many respects dashed; and *several of them have said to me, that they wished the* 1*st of August had never come.*" *April* 1, 1835.—"You can conceive *nothing more thoroughly horrible than the system of coerced labour*, under the Apprentice Law." After alluding to the severity of the punishments inflicted both on male and female Negroes, he adds, "Unmitigated Slavery was nothing to this. It induces a most hopeless feeling, for it is injustice under the pretence of law; whereas the old state of things the Negro knew to be lawless altogether."—"Mr. Kennedy, of St. Anne's, was indicted for shooting an old woman on his uncle's property; he had ordered her to go home before him, to be put in confinement, for assisting a Negro during master's time. The woman begged hard to be let go, 'and never would help neger in massa's time again;' but Mr. Kennedy would not hear her; she attempted to get away; he levelled his double-barrelled gun, and lodged the contents of one barrel in her leg and thigh. He then discharged the other barrel, but missed his aim. The wounded woman was then taken home; no doctor was sent for; and the following day she was ordered to the field. The evidence was incontrovertible, but *the Grand Jury ignored the*

* From a "Twelvemonth's Residence in the West Indies, during the transition from Slavery to Apprenticeship; by R. R. Madden, M. D." 2 vols. Cochrane and Co. The author was one of the Stipendiary Magistrates: he resigned his commission in disgust. His work is most earnestly recommended to general perusal; and might almost be regarded as decisive of the question against the Planters, in the absence of all other evidence.

Bill."*—" Mr. Portland, of St. Anne's, was tried for the murder of an aged Negro, his watchman. The circumstances were these. For some offence, he was causing the Negro to walk before him, to be put in confinement. The old man did not, or could not walk as fast as Mr. P. desired; and for not doing so, Mr. P. took out his pistol and shot him through the back—the man lingered a few days, and then died. There was a verdict of manslaughter, and Mr. P. was sentenced to nine months imprisonment."†—" Mr. Mouchette of Montego Bay, was indicted for causing one of his Negroes to be torn by dogs, and severely injured thereby. The man's offence was going without leave of the overseer to bury his wife, then dead three days, he (the overseer) having previously, on three occasions, refused the man time to dig the grave. When it was discovered that the Negro in his desperation had gone without permission, Mr. M. had the dogs brought out and set on the Negro. The result was the injury alluded to. The Chief Justice, to his honour, put the case before the Jury in such a way, that the white man could not escape conviction. There was a verdict of guilty, and 'the atrocious cruelty,' as the conduct of the prisoner was stigmatised by the Chief Justice, was punished with a fine of £100 currency."—" Mr. Brackenridge, a bookkeeper, was tried for the murder of a Negro, and for injury done to two others, by shooting at them through the door of their hut, where they were singing hymns. (I visited this man in prison, and was disgusted at the indifference he manifested.) I have not heard the result of the trial; but, from the exertions made in his behalf by the white people, I have no idea he will be convicted. These are only a few of the cases of atrocity that have gone before the higher court; but were those which have come before the Special Magistrates, even since last August, brought before the public, they would hardly be credited." *February* 26, 1835.—" I went on the 11th instant to Rodney Hall workhouse, and saw the treadmill. It is a most frightful instrument of torture and death. The person at the workhouse told me that two pregnant females had died in consequence of having been put upon it; but that his master did not know the state they were in, or he would not have put them on the mill. The poor workhouse Negroes are put upon the wheel every morning before going to work upon the road, for twenty minutes; and again for twenty minutes each evening in coming from it. Their yells are dreadful; and when a poor wretch misses step, he has his leg skinned by the mill, and he is flogged until he regains his position upon it. One old man told me, he heard all the Negroes around him saying they would rather take a severe flogging, than be put upon that mill every day for a fortnight. If we have any further disturbance, it will be caused by the awful oppression and cruelty that is going on I fear over a great part of the island." *July* 8, 1835.—" I am sorry to say Captain ———'s information from Jamaica is any thing but satisfactory. He is one of the Magistrates who protected the Negroes, and, therefore

* This statement derives an awful importance, not from the cruelty of the individual who committed the crime, but from the circumstance, that a Grand Jury could deliberately acquit the criminal---an illustration of the public feeling existing in Jamaica among the higher ranks of society.

† In accordance, of course, with the estimate formed by Colonial jurisprudence, of the amount of guilt contracted by actual murder.

has been persecuted. One fellow of the name of ———, a *Magistrate* of the country till last December, has laid actions against him; the damages of which amount to nine thousand pounds. I have little hope of amelioration of the condition of the Negroes while this system of Apprenticeship lasts. The attornies, and planting agents of the proprietors, who compose the House of Assembly, are playing a *very deep game:* they are seeking to oust the absent proprietors, to induce them to dispose of their properties for little or nothing; alarming the timid by gloomy representations of the present state of things, and still gloomier forebodings of future prospects." *April* 7, 1835, *(from a Missionary.)*—"Several Slaves have said to me in the bitterness of their sorrow, that they wished things had remained as they were before. For this I always check them, and call to their minds the fact, that at the end of six years they will be free. They reply, 'But if our owners are so hard upon us, we shall not live till then.' This is a fact, that the care of their lives, which on the old system was the owner's interest, is not now of so much importance; and the Apprentice feels this. If the young children are sick, the mother cannot attend them, without paying back the time so employed. They are obliged to hire a person to nurse their children, while they go to work in the fields; as the estate does not, as formerly, furnish a nurse. Their supplies of food and clothing at Christmas are very imperfectly afforded."—Extract of a dispatch from the Marquis of Sligo, to the Right Hon. T. S. Rice,* *August* 13, 1834:—"From what Colonel Macleod has informed me, I am confident, that as soon as the misunderstanding is got rid of, they (the Negroes) will be quiet, unless *forced into rebellion by the conduct of the overseers,* and, I am sorry to say, *many of the masters and managing attorneys.* My letters by yesterday's post, have confirmed this opinion, as there have been several petty disturbances, attended with cases of punishment, in St. James's Westmoreland, and St. Elizabeth, in almost every instance caused either by the intemperate conduct of the overseers, or exaction by the proprietors or managers." *February* 26, 1835.—"Many of the valuations are excessively high; as those who wish to purchase their Apprenticeship are generally of the first description of Negroes: and the masters on such occasions do not fail to give them the highest character for excellence, in order to enhance the value of their services to them for the remainder of their Apprenticeship, and so obtain a higher valuation. The general way of proceeding is for three Magistrates to put down each one his price, to add the three prices together, and take one third of the whole. Thus one may say £120, another 80, and the stipendiary Magistrate may value at 40. The three sums would be £240, and the one-third £80: and this would probably be the price agreed on as the value of the remainder of the Negro's Apprenticeship." *April* 30, 1835.—"The effects of a certain Colonial Act are to prevent any Negro from liberating himself unless he pay an exorbitant price. I will give you an example:—A Negro belonging to an estate—say one of the great gang—

*In this instance alone we have given the *names* of the official parties, and the reader will see the importance of authenticating the statement in the text, by the authority of the Governor of Jamaica when addressing the Secretary for the Colonies. In another dispatch Lord Sligo writes,—"I am confident the Negroes will be quiet, unless forced into rebellion by the conduct of the overseers, or exactions by the proprietors or managers."

applies to purchase the remainder of his Apprenticeship. The master on oath states that he has never hired him out, but that he is worth 3s. 4d. per day to him, as he pays at that rate for jobbers. The Apprentice cannot disprove this; and the Magistrate under the Act values as follows:—

Four days and a half weekly, at 3s. 4d. per day is 15s. per week, or £39 per year. Five Years and three months, supposing the valuation takes place in April, at £39 per year is	£204	15	0
Deduct one-third for contingencies.....	68	5	0
Balance of Apprenticeship term.....	£136	10	0

Were such a valuation to occur, it would be quite in accordance with the new law; and unless the Apprentice paid the amount, he would be compelled to remain such. The lowest valuations are now from £40 to 50. Mr. ——— had to pay more than £50 for a female, whose manumission I was requested to procure immediately after the 1st. of August, for whom I would not have given £40 one month before." *May* 28, 1835. —"Look at the sufferings of the Missionaries—the destruction of places of worship, and reflect upon the horrible fate of Slaves who died under the lash, while others were executed without trial; and then recollect that the bill of indemnity, passed by the very perpetrators, was provided as a safeguard against the punishment which their offences merited. Do these men repent of their conduct,—do the colonists exhibit one particle of compunction,—do they express the slightest regret for the past, and expiate their conduct by the promise of future amendment? No, the very reverse! the cry is, "Let MARTIAL LAW come again, and we shall know what to do: the —— are PAID for now, and we cannot lose if we do not leave one black skin in the island! What can they (the parent government), do to us? We have only to pass *another Bill of Indemnity*. Let what will happen, they cannot injure us." *June* 20 & 26, 1835. —"Coercion is decidedly on the increase. In a few instances the Governor has tried to check it! but it is too late; he had given way too far. He has dismissed two or three drunken magistrates, who were not even fit companions for the majority of Overseers. He dismissed Mr. —— for cruelty, after having allowed him to enjoy a reign of terror almost unequalled in the annals of Slavery for the space of seven months. Mr. —— would still have been in the commission, had not his brutal propensities brought him in contact with the rector of the parish, who happens to be one of the few among our clergy of correct principles.—Mr. ——, Mr. ——, and Mr. ——, who are looked on as the most prominent of the coercive party, are still in office. I alluded in a former letter to a case of a man and woman being chained together: since then I have obtained the particulars. As I conjectured, Mr. —— was the magistrate who passed the sentence. The woman's name, Priscilla Taylor, (married) apprentice to Mr. Brown, of Happy Grove, St. Andrews, had been ordered one Friday to go for water to some distance. Her master said she took too long to go for it. In the evening he caused her to be put in the dungeon, and kept her there all Saturday, her own day. On Monday, she went to Mr. —— to complain: he gave her a letter. On her way home she lost the letter: and returned to Mr. ——, who gave her another letter: she then returned home. Next day Mr. —— visited

the property, and ordered her (Priscilla) *to be chained to a man;* and to be worked in the field in such manner. They afterwards escaped; and with collars and chain on, presented themselves before Special Justice ——, of Spanish Town, since dead. He sent them to the workhouse, where they remained two weeks, all but two days; were taken back by their master; were again ordered to be chained together, and sent to the field. Priscilla declared she would not be chained to the man; again resisted; was then put in the dark hole and kept there till Friday (from Wednesday), when she was again taken, and personal violence resorted to, in order to chain her to the man, Her resistance and struggles, together with her excited feelings, at length brought on alarming hysterical convulsions: she was carried back to the dungeon with the chain and collar on her neck, where she was kept locked up, although she was the mother of an infant seventeen months old, which was not weaned when she was first put in chains.—A man applied to me the other day from a neighbouring parish, having a very bad sore leg; he was resting in the field—his overseer took offence at it—beat him violently with a cane; then knocked him down, and kicked him with all his force on the head and body, and finally sent for one of the plantation-constables—had the man laid down and flogged with the cat across the shoulders, the marks of which he exhibited. The magistrate certainly fined the overseer £5. but the affair was slurred over as a common assault. The overseer was excessively indignant at being fined, and since then is incessantly harrasing his victim.—The demand for iron collars and chains at the stores of the ironmongers has never been so great for twenty-five years back, as it has been during the last four months. In nearly every part of the island are to be seen penal gangs on estates, composed of men and women, boys and girls, kept at constant work in the field, chained in pairs. The Planters are delighted with this mode of punishment, as the culprits then have no days,—are kept at work after hours every day, and every Friday and Saturday,—are locked up in the dungeon every night, and the whole of *Sunday*. It is, therefore, very profitable to have strong penal gangs constantly on hand.—Two weeks ago two women presented themselves before me (one with an iron collar on her neck), from Trafalgar, in St. George's, the property of ——, about twenty miles from my own residence. The substance of their complaint (on oath) was as follows: Milley Thomas, with a child at her breast, had been kept in chain and collar two weeks for the following offence:—On the first of August the nurse in the field was taken away; mothers of infants, compelled to work with children tied to their backs all day; did so for about six months; found it distressing, particularly in the steep fields. In February or March last, applied to Mr. Simpson, the attorney, to let them have a nurse: he said they must pay for it with extra labour, as the children were free. An old woman was put as nurse; and the six childrens' mothers were compelled to work *every Sunday as payment*, cutting grass, and any other employment about the works. Milley missed paying two Sundays; on one was sick, on the other, had to carry provisions to a sick brother twelve miles off. The overseer took her before the special magistrate, at Buff Bay; charged her with disobedience of orders, in not cutting grass on the two Sundays. No sentence was passed in her presence; but on returning home, the overseer said he had orders from

the Magistrate to work her in chains and collar for two weeks.—The other woman, Molly, had a dispute with one of the men in the field. The man struck her on the face; she returned it, and a fight ensued. They were separated. The following week she and the man were taken before the Magistrate, at Buff Bay. The man was sentenced to six lashes; but no sentence on the woman in her hearing. The overseer, however, said he had her sentence also, on paper. The next Monday evening, she and Milley had collars put round their necks, and were chained together with *a thick heavy cattle chain*, used to drag timber from the woods. No other chain was to be had on the spur of the moment; they were locked up in the dark room that night; next morning sent to the field with the gang. Milley, with *her child tied to her back*, and the heavy chain dragging between them, and in that way obliged to keep at work all day: at shellblow, locked up for the night; after that kept every day about the works chained together, at night locked up. Fridays and Saturdays at work; and on Sunday in the dark room all day:—allowed on an average two plaintains and a half each per day:—this continued two weeks, when Milley and her infant were released. But Molly, being sentenced to four weeks of the collar and chain, had to bear it alone: but it was found that the chain was too heavy for one to bear; it was, therefore, taken off, and the collar only left on. On the following Sunday they made a complaint which was forwarded to the King's House. The Secretary referred the complaint to *the special justice*.—I understand that in St. George's and St. Andrew's there are very few properties without penal gangs. The Act authorizing penal gangs has not yet been disallowed by his Majesty—Government surely cannot know the tendency of its provisions. This day, a very decent woman (free) brought her son, a sickly boy of about 16, before me; he is an Apprentice to a Mr. Roberts: has been lame for two months back, with a malignant ulceration of one of his toes, was neglected by his master, and made to work, notwithstanding the state of his foot, which bled constantly and daily got worse; his mother took him to her house to try to get it cured, by rest and dressings. The master knew the boy was there; after being with his mother about ten days, the toe beginning to improve, Roberts sent for him last Wednesday by the parish constable, put him in the stocks, next day carried him before Mr. ——, Special Magistrate of St. David's—he was charged with going home from his master without his leave, and for this Mr. —— sentenced him to receive 50 *lashes on the back*; fortunately the poor boy got away from the constable in the night, or Mr. —— might probably have had to stand his trial for murder, as in the boy's state of health, the infliction of fifty lashes would scarcely have left a chance of surviving. Nothing can equal the exemplary patience under suffering which the Apprentices every where exhibited—but can we expect it to continue? They are cheated, abused, and ill-treated, and all under colour of a law, which was intended for their benefit; but the day of retribution must come at last."—"To sum up the whole, the legal position of the Negro in Jamaica is this;—he is nominally subject only to gratuitous labour for his master, for forty-five hours in the week, and to certain civil disabilities for public offices, which were considered incompatible with his dependent con-

dition. Such was the intention of the mother-country, and such too, is the pretended object of the Jamaica statutes. But, in fact, he remains an *emancipated prisoner* on the plantation to which he is attached; substantially liable to the same punishments, and labouring under the same incapacities as heretofore. He cannot quit the estate, even during his own hours, without fear of punishment. He cannot dance with his Children, or associate with his neighbours, without punishment. He cannot complain to the Magistrate, or remonstrate with the master, without risk of a flogging for 'insolence,' or 'unjustifiable' absence. The whip follows him at every step; imprisonment and hard labour await him at every turn. His home is converted into a prison, and the plantation into a prison-yard! and, as if to prevent the possibility of his forgetting the custody in which his Apprenticeship places him, penal gangs patrole the estates, and bilboes are constructed in every village. Lastly, notwithstanding the reiterated provisions of the Colonial Acts, affecting to guarantee to him the undisturbed enjoyment of the time emphatically called his own, the machinery of those Acts is so ingeniously contrived, that he may, if he has once absented himself without permission, be legally worked for forty-two hours, in uninterrupted succession, and then dismissed with a flogging if he ventures to complain! He remains destitute of nearly every right, except such as he possesses in common with the beasts of the forest; and, in one respect, his situation is worse than theirs: for the time allotted to him by the Abolition Act, to cultivate his ground aud find his family in food, may be abstracted for forty shillings currency, to be paid into the public treasury. Such is the Apprenticeship, as established by Colonial Law."*

* From an "Analysis of the Jamaica Acts to carry into effect the Act for Abolishing Slavery," by a Barrister; which is strongly recommended to the Reader's attention.

B. Hudson, Printer, Birmingham.

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THREE YEARS'

FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY EFFORT,

IN

BRITAIN AND AMERICA:

BEING

A REPORT

OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE

Glasgow Ladies' Auxiliary Emancipation Society,

SINCE ITS FORMATION IN JANUARY, 1834:

CONTAINING A SKETCH OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES;
AND VALUABLE COMMUNICATIONS ADDRESSED BY THEM, BOTH TO SOCIETIES AND INDIVIDUALS IN THIS COUNTRY.

"Can *we* behold unheeding,
Life's holiest feelings crushed?
When *woman's* heart is bleeding,
Shall *woman's* voice be hush'd?"

GLASGOW:
PRINTED BY AIRD & RUSSELL, 75, ARGYLL STREET;
AND SOLD BY G. GALLIE, BUCHANAN STREET;
J. M'LEOD, ARGYLL STREET; D. ROBERTSON, TRONGATE;
AND WILLIAM SMEAL, GALLOWGATE.

MDCCCXXXVII.

PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

PUBLIC MEETING.

GLASGOW, 17*th March*, 1837.

AGREEABLY to previous advertisement, a Public Meeting of the GLASGOW LADIES' AUXILIARY EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, was held in Dr Wardlaw's Chapel, at Seven o'clock, Evening.

On the motion of *John Ure, Esq.*, of Croy, the HON. WILLIAM MILLS, Lord Provost of Glasgow, was called to the Chair.

The Lord Provost having briefly, but appropriately, introduced the business of the Meeting, called on Mr GEORGE THOMPSON to read an Abstract of the Ladies' Report of their proceedings since the commencement of the Society. It was afterwards,

I. Moved by the *Rev. Alexander Harvey*, Relief Minister, and seconded by *George Watson, Esq.*,

"*Resolved*—That the Report, an Abstract of which has been now read, be printed and circulated, under the direction of the Committee."

II. "That, in the judgment of this Meeting, this Society has the strongest claims on the zealous support of the Females of Glasgow,

and earnestly invites their cordial and strenuous co-operation, in its endeavours to achieve the deliverance of many thousands of their own sex, who are held in the most degrading bondage—treated with the most revolting cruelty—unjustly deprived of the common and inalienable rights of humanity—and debarred from all the sympathies which flow from the tenderest relationship of life."

III. Moved by the *Rev. James Godkin*, Independent Minister, Armagh, and seconded by *James Beith, Esq.*,

"*Resolved*—That whilst this Society desires to acknowledge the Divine Agency in the measure of success which has hitherto attended their efforts, they again solemnly pledge themselves to persevering and increased exertions in promoting the cause of Universal Emancipation; and, animated in the prosecution of this good work by the heroic example of American Females, engage to send them an Address, expressive of the warmest admiration of their zeal—the deep interest taken in all their movements—assuring them of our united and fervent prayers for their preservation and success—and soliciting a continued correspondence with them, that we may be more closely bonded together in this cause of Religion, Justice, and Humanity."

IV. Moved by the *Rev. James M'Tear*, Relief Minister, and seconded by *Patrick Lethem, Esq.*,

"*Resolved*—That we rejoice in the formation of Ladies' Societies, both in England and Scotland; and specially tender our thanks to the Ladies' Society of Newcastle, for a donation of £20, per Mr George Thompson."

V. Moved by *Robert Kettle, Esq.*, and seconded by *William White, Esq.*,

"*Resolved*—That we express our high admiration of the intrepid and unwearied zeal of Mr George Thompson, in the sacred cause of Human Freedom, and cordially thank him for his invaluable and efficient services; and, especially, for his eloquent Address on the present occasion."

VI. Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and carried with enthusiastic applause,

"*Resolved*—That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Rev. Dr Wardlaw, and the Trustees, for the use of the Chapel; and to the Honourable the Lord Provost for his conduct in the Chair."

WILLIAM MILLS, CHAIRMAN.

OFFICE-BEARERS.

President,

MRS WILLIAM WHITE.

Vice-Presidents,

MRS P. LETHEM, | MRS D. MACINTYRE, | MRS WM. CRAIG.

Treasurer,

MRS NELSON.

Secretaries,

MRS BROWN, | MISS SMEAL.

Committee,

Mrs Blyth,
Miss Brown,
Mrs Cochran,
Miss Craig,
Miss Drummond,
Mrs Farie,
Miss Ferguson,
Mrs Fletcher,
Miss Frame,
Mrs Robert Frame,
Miss Fullarton,
Mrs Gallie,
Miss Gibson,
Miss J. Gibson.
Miss Hall,
Mrs Harris,
Mrs Harvie,
Mrs Hinshelwood,
Mrs Martin,
Miss M'Gregor,
Miss M'Laren,
Mrs M'Tear,
Miss Muir,
Mrs Murray,
Miss Muter,
Mrs Pullar,
Miss Smith,
Miss Templeton,
Mrs William Thompson,
Miss Watson,
Miss R. Watson,
Mrs Wright.

Honorary and Corresponding Members,

Mrs George Thompson.
Mrs James Johnston.
Mrs Philleo, (late Miss Crandall.)
Mrs N. Paul.
Miss Juliana Tappan, New York.
Mrs A. L. Cox, do.
Mrs H. G. Chapman, Boston.
Mrs James Mott, Philadelphia.
Mrs D. L. Child.
Miss Angelina E. Grimké.
Miss Hussey, Portland, Maine.
Honourable Mrs Erskine.
Miss Cruickshank, Edinburgh.
Miss Beaumont, Newcastle
Miss Elizabeth Pease, Darlington.
Mrs Somerville, Dumbarton.

From the unusual length of time which has elapsed since this Report was sent to Press, the Committee think it right to explain, that this has arisen from circumstances over which they have had little control, having been occasioned, chiefly, by a "strike" among the Printers. They, however, have less cause to regret the delay, as it has enabled them to append some highly interesting documents, most of which have been received since the Report was closed. For the whole, the Committee would earnestly solicit an attentive perusal,—being assured, that all who incline, may learn in what way their time, their energies, their influence, and their means, may be best employed in aid of this righteous cause. They would also remind their friends, that whilst we approve and applaud those devoted advocates of the Slave, on both sides of the Atlantic, who are faithfully occupying with the Five talents with which *they* have been entrusted, we shall not be guiltless, unless we are individually doing the most we can, with the *one* talent entrusted to us.

REPORT, &c.

The Committee of the Glasgow Ladies' Emancipation Society, feel that it is due to themselves,—the cause in which they are engaged,—and the friends by whom they have been aided in their progress; to furnish an account of their history and proceedings; and to state as distinctly as possible, the views they entertain, and the intentions they have formed in reference to the future. As this is the first document of the kind they have published, it may probably exceed the limits of an ordinary Annual Report; but at the risk of being charged with prolixity, they have deemed it right to place upon permanent record, the documents and facts which illustrate the extraordinary progress of the cause in which they have been engaged; and they feel convinced, that the Report they now submit to the public, will increase in value as the issues of the present struggle are developed, and the first movements gather importance from subsequent events.

The *Glasgow Ladies' Emancipation Society*, is an Auxiliary to the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and was constituted at a Public Meeting, in the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel, on the 8th of January, 1834; the Honorable the Lord Provost of the city presiding.

The object of the Society to which the Ladies' Society is auxiliary, is the promotion of the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the world. When first formed, it had a special object; viz., the support of Mr Thompson in his mission to the United States of America. The following minute of the Committee of the Glasgow Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, (of which the present Society is a re-organization,) is inserted as explanatory of the first step in a measure which has been attended with results as gratifying as they are unexampled :—

The Committee of the "Glasgow Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association," having

heard that Mr George Thompson has received and accepted an invitation from the New England Anti-Slavery Society, to become their Agent, in advocating and otherwise promoting the cause of Slave Emancipation in the United States of America, are not sensible that they step beyond the limits of feminine propriety, when they express their delight at the intelligence, and assure Mr Thompson, that his zeal in a cause which interests all the best feelings of the female heart, has given him a high place in their esteem, and that in quitting his native shores on such an errand, he carries with him their most sincere and ardent wishes for the divine protection, and guidance, and blessing, in the discharge of his commission. Animated by the common feelings of humanity, and bound by the common principles and precepts of Christianity, they cannot without pity, remember the bonds of the oppressed, or think without shame and indignation, of the unworthy treatment to which Slavery subjects so many of their own sex; and they confidently hope that Mr Thompson may receive largely and efficiently the countenance and co-operation of their Trans-Atlantic sisterhood.

C. MACK, } *Vice-Presidents.*
E. JOHNSTON, }
C. NELSON, } *Secretaries.*
A. F. WARDLAW, }

GLASGOW, *8th Oct.*, 1833.

At the Public Meeting for instituting the Society, the following Resolution was unanimously adopted:—

"That this meeting view with feelings of admiration and respect, the praiseworthy and heroic conduct of Miss Crandall, of Canterbury, Connecticut, evinced in the cause of education among the Coloured females of the United States, and feel themselves called upon to convey to her an expression of their high regard for her personal character, and deep sympathy in the unmanly and unchristian persecution she has endured;—that an Address, founded on this Resolution, be drawn up by the Committee of this Society, and that Mr George Thompson be requested to present the same to Miss Crandall, in the name of the Society, upon his arrival in America."

The Committee acted in accordance with the above resolution; and in addition to the Address, they raised, by special subscription, a sum sufficient to purchase an elegant piece of Plate, on which was placed the following inscription:—

"To
MISS CRANDALL,
Of Canterbury, Connecticut;
This small offering is presented,
With affectionate Respect,
By
Female Friends in Glasgow:
In testimony of their high Admiration,
Of that ardent benevolence, heroic fortitude, and
Unflinching steadfastness,
In the midst of wanton and unequalled persecution,
Which Almighty God hath enabled her to display,
In her disinterested and noble endeavours,
Destined to be crowned with honour and triumph,
To introduce into the privileges, and elevate in the scale
Of social and religious life,
A long-injured class of
Her beloved Country-women.

'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy: Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in Heaven.'

Glasgow, February,
1834."

These memorials were conveyed to Miss Crandall by Mr Thompson, who has borne pleasing testimony to the deep joy and fervent gratitude which they awakened in the breast of that amiable and devoted lady. Miss Crandall, (now Mrs Phiileo, the wife of a Baptist Clergyman,) is still engaged in the work of educating children of Colour, having the superintendence of a numerous school in Albany, New York.

On the 4th of August, 1834, the Committee received, at the hands of Mr Robert Purvis, an amiable and accomplished gentleman of Colour, a very interesting communication from the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, accompanied by a copy of the Declaration of the American Anti-Slavery Society, elegantly printed on satin, and Phelps' Lectures on Slavery, in a bound volume. A suitable reply, dated 3d September, was returned, under care of Mr Purvis.

As the history of Mr Thompson's Mission, is, to a great extent, the history of this Society, (it having, as already stated, been formed with a special view to the promotion of that Mission,) it becomes necessary to review very briefly that gentleman's Anti-Slavery progress in the United States. The retrospect, however, will be confined entirely to such transactions as are connected with the progress of the Female Anti-Slavery cause; aware that in other documents, the important effects of Mr Thompson's labours generally, have been referred to. This part of their Report will, they feel convinced, be interesting to their friends and the Anti-Slavery public at large.

Mr Thompson, on his way from this city to Liverpool, to embark for the United States, addressed the following farewell letter to the Committee :—

"River Clyde, on board the Manchester Steam Vessel,
"Wednesday, August 6th, 1834.

"*To the Ladies of the Glasgow Auxiliary Emancipation Society.*

"My Dear Friends and Fellow-Labourers,—Though surrounded by confusion, and enduring the pangs of parting, I cannot allow myself to quit your country without expressing, however feebly, the feelings by which I am influenced towards your Society, and particularly the Members of the Committee, to whom I send this hasty communication. Allow me then to say, that I cherish a sense of the most lively gratitude for the great services you have rendered to the cause in which I am engaged—also for those many personal kindnesses which I have experienced during my repeated visits to your city. I regard you as the *first* amongst the Females of our land, in the glorious work of *Universal* Abolition. You have *led the way;* and, by your great zeal and deep sympathy, have set a delightful and noble example to your sex, in this and every other country—and, watching as I have done, the manifestations of your attachment to the cause, and knowing as I do, the effect of your example upon the Females of Great Britain, I should act with injustice, did I withhold this record of my admiration—or refrain from urging upon you, the necessity of continuing to act up to that high character you have so widely acquired. Permit me then, to remind you, that the eyes of thousands are upon you. You have it in your power to aid the cause, not less by the effect of your example, than by

your exertions as an individual Society. See then, that you grow not weary in well-doing, but with the remembrance of past successes, and the prospect of wider usefulness, proceed *onwards*, animated and sustained in your benevolent career. Never can I forget my obligations to you, and the Ladies of Glasgow generally—never will I fail to acknowledge those obligations, by my ardent zeal in the cause you love. My attachment to that cause hourly increases. My assurances of its final triumph are most refreshing—I cannot look to the increasing number of Anti-Slavery converts throughout the world—to the nature of those principles upon which the cause is now advocated—nor to the striking evidence afforded, that it is a cause which has the blessing of the Most High upon it—without the most confident anticipations of wide and speedy success.

"My communications from the United States shall be frequent, constant, and copious. I will not fail to mention in terms they merit, your zeal and devotion to the cause of the injured. I will endeavour to bring about such an intercourse and union between yourselves and the Anti-Slavery Females of America, as shall prove at once a source of pure pleasure, and a means of extended usefulness.

"Farewell!—That the fear and love of Him in whose name we war this holy warfare, may possess our hearts, and keep us ever in a state of humble dependence on divine aid; and that in the midst of labours, and when separated by seas, we may be still one in aim, effort, and unshaken attachment to the objects of the Universal Emancipation Society, is and ever shall be the prayer of your attached and devoted Friend and Servant,

(Signed,) "GEORGE THOMPSON."

On the 17th of August, Mr Thompson sailed for New York; and, with his family, arrived in safety in that city, on the 20th of September. On the 8th of October, he met the members of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, and conveyed to them much valuable and encouraging information respecting the Female Associations of this country.

October 25th. Mr Thompson lectured before a large meeting of Ladies in the city of Portland, Maine, and obtained a number of subscribers to the Female Society in that city.

CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE.

November. During this month, Mr Thompson lectured before a Female audience in the town of Concord, the capital of New Hampshire, and witnessed the formation of a Society. Some disturbance was accasioned by the violent conduct of a number of male persons connected with the *Pro-Slavery* part of the population. Fifty-five members were obtained at the meeting. Before leaving the town, Mr Thompson addressed a letter of direction and encouragement to those who, in the midst of ruffianism, had associated themselves for the purposes of mercy. The following reply was returned by the Secretary, with the accompanying Resolution, signed by *seventy-eight* members of the newly formed Society:—

"CONCORD, N. H., *Dec. 10th*, 1834.

"MR GEORGE THOMPSON.

"DEAR SIR,—The Members of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Concord, ask leave to present you the annexed vote of thanks, as a cordial expression of their gratitude, collectively and individually, for your important services in this town; especially the Lecture delivered at their request, and the valuable and interesting letter so kindly penned by you immediately after,

while exhausted by your exertions amidst the unpleasant occurrences of the evening. They would also thank you for the manifestations of your sympathy with the Society in its state of infancy, or rather struggle for existence, under circumstances of a disheartening character. But first of all would they thank Him who moved and has permitted you to come amongst them, that whatever was needed of incentive to effort, or encouragement to perseverance in the good work, your unwearied, but not unwearying exertions, have supplied. Nothing could have been more opportune than your very inspiriting letter. Its excellent counsels and exhortations will, it is hoped, be treasured in the hearts of those to whom it was addressed, and measures have been taken that its influence shall be felt by the 'sisters, daughters, wives, and mothers,' not only in this, but in every other portion of New Hampshire, that they too may be incited to 'remember those who are in bonds, as bound with them.' It will be preserved by the Society as a precious memorial of the philanthropic stranger who listened to the appeal of suffering humanity in the far off land of America, and readily crossed the Atlantic to assist in the arduous but delightful work of 'undoing the heavy burdens, and letting the oppressed go free,' and conveying light, and peace, and gladness, to millions of benighted, woe-disquieted, and unutterably sorrowful minds.

"The Society are sensible that they have engaged in a 'great enterprize,' but they feel that it is a work of righteousness; and while it is their simple endeavour to obey the command of the Saviour, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them,' they will have full confidence in His assistance. They believe that God can bless even *their* feeble instrumentality for the promotion of the holy cause, and that He will grant them the virtues, the energies, and the capabilities, to the exercise of which they are called, if they ask of him aright, 'with pure hearts fervently.' You will, Sir, permit them to bear a humble part in rejoicing with you as co-workers in the blessed 'cause of redemption from wrong and outrage.' You will permit them to reciprocate your cheering exhortations, and to say to you—Go on in the great and glorious undertaking. The Lord is indeed on the side of all those who, from right motives, have a share in it, and they may justly say, 'they that be for us, are more than they that be against us.' Undoubtedly Sir, ere you bade a temporary farewell to home and friends, and embarked on board the vessel which was to carry you to *free and happy* America, 'not knowing the things that should befall you there,' you 'sat down and counted the cost.' No doubt you came prepared, armed with 'the panoply of heaven,' to encounter obstacles and opposition. Thus prepared, thus defended, the shafts of prejudice, of calumny, and malignity, can never harm; but 'the blessing of those who are ready to perish, shall come upon you.' The ultimate event of the labours of yourself and co-adjutors must be, and possibly at no distant day, entire and *unconditional* Emancipation. A flame is kindled in many pious and patriotic bosoms in these United States, which will not go out until the grand object shall have been accomplished. Man will not much longer enslave his fellow-man with impunity, in the estimation of public opinion. Christianity will ere long triumph here as in your own favoured country, and THE NEGRO WILL BE FREE! 'The Lord will hasten it in His time.'

"In behalf of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Concord,

"MARY CLARK, *Corresponding Secretary.*"

At a meeting of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Concord, holden November the 15th, 1834, it was unanimously voted:—

"That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr Thompson, for his services in this place, particularly for his lecture before the Ladies, and his letter to the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society; and that this vote of thanks be presented to all the members of the Society for signature."

BOSTON.

December 16th. The Female Society of Boston, held an Anti-Slavery Fair, and realized the sum of 300 dollars. On the 19th of the same month, Mr Thompson lectured before the Society,

and explained the objects of Female Associations, and the rise and progress of Female Societies in Great Britain.

February, 1835. During this month, Mr Thompson assisted at the formation of a Female Association at Dover, New Hampshire, when a large number of names were subscribed to the constitution, and a considerable sum raised for the funds of the National Society.

NEW YORK.

On the 5th of March, a Meeting was held in the Rev. Dr. Lansing's Church, New York, to form a Ladies' City Anti-Slavery Society. It was well attended. After an address from Mr Thompson, the preamble, constitution, and laws of a Society were read and adopted, and the signatures of more than 160 ladies were affixed before the conclusion of the meeting. The Rev. Dr. Cox, of New York, the Rev. Mr Winslow, and the Rev. Mr Lillie, assisted on the occasion. The preamble we deem worthy of a place in this Report:—

"The undersigned Ladies of the city of New York, under a solemn impression of the reality, extent, and unspeakable evils of the system of Slavery existing in this country, as well as of the entire indefensibleness of that system, on any principle of natural right, sound expediency, or divine law, as revealed in the Holy Scriptures—realizing their obligations and privileges as American citizens, as women, and yet more, as those who hope in that religion whose whole law is fulfilled in the one emphatic command, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'—believing that the only *safe* remedy for Slavery is its Total Abolition, as happily exemplified in Antigua and other British West India Islands, and that an entire change of public sentiment in favour of Immediate Emancipation is the only way peacefully to attain this grand object, and that as the contamination of public sentiment cannot be confined to the geographical boundaries of the Slave States, so the influence of a holy and correct public opinion in what are called the Free States, would be eminently blessed by the Spirit of Truth in advancing the cause of liberty throughout the nation—and believing that a wise and salutary influence may be successfully exerted by their sex, animated and encouraged by the evident blessing of God in the almost unexampled progress of these principles wherever they have been faithfully promulgated and rightly understood—and relying on the strength and favour of Him, according to whose command 'they would remember them that are in bonds as bound with them,' associate themselves under the following Constitution."

PHILADELPHIA.

Mr Thompson, almost immediately after the formation of the New York Society, visited Philadelphia. We give the following extracts from his Journal:—

"*March* 21*st*.—In the afternoon, held a large meeting of Ladies, in a school-room. The place was completely crowded. I delivered an address, and was followed by a venerable female 'Friend,' who, in solemn and affecting language, called upon her sisters to embark with energy and devotion in the great work of redeeming their sex from the horrors and guilt of American Slavery. A considerable number of names was added to the Society. A little girl, under twelve years of age, who heard me very earnestly recommend the distribution of tracts upon the subject of Slavery, went from the meeting to the Depository of Anti-Slavery Tracts, Pamphlets, &c., and obtaining a quantity, put them in-

to a basket, and went from door to door, up one of the principal streets, leaving at each, an Anti-Slavery publication, until she had entirely exhausted her stock. She congratulated herself upon finding that almost every servant was a *Coloured* person, and that she therefore found no difficulty in gaining admission for her silent lectures upon Slavery, into the houses of the great.

"*24th.*—Visited a Coloured Orphan School, supported by voluntary contributions—chiefly from the 'Friends.' It is a well-conducted and highly interesting Institution. The mistress, who is 'a Friend,' after examining the scholars, informed me that she had found the children with darkest skins the quickest among her pupils. I was exceedingly amused with one thorough Negro boy, who acquitted himself admirably; reading, repeating, and asking questions of the other scholars, with the dignity, gravity, and propriety of a Chief Justice. I also visited the male and female schools of the Clarkson Institution, founded by the friends of the education of the Coloured children of the city. Mr Joshua Coffin, one of the earliest among the Abolitionists, is the present superintendent of the boy's school. I was peculiarly pleased with the girls' school. The order, cleanliness, and shrewdness of the children were fully equal to any thing I had ever seen. Miss Buffum, the daughter of a zealous Abolitionist, has recently commenced a school for the instruction of Coloured females, and is pursuing her object with great zeal, talent, and success. I was highly gratified by my visit to her establishment. Thus you perceive that Philadelphia is distinguished for its benevolent exertions in behalf of Coloured youths. I believe the religious and intellectual advantages afforded the Coloured people in Philadelphia, are superior to those of any other city in the union."

The following letter from the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, may with propriety be inserted here:—

"PHILADELPHIA, *9th Month, 24th*, 1835.

"*To our Female friends and co-workers in the cause of the oppressed—resident in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other parts of Scotland.*

"It is now more than a year since we received an interesting and valued communication from the 'Female Auxiliary Society of Glasgow,' by our friend Robert Purvis, whose safe return to this country was welcomed by his numerous friends. The kind and hospitable reception that awaited him in your land, will be held in acknowledged remembrance by us. We trust his devotion to the cause of his and our afflicted brethren will not cease, while such exertions are so loudly called for.

"Our gratitude and heart-felt acknowledgments are also tendered for the interest so conspicuously manifested by you in the cause in which we are mutually engaged, by so efficiently promoting the labours among us of our beloved George Thompson, who has, as you anticipated, endeared himself to us, by his amiable qualities, and fervent zeal in the arduous, as well as dangerous undertaking, to which he has consecrated himself. The public prints must have apprized you that a disposition to mete unsparing abuse is abundantly evinced. We trust, however, that not a hair of his head will be suffered to perish, but that the remainder of wrath will be restrained. Evidences are already given of a re-action in the public mind—so that though 'tribulations abound,' yet in the faith with which we are sometimes furnished, 'consolations do much more abound.' We therefore desire to be 'in nothing terrified of our adversaries;' but letting our motto be *Perseverance*, press forward until 'every yoke is broken, and the oppressed go free.'

"We herewith commend to your kind reception and notice, our worthy and dear friends, David L., and L. Maria Child, who are about to embark for your land. As their name and their fame must be equally familiar to you, as that of George Thompson was to us, it needs not that we attempt a recommendation; you will therefore receive them as brother and sister beloved.

"As representatives of our Abolitionists, we are pleased to refer you for information of our movements here, and hope the objects of their visit may be satisfactorily accomplished.*

* Circumstances having occurred to prevent Mr and Mrs Child's intended visit to this country, the above communication, along with several of a similar nature, was forwarded to us direct.

"We desire your continued co-operation in this great work; for we often sensibly feel that our efforts are very feeble.

"In behalf of the 'Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society,' your sister in the cause of the oppressed, LUCRETIA MOTT, *Cor. Sec.*"

NEW YORK.

(Mr Thompson's Journal continued.)

"*March 25th.*—Left Philadelphia for New York. Arrived safe, and proceeded to the house of Mr John Rankin, a distinguished and munificent supporter of the Abolition Cause. A Sewing Society having been formed in connection with the New York Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, its first meeting was held in the afternoon, at the house of my host. After tea, I had the privilege of an introduction to the ladies. I found upwards of twenty surrounding two tables, busily employed in the manufacture of saleable articles for the benefit of the funds of the Society. Several gentlemen dropped in during the evening, and encouraged the ladies, by laying before them the progress of the cause. I said what I could to sustain them in their labours. A collection to the amount of twelve dollars was made among the gentlemen, to enable the ladies to buy the various matters necessary for the carrying on of their operations."

The following letter, addressed to one of the Secretaries of this Society, is beautifully illustrative of the ingenious zeal and Christian devotedness of the Female friends of the Slave in New York, and claims insertion in this place:—

"NEW YORK, 13*th April*, 1835.

"DEAR MADAM,—The ladies of this city have listened with great delight to the eloquent appeals of Mr George Thompson, and have been incited, by his representations of Female philanthropy, to imitate the bright example of their sisters in Great Britain.

"We have formed a Ladies' New York Anti-Slavery Society, and more recently, a Ladies' New York Anti-Slavery *Sewing* Society. We propose to meet semi-monthly, for the purpose of exercising our ingenuity in the promotion of the cause of humanity.

"We have much to contend with. The community in general are opposed to the principles which we profess. Many of our friends advocate the system of Slavery, and regard us as fanatical and imprudent. We are told that it is *unfeminine* for us to attempt any thing which may affect the community upon this subject; but the cries of a million of our sex have reached our ears—they call for aid—they lift up their manacled hands, and ask *us* to break their chains. Can we refuse their claims upon our humanity? No; our hearts are moved, and, imploring the guidance of that God who regardeth the cry of the oppressed, we have begun, in much weakness, to labour for their Emancipation.

"With anxiety we have inquired, '*what can be done?*' and we thank our sisters in Great Britain for answering the question. The specimens of their ingenuity which have been presented to us, are worthy of admiration; and we are desirous to imitate them.

"Aware of the interest felt by the Ladies of England and Scotland in the cause of Universal Emancipation, and that, having preceded us in this 'labour of love,' their experience may be of essential benefit to us, we look to them for advice, and shall be very grateful for any suggestions they may make as to the mode of carrying on our operations, or of increasing our influence.

"My object in addressing you at this time is, to request a *list of the articles* made by the Ladies of your acquaintance, in aid of the cause of Emancipation. Will you please to mention which were most *saleable* and *profitable*, and which effected the most good?

"We are also anxious to ascertain if the blocks and engravings used by you in impressing silk, cards, &c., &c., can be purchased by us at their value; and whether you have been able to interest children in this cause; and if so, by what means? By answering these inquiries, you will confer a great favour upon a large circle of Ladies, who are anxiously desirous to labour *effectually* for the Slave.

"We have great reason to be encouraged in our efforts, by the increasing interest manifest in the community with regard to the rights of the oppressed.

The ranks of Abolition daily increase, and every week brings accounts of the recent formation of Anti-Slavery Societies. We know it to be the cause of God, and we feel that He is with us. Let us then, my dear friend, place in Him our trust, and look forward, with joyful expectation, for the coming of that time when every bond shall be broken, and 'Slavery shall be known no more.'—I remain yours, on behalf of the Ladies' New York Anti-Slavery Sewing Society,

"JULIANA A. TAPPAN, *Cor. Sec.*"

BOSTON AND PROVIDENCE.

(Mr Thompson's Journal continued.)

"*April* 11*th*. At three in the afternoon, delivered a lecture in Bennet Street Church, before the Boston Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, and the Ladies of the city generally. Nearly a thousand were present. The meeting reminded me of the many similar meetings it has been my privilege to hold in Great Britain. To me, the meeting was a proof of the approaching doom of Slavery. A thousand Females gathered out of the families of one city, and met together to hear the discussion of a question, but just before the most unpopular that could be agitated! Let senators despise the Anti-Slavery cause—let plotting politicians busy themselves in setting up one idol, and pulling down another; let the Ministers of religion be dumb; let Slave-masters rave; give me to see the Female portion of the community up and doing, and my heart is strong. I see the hand-writing upon the wall. I know the days of the American Juggernaut are numbered. A little while, and he shall cease to roll his ponderous wheels over the prostrate souls and bodies of my fellow-men. Sixty new members were obtained. The truly excellent managers of the Society seemed much encouraged.

"13*th*. Started for *Providence*. Arrived in safety, and on *Tuesday the* 14*th*, delivered a lecture to between 700 and 800 Ladies, in that city, and witnessed the formation of a society. Upwards of one hundred joined upon the spot, and nearly 100 dollars were subscribed.

"*May* 8*th*. Addressed a meeting of Ladies in Mr Kirk's Church, Albany, New York. A memorial to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, on the subject of Slavery, was adopted, and a Committee appointed to canvass the city for additional names.

"*May* 12*th*. On this day, the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held in the city of New York, when the number of Female Anti-Slavery Societies was stated to be *twenty-six*."

On the 12*th of August*, the following communication was forwarded to this country, by the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society:—

"BOSTON, 12*th August*, 1835.

"*To the Ladies of Scotland.*

"DEAR FRIENDS,—Your letters of last year, and your kind expression of regard for our friend Miss Crandall, who has suffered so much in the cause of Abolition, were received with fervent gratitude. So beautiful a testimonial of esteem from those so far distant, yet united to us by the bonds of a common origin and language, as well as by a common cause, was deeply touching to *all* our hearts. It is most delightful to us, amid the many discouragements under which we labour, that your sympathy and prayers are ours. You have laboured, and have *won* the prize of *your* high calling, and, with the unbounded philanthropy of the early Christians, forgetting the things that are behind, look forward to the things before, and confine not your benevolent exertions to your own country.

"America has reason to bless Scotland and her daughters, in view of the great cause of freedom, and the progress it is now making. Four years ago, this standard was first raised here by WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON—a name that will go down to posterity, like that of Wilberforce, hallowed by the blessings of the just. Few and feeble were they who gathered round it, when we look at them in a worldly or political light; yet they have gone on, strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might, till their existence and their influence is recognised by all who dread the effect of a regenerated public opinion.

"That noble champion of the truth, GEORGE THOMPSON, has been himself a host on the side of the oppressed; and never were services more truly appre-

ciated than his are by the Abolitionists of America. We are also able to give you a key to the minds of our opponents respecting him. In proportion to the magnitude of his services, is the vehemence of their entreaties, and the reiteration of their impotent commands, 'that he should depart out of our coasts.' It is, in fact, impossible to calculate the impulse his unwearied and fearless labours have given to the cause. You can hardly estimate the opposition he encounters in advocating it, unless you could be aware of the whole breadth of the selfish interest of our country in oppression. The North, as well as the South, is arrayed against righteousness in this question. Our statesmen are timid; our clergy, false prophets, to a people who love to have it so; the press corrupt or silent; talent and genius prostituted to the service of wealth and power; the commercial, religious, and political strength of the nation lying shorn and bound in the lap of Slavery. These things would form an impassable barrier to any other cause; and though those who come from you to speak to us on other subjects, are kindly and honourably received, he who calls our attention to the noblest cause ever advocated by man, the deepest misery that ever claimed the sympathy of woman, endures, like his great master, Christ, the hatred of those whose pleasant sins he rebukes.

"Yet fear not, dear friends, for him or for the cause. There is among us a remnant who have not bowed the knee to Baal; and it is because God hath never yet left the *righteous* forsaken, that our hope is strong. They are the choice ones of our nation—the true, the noble, the irreproachable—that have bound themselves to strive and to suffer for this truth. You may rely on this testimony, for it is given by those who best know—the wives, daughters, and sisters, of this band of patriots, who blush for their country's shame, and would fain restore her glory.

"You will hear contradictory assertions on this matter. Many will say to you, as they do to us, 'We detest Slavery in the abstract; but what can we do? Our Slaves are unable to take care of themselves. If they were, our laws do not permit Emancipation. They would slaughter us, if these rigorous enactments should be repealed. Their freedom would *impoverish* us, if it did not occasion the loss of our lives.' In fine, the whole legion of fallacies which were brought forward against the Abolition of the Slave-trade and Colonial Emancipation, in Great Britain, are raised, with ten-fold vigour, against the Abolition of Slavery in the United States. Many will say, with still greater effrontery, 'We hate the system, and claim your compassion, on account of this load of grief and crime, which we have inherited from our fathers, and are endeavouring so to legislate as to aid the benevolent plan of Colonizing them on the coast of Africa.' In fact, *this* cry of Lord, Lord, while their hearts are far distant, is the greatest obstacle that Abolitionists here have to encounter. These refuges of lies are made respectable by otherwise good men, and the avaricious and unjust run into them, and feel safe. Notwithstanding the strength of the opposition, our friends have no fears of the result. Those of them who live in the Slave-holding States, declare that the knowledge of their efforts, as far as it extends among the Slaves, operates to *quiet their minds*.

"Mr Gurley, one of the most prominent opposers of our principles, and the organ of the Colonization Society, relates an anecdote, to prove the fact of interference on the part of our Northern States, which substantiates this assertion. He says, that 'when the Slaves had assembled in a swamp in Carolina, to the number of 300, one of them read to the rest the constitution of an Abolition Society at the North; on which they retired peaceably to their homes, convinced that the Abolitionists would do this great thing for them.' And so, by the blessing and command of God, we will. But not by any other than an incorporeal and moral interference, which our right to exercise is undoubted. In more direct ways than in merely upholding their oppression, are we sharers in the crime, and in every way that the laws of God and our country allow, we are bound to show that we repent of our participation.

"It is the result of a careful estimate, that if the enterprise gains friends in the proportion that it has done since it commenced, ten years will hardly expire before a majority of our countrymen are Abolitionists. Perhaps our intense interest makes us too sanguine; but we shall not suffer from the keenness of disappointment as to the end, while our hearts respond to the words of one of your beautiful poets:—

'What troubles in their transit yet
The Negro nation shall sustain,
Ere fairly scaped the tyrant's net,

Their promised land of rest they gain—
We *ask not*, so *Thy* cloudy shrine
And fiery pillar go before,—
And, as deliverance, Lord, is thine,
Be thine the glory evermore.'

"This letter is given in charge to our dear and valued friends, Mr and Mrs Child. Their entire devotion of themselves and all their talents to this cause, will ensure their kind reception in Scotland. There is not an individual of our Society but will receive any kindness to them as done to herself.

"At a recent Meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, it was resolved—

"'That our Secretary of Foreign Correspondence be desired to express to the Ladies of Scotland our warmest thanks, for their kind and Christian interest in the progress of Abolition principles in America, and especially for sending that most eloquent and Christian philanthropist, George Thompson, to aid the cause of Emancipation in this country.'

"MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,
"*Foreign Corresponding Secretary of the*
"*Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society.*"

The interval of time between *May* and *October*, 1835, was employed by Mr Thompson in fulfilling the most arduous engagements—often exposed to imminent danger. In the course of the latter month his situation became perilous in the extreme, and his numerous friends, alarmed for his safety, united in their entreaties that he would no longer expose his person to the destroying malice of his enemies; but quit for a while the chosen field of his labours—return to spread the facts he had accumulated before the British public, and make an appeal in behalf of American Abolitionists, for the sympathies and prayers of all the enlightened and sincere friends of human freedom. In another place, in giving the history of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, we shall notice, at sufficient length, the riot in Boston, on the 21st of October. For the present, we give the following extract of a letter from Mr Thomas Spencer, of Salem, under whose roof Mr Thompson and his family were cherished in the hour of danger. It was written immediately after the scenes which it so vividly describes had transpired, (without, we presume, any view to publication,) and was addressed to his brother-in-law in London; who, having observed, in the report of the Discussion between Messrs Thompson and Breckinridge, that the latter *ridiculed* the idea, (if he did not flatly deny the fact, of Mr Thompson having ever been exposed to personal danger from the Americans,) *voluntarily* gave the letter of his relative to a Member of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, with permission to make use of its contents in any way that might be thought proper. We are glad of this opportunity of giving publicity to Mr Spencer's letter; especially as Mr Thompson did not, in the course of the Discussion, allow himself to be diverted from *the great principles* of the question

at issue, by replying to the splenetic personal attacks of his reverend antagonist:—

"Among the friends of universal freedom, the eloquent George Thompson stood prominently forward as the friend of the down-trodden Slave. He was invited to this country by that portion of the American people who are opposed to Slavery, and came recommended by men distinguished in England for their benevolence and Christian philanthropy. Possessed of commanding talents, and the most impassioned eloquence, Mr Thompson exerted himself in popular assemblies, to bring the subject of Slavery before the American people; and he was singularly successful. But in proportion to his success, the hatred and vengeance of the Slave-holder and his abettors, were enkindled against him. Rewards were offered for his person. Threats of savage mutilation, that make the blood run cold, were repeatedly thrown out. His friends here were continually harassed with the fearful apprehension, that if he was not murdered, he would one day return to his family with his tongue pulled out, or his ears cropped, or his nose cut off! Lurking assassins sought him. Mobs innumerable were collected to abduct him. He was pursued like a wild beast. The worst of calumnies were propagated against him, and every effort was made to raise the people, *en masse*, for his destruction.

In the midst of this excitement, which happened about the latter part of last October, Mr Thompson became our guest. He had not been long in Salem before it became known that he was under our roof. Threats of destruction began to fly. It was said that my house should tumble over the hill on which it was situated, or Mr Thompson should be given up. On the fourth or fifth day of his sojourn with us, a gentleman from the midst of the town came to inform me, that an organized mob would forcibly search my premises that night, and, if possible, carry off the obnoxious Abolitionist. This timely notice gave Mr T. an opportunity of providing for his own safety, and afforded me a chance of preparing for my defence. As soon as it was dusk, Mr T. committed himself to the care of a well-known Abolitionist, who conveyed him to a place of safety, leaving Mrs Thompson and the children with us, well knowing, that *he* only was the object of popular vengeance. Before it was well dark, several men were observed to cross the field in front of my house, and regularly reconnoitre the premises. I took the hint, and began deliberately to prepare for a siege. Assisted by my boys, I nailed down all my lower windows, barricaded my doors, and put out of the way every thing that I thought likely to tempt the cupidity of the mob, should they force an entrance. Before I had finished my preparations, we could see the gathering of men at our field-gate. I now ordered the fires to be put out. My wife hastily packed up a few valuables, and Mrs Thompson did the same. The females of our two families, and the younger children, were then collected into one room. My young men I sent to watch the movements of the mob, and kept my own boys to act as emergency might require. Fortunately for me, my trusty and firm friend, William Ashby, of Newbury-port, happened to call just at the crisis, or I should have been alone. This gentleman, perceiving that I could not keep the mob out, if they chose to come in, said to me, with the utmost coolness, 'If the mob force an entrance, shall I club the first fellow that passes a threshold, or opens a window?' 'No,' said I; 'if they force our barricading, let them enter. *We* must not be the first to shed blood.'

"We were not kept long in suspense. In less than 15 minutes, more than 100 men were collected in the street. From these, 30 or 40 advanced across our field to the house, and thundering at the door, demanded 'Thompson.' From an upper window I replied, that Mr Thompson was not in the house. My reply was not well received. Shouts were raised that he was in the house, or why were the doors fastened, and that they would have him or tear it down. Cries of 'turn him out,'—'turn him out,'—'turn out the Englishman,'—'turn out the foreigner,'—'turn out the cut-throat,'—were mingled with some allusions to me personally, which were calculated to turn upon me the revengeful passions of the vicious and the ignorant. Such as, 'one Englishman is as good as another,'—'let us have the Quaker.' Calls were made for the main body to advance and force the house. 'All hands upon deck,' was the watchword. Threats of extreme violence were freely uttered. Stones were thrown at the house. The assemblage, however, finding me determined to stand a regular siege, retired across the field for the avowed purpose of col-

lecting a greater force from the main body in the street. As they retired, one of the ring-leaders called out to me, and gave assurance, that neither I nor my family should be injured, but woe be to Thompson if they found him. By this time more than 300 men were collected in front of our house, while the rear was watched by 100 more. Even some little windows, out of one of which Mr T. was to have escaped in case of surprise, were regularly sentineled. Stages loaded with rioters were driving to the ground, and setting down their men with the utmost deliberation. A single horse-chaise was observed to drive to and fro on the skirts of the mob, as if waiting the issue of the affair. The chaise was furnished with a remarkably fine and fleet horse. I have since heard that it was the swiftest horse that the city of Boston could afford. It was to convey Mr Thompson there in the least possible time. The tolls were all paid, and the gates were to be open, so that there might not be the least interruption on the road. One person offered 100 dollars to the first man who should lay hands upon him. What they would have done with him had they taken him, God only knows. Our friends have not the slightest expectation that he could have escaped with his life.

"In dread of a second attack, with greater violence, I sent my sons into town to muster as many of my friends as they could find. We were attacked two hours earlier than was expected, or I should have been prepared in this respect. My Abolition friends had determined to be with me at nine. While my boys were gone, it was a period of fearful suspense. The mob was shouting and yelling below. Threats of firing my premises were distinctly heard by my young men. Such was the impression that it made on the mind of one of them, that he repeatedly said to his comrade, 'I wish I had put my best clothes on.' 'I don't like the idea of having my trunk burnt up.' I have heard from several sources, that combustibles were actually brought, and some members of my family, and some of my neighbours, saw a light circulating among the crowd. The leaders of the rioters were all strangers to my neighbours. Men closely muffled up in cloaks appeared to direct the movements. They were doubtless Southerners from Boston, aided by some of the *pro-Slavery* men of Salem, with such of the lowest order as could be got together.

"At the call of my sons, 30 or 40 gentlemen from town, came very generously to my assistance. They repeatedly assured the mob that Mr Thompson was not in my house, and represented the alarmed state of my family. My mother on a bed of lingering sickness, and my wife with a new-born babe in her arms, just risen from a recent confinement. These representations, joined to the more cogent assurances of many of my neighbours, that the game was fled, (for they saw Mr Thompson depart,) had the desired effect. We were left in quiet, after a threatening visit of two hours.

"For several days after this affair, the wildest excitement prevailed in Salem. Rumours were abroad that the mob would pay me another visit, and force me to disclose where Mr Thompson was secreted. Hand-bills were issued, calling upon the people to drive the 'foreign pest' from their midst. An officer of high authority in the county, sent a gentleman to beg of me to clear my dwelling of Mr Thompson's wife and children, for he dreaded the consequences that might arise from their being under my roof. To this friendly admonition I replied, that I duly appreciated the high official gentleman's friendly intentions, and in all sincerity put a proper estimate upon them, but the mob might come if it pleased, and fire my property over my head, I should not be guilty of turning a woman and children out of doors. Time, however, rolled forward, and no further disturbance took place. On this occasion, as well as on many similar, *Mrs Thompson* acted with great calmness and self-possession.

"The affair was one which demanded prudence on my part. Had I essayed to protect Mr Thompson beneath my roof, as I had a good right to do, it is quite within the bounds of probability, that he might have been murdered upon my very hearth, in the midst of our women and children.

"In the State of Mississippi, a tumultuous assemblage went some time last summer to the house of an obnoxious individual, without the least form of legal warrant, in order to seize him. He chose to defend himself, and shot one of the assailing party. The mob then fired into the room where he was; brought him down by repeated shots: and then took him out all bleeding as he was, with mortal wounds, and hung him without judge or jury, at the first place to which they could tie a rope. Not content with this, they took three other individuals, inmates of the same house, and hung them in the same summary manner; alleging, forsooth, that they were gamblers!! If such was

the fate of these obscure individuals, what might not 'THOMPSON THE ABOLITIONIST,' expect under similar circumstances."

Mr Thompson, yielding to the pressing solicitations of his friends, left Boston for New Brunswick, on the 8th of November, 1835. While at the latter place, he received a host of communications from friends, both male and female, in various parts of the United States. Many of these have been laid before the Committee, and perused with deep emotion. They uniformly testify to the value and efficiency of Mr Thompson's labours, and breathe a spirit of invincible attachment to the cause of Emancipation, and to the person of him in whom the principles of freedom had become so conspicuously personified. The language of Mr Garrison is,

"In spite of persecution and reproach, you have accomplished the work of years in a single year. Your mission has been owned and blessed by God. It has shaken the nation to its centre. It has opened the eyes of the blind, unstopped the ears of the deaf, and raised from moral corruption the dead. Thousands have been converted, and a multitude of associations formed, through your instrumentality. Rejoice, then, and be exceeding glad, for great will be your reward, both on earth and in heaven. O, how closely do the ties of love bind you to our hearts! How many are the prayers that will be offered up to God for your safety and deliverance from every evil!"

The following letter from Miss Susan Paul, (niece of the Rev. Nathaniel Paul,) furnishes an interesting evidence of the gratitude of the Free Coloured population. Miss Paul has for some years been engaged, with great success, in the instruction of infants of Colour, in one of the *primary* schools of the city of Boston:—

"BOSTON, *November* 18, 1835.

"DEAR ADVOCATE OF THE OPPRESSED,—Overwhelmed with a sense of the gratitude which is due to you, for your earnest and unwearied exertions in our behalf, I venture to address a few lines to you.

"Permit me to offer you the sincere thanks of a grateful heart, for your untiring zeal, unshaken fidelity, and matchless perseverance in the holy cause of freedom, amidst unparalleled persecutions. I cannot describe the emotions of my soul in view of the wicked, murderous, and fiend-like disposition exhibited towards you, in this land of Bibles and Christians.

"But, notwithstanding all the efforts of our enemies to prevent you from being heard, your Mission to this country has been attended with success. You have aroused the sleeping energies of this guilty nation—you have pourtrayed their situation in lively and glowing colours—you have faithfully warned them of the impending storm which hangs over them, and will burst upon them ere long, unless they repent. And in return for your kind admonitions, you have been vilified, abused, and contemned.

"It is the never-failing reward which any one receives, who dares to avow himself the friend of the oppressed. It is sufficient for any one to espouse our unpopular but most righteous cause, to secure to himself the most violent opprobrium.

"But, be assured, dear Sir, that the efforts of those who have attempted to destroy you, have but strengthened the attachment and increased the confidence of the Coloured people in you.

"And we are fully persuaded, that you will never cease to plead the cause of the suffering and the dumb, while a Slave pines in captivity.

"I remain, with profound respect and gratitude.

"Yours, &c.,

"SUSAN PAUL."

On reaching England, Mr Thompson received the following communication from the Secretary of the Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society :—

"New York, *December 9th*, 1835.

"Dear Sir,—The message for our Society contained in your letter to Mrs Rankin, has been delivered to them, and in transmitting to you the accompanying Resolutions, and addressing you now at the direction of the Board, I feel that I am discharging a duty of peculiar, of even solemn interest. How can it be otherwise, when we remember how joyfully but a year ago, you were welcomed to our country, by the friends of the Slave, and how high were the hopes cherished by us all, that a bright career of usefulness was opened before you here—such a one as, so honourably to yourself, and so auspiciously to the cause of suffering humanity, you had just closed in your own land? Yes—we did indeed welcome you with all our hearts, to this fellowship with us in the labours and the blessings, the toils and the honours, the trials and rewards of the holy cause of freedom; and as in anticipation, which was constantly realizing, we saw you in 'labours more abundant,' (we did not think in *history* to add, in trials 'more frequent—in deaths oft!') so did we love to anticipate also that when the blessing was won, and the day of jubilee arrived, you would be with us to enjoy a large and well-earned share in the reward—that reward of happiness, the prospect of which is to each one of us, a secret spring of hope and animation far out of the reach of our bitterest enemies.

"And can it be, we ask ourselves, that all these hopes have been crushed—that the generous stranger, whose philanthropy alone bore him to our shores, has been driven from those very shores by violence and persecution! The humiliating truth must be confessed—and while it goes to form a page of fearful blackness in our nation's history, we look upon it with grief as a nation's costly offering on the altar of *Slavery*. Yet while in all candour, and with a feeling of abasement for our country, upon this subject, for which there is but too much cause, we thus speak, we would fain hope better things for America, than the continued development of such a spirit as you saw so fearfully exhibited; for we know there are redeeming principles, and mighty ones too, at work in the masses of society, and we remember also how recently the question of Abolition has been agitated amongst us, so that to a great extent, the misguided and infatuated conduct of our countrymen, in this matter, may be attributed to ignorance, and the bewildered state of those who, in the midst of thick darkness, are suddenly overwhelmed with a flood of heaven's own light. But *we* need not look for circumstances of extenuation—the expressions contained in the letter before us give proof as honourable to the feelings of your own heart, as it is grateful to ours, that you have anticipated us in this work of charity and forgiveness, as it is on *your* part—on ours it is patriotism alone. We trust you do not need from us the assurance, which yet we cannot withhold, that we have deeply sympathized with you in all that you have been obliged to encounter, both from *your own countrymen* and ours, while pursuing here your 'work of *faith*, and labour of *love*,' as it has been emphatically called.

"Whilst many of your recollections of America must be heart-sickening to you, as they are to all your Abolition friends, we earnestly hope that the retrospect of what has been gained to the cause of Anti-Slavery during your Mission, and the prospect of the glorious harvests yet to be reaped from the seed you have left scattered on our soil, may be allowed to have a strong countervailing tendency in your associations.

"Amongst those Societies which have shared your valuable labours, the one that now addresses you, feels deeply indebted for the eloquent, appropriate, and inspiring Address delivered at its formation—it can never be forgotten by any who had the privilege of listening to it. We would, in compliance with your suggestion, address the women of Great Britain, on the subject of American Slavery; but for many reasons, we have thought it best at this time not to do so formally, though we have no doubt of the kind reception we should meet from them. You, dear Sir, can tell them better than *we* could, the dreadful story of *American Slavery*—for ourselves, we shrink from entering into its details, degrading as they are to our *Church* and *Nation;* and we believe that you, on whose cheek no patriotic blush need mantle at the recital, would spare us the exposure of our national sins, except where stern duty required it. If our Bri-

tish sisters listen with amazement and grief, to learn how little engaged, as a body, Christians are in the work of Abolition, and how even woman's quick-flowing sympathies seem on this subject, all diverted from heaven's own channels, and ask why our experience has been so different from theirs, you will point them to our *Colonization Society*—that mirage in the desert of Slavery, that mocked so long the panting hopes of the friends of the Slave, and is at this moment still deluding thousands of well-meaning and valuable individuals who, but for its plausible semblance, would have come, ere this, with true hearts and strong hands, to join the uncompromising defenders of Immediate Abolition. Would that its *true character* were as well understood and appreciated *here as* it is with *you!* but until it shall be, your countrywomen will feel that we have peculiar claims upon their sympathy and prayers; and if there were any way in which their co-operation could be added to these, we would gladly avail ourselves of that also. At least, we have some powerful and binding interests in common, as they have now to labour for the Abolition of the cruel Apprenticeship System—and here we would remind them, as an additional motive to their zeal, that the speedy success of *this* question in England, must and will have a most auspicious influence upon the question of Immediate Emancipation in America. We should love to say to them also, though we can scarcely ask *you* to tell them how much we have been gratified, inspirited, and we hope, benefited, by the same eloquent pleadings that in days past have kindled their hearts into a glow of holy compassion for the Slave, and set their hearts, and heads, and hands to work, with an energy and efficiency that we heartily admire, and shall strive to imitate.

"In resuming your labours amongst those who have once enjoyed, and know how to appreciate them, your friends here have great happiness in reflecting that you will now be in possession of immunities and enjoyments, such as their warmest wishes could not procure for you here. Neither do we consider you lost to our cause for having changed your sphere of labour; we know that while one Slave remains on our soil, or any other, to his redemption are you consecrated; and as well do we know, that it is not in all that terrified and enraged tyrants can make you suffer, to chain down your spirit from sympathizing with their victims, or to silence the voice of your remonstrances and appeals. These considerations, brightened as they are with well-assured hopes of the ultimate, and God grant the speedy, triumph of the Anti-Slavery cause throughout the world, qualify the regrets of our farewell—a word which we linger to pronounce, though it must be said. With the assurance that any communications from you will always be cordially welcomed by us, accept, dear Sir, the warm thanks, the deep sympathy, and best wishes of our Board.

"On behalf of the 'Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society,'

"Mr George Thompson. ABBY ANN COX, *Cor. Secy.*"

Resolutions of the Ladies' New York City Anti-Slavery Society, dated Dec. 9, 1835.

"1st. It was Resolved unanimously,—That we honour the devotion and disinterestedness, and admire the eloquence, courage, and consistency, of George Thompson, in his labours in the Anti-Slavery cause in this country. That we thank the God of the oppressed, for the eminent services he has rendered to the cause of humanity among us, and that we feel ourselves under especial obligations for his powerful assistance at the formation of this Society.

"2d. That we regard with shame and grief, the 'measures' pursued by the enemies of liberty towards Mr Thompson, and that we consider them as the evidence, and the direct result of his faithfulness, and irresistible power in the advocacy of the cause of the Slave.

"3d. That while we deeply lament the loss of Mr Thompson's labours in our country, yet in consequence of the violent hostility and treachery of the enemies of liberty towards him here, we believe that his taking the field in England against the Apprenticeship System, will at present do more for the Anti-Slavery cause in America, than any direct course of action here could accomplish.

"4th. That the Corresponding Secretary be directed to address a letter, and to communicate these Resolutions to Mr Thompson.

"Copied from the Minutes,

"Attest—A. C. NELSON, *Recor. Secy.*"

Mr Thompson was made the bearer of the following Address

"TO THE WOMEN OF GREAT BRITAIN.

"BOSTON, *November*, 1836.

"DEAR FRIENDS,—We write to you from the heat of a commotion, unparalleled in our remembrance; and the scene we witness, and wish we could find adequate words to describe, is one of awful sublimity.

"But how can we embody so vast a subject in so slight a sketch as time permits? How can we, in a few words, picture to your minds the awakening of a nation from a dream of peace, and freedom, and glory, to a reality of strife, and Slavery, and dishonour?

"Here are the noble few, half spent, yet strong in heart, struggling to stay the headlong descent of the many. Here are the frantic many rushing down to the abyss, with eyes yet closed, and brains yet under the influence of their feverish dream. Here are the miscalled wise and prudent, the mistaken, benevolent, and compassionate, the imbecile and office-seeking Statesman, the time-serving and timid Clergy,—the Wealthy, the Fashionable, the Literary, the blind leaders of the blind, the self-styled religious, all joining to heap opprobrium and persecution upon those who would fain save them from the swift-walking destruction that threatens our noon-day.

"Foremost among this band of steadfast-hearted, stands George Thompson. We fervently thank God who put it into the mind of Great Britain to send him to our aid. His piety and eloquence, his incorruptible integrity, his devoted self-sacrifice, his unrivalled talents, have given a wonderful impulse to the cause. In proportion to his usefulness has the cry been raised that he should 'depart out of our coasts.' Now that his life is in danger from the assassin every moment that he remains in this country, we, too, think it is time that he should depart. What a revelation has the past year flashed upon our minds! Slavery has infected the life-blood, and inflamed the heart of the nation. *It is a literal fact, that never among the bloodiest race of the most persecuting age, was concealment more necessary to preserve the life of a defender of unpopular truth.* Such a one has not merely assassination to apprehend,—he holds his life and property at the mercy of a mob of those who call themselves the 'wealth and standing, the influence and respectability of the country,' who are striving to establish an aristocratic order of things, without those adjuncts and circumstances which, in Europe, seem to justify such an order. Scenes of outrage have become so common, as to follow regularly upon the expression of our opinions. The spirit of Northern Liberty is commanded to yield to the spirit of Southern Slavery, and we are made to feel in our own persons that the violation of the rights of the black man has made the rights of the white man insecure. So simple a matter as the Annual Meeting of our Society, caused the representatives of the Slave interest in this city to rush to the spot, in numbers not less than 4000 or 5000, for the avowed purpose of putting a stop to the meeting, by taking the life of Mr Thompson, who, they conjectured, was to address us. Not finding him, they seized Mr Garrison, and his life was hardly saved by the most desperate exertions. Mr Thompson has been for weeks a prisoner to his room. The Abolitionists dare not allow him to risk his life further. Notwithstanding their wrongs they are true patriots; and, independently of their fervent friendship to the man, and their deep sense of the value of his life to the cause, they shudder at the probability, that his blood may be upon the head of this people, if he remains longer. Even his wife and little ones are unsafe. These are horrible truths. We can find no words to express our sense of grief and indignation, therefore we make no comments. We are obliged to bear the sense of them constantly in our minds, and this is a severity of infliction which compels us to confess them. We do so with the hope that we may have your sympathy and your prayers, and in the confidence that every contemplation of the present crisis will strengthen us to renewed exertions. One of our authors justly observes, 'The time of preparation for a better order of things, is not a time of favourable appearances. We see, on reflection, that the state of a nation has changed for the better, when it has passed from deadly lethargy, though to convulsive life.'

"These considerations are for the present grievous, yet shall they yield the peaceable fruits of righteousness to them that are exercised thereby. It is not until the angel troubles the pool, that it has virtue to heal the impotent who

lie about it; not until men's minds are hot in the furnace, that they yield to the weight of evidence and argument; and we must not wonder that the blows of these appointed instruments bring out sparkles of fiery indignation.

"While the strong are thus engaged in endeavouring to soften and influence, we, who are weak, are yet strong in purpose, to continue to use all righteous, Christian, and suitable means, to effect the same great objects. Amid our many afflictions, we are sorrowing most of all that we must see *his* face no more, whom you have sent to give us aid, counsel, and courage. He has done all this most effectually, and is hunted for his life as his reward. But a different reward awaits him,—the blessings and the thanks of every friend of human freedom that now breathes, or ever shall breathe, on this globe,—the joy of the host of heaven over the multitudes his ministrations have blessed,—the command which, if ever mortal could, he may confidently anticipate, to enter also into the joy of his Lord.

"Dear Friends, we boast a common ancestry and language; our hearts and our hopes too are one. You as well as ourselves, claim kindred with those 'devout and honourable women,' the puritan mothers of New England. They were wont to commend themselves to their friends in 'the love of Christ.' Do we not the same when we say, yours, in the love of freedom?

"In behalf of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Associations in New England,

"(Signed) "MARY S. PARKER, *President.*
"MARIA W. CHAPMAN, *Sec. For. Cor.*"

Immediately on Mr Thompson's arrival in Glasgow from the United States, the Committee of this Auxiliary, at a joint Meeting with the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, passed a series of Resolutions relative to his Mission:—

"At a Meeting of the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and the Committee of the Ladies' Auxiliary Association, specially convened to meet Mr George Thompson, on his arrival from America, and held within the Friends' Meeting House, this 18th day of January, 1836—Robert Grahame, Esq., of Whitehill, President of the Society, being Chairman of the Meeting, the following Resolutions were agreed to unanimously, viz.:—

"That this meeting feels it a pleasing duty to repeat their expression of confidence in Mr Thompson, and to convey to him their most cordial congratulations on his safe arrival in his native country, after the deeply-perilous circumstances in which he has lately been placed, from the violent opposition to his Mission on the part of the supporters and abettors of Slavery, and its kindred abomination, the prejudice against Colour, which is so prevalent in the United States.

"That this Meeting has been delighted with the account now given by Mr Thompson, of his exertions in the prosecution of the great and interesting object of his Anti-Slavery Mission to America; and, taking into view the variety and extent of his labours, his marked devotion to the work, and the dreadfully malignant spirit of persecution by which he has been assailed, they desire to feel devoutly thankful to that gracious and superintending Providence, by whom 'the very hairs of our head are all numbered,' and without whose notice, 'not even a sparrow falleth.'

"That, considering the present state of feeling in America, with respect to the great cause of human freedom, as now described by Mr Thompson, and confirmed by other sources of information, to which this Meeting have had access, we feel decidedly convinced, that, in reference to the Abolition of the hateful system of American Slavery, a flame has been kindled, which, we trust, will never be extinguished, but will spread with increasing fervency, until there shall not remain, to stain the otherwise fair soil of Columbia, a single human being to whom the term Slave shall be applicable; and when the strain, 'Hail, Columbia! Happy Land! Home of the *free* and the brave,' shall no longer be recited in solemn mockery, but shall truly describe the state of American society.

"That, animated and encouraged by the details we have heard this evening, this Meeting, therefore, pledges itself anew to the promotion of the cause of Universal Emancipation; and, by the blessing of Heaven, will continue to labour for its success, whilst any of their fellow-creatures are known to be denied the 'breathing of the bracing air, and the enjoyment of the blessed light of liberty.'"

After delivering Lectures in various parts of Scotland and England, on the subject of American Slavery, and the progress of the cause of Emancipation, Mr Thompson, on the 6th of May, addressed a public meeting of the Members and Friends of this Society, in the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel. At the conclusion of the Address, the following Resolution was unanimously adopted, viz. :—

"*Resolved*,—That this Meeting of the Members and Friends of the Glasgow Ladies' Auxiliary Emancipation Society, deem it their duty thus publicly to testify their entire approbation of all the proceedings of Mr George Thompson, during his arduous, benevolent, and signally successful Mission to the United States; that he has far more than justified the confidence reposed in him as the advocate of the rights of enslaved humanity, and the representative of the Abolitionists of this country.

"That the intrepid perseverance and devoted self-sacrifice he has evinced, entitle him to their warmest commendation and gratitude; and whilst they feel unable to express their indignation, that a people who boast of being the *freest* in the world, should have so dishonoured themselves by maltreating and persecuting from their shores, one who has given such striking evidence of being autuated by the purest Christian principles, and disinterested devotion to the work of Emancipation, they regard his preservation as an instance of providential design for the future advancement of the great cause of human freedom, and sincerely desire to adore that Almighty Power, by whose control the devices of the enemies of universal liberty have been defeated.

"That, convinced by all the statements they have heard of Mr Thompson's views respecting the necessity of continued exertion for the advancement of the cause, they most heartily respond to the call now made upon them, and resolve to be more zealous than ever in furthering, by their *energies*, their *influence*, and their *means*, this righteous enterprise; that so the period may be hastened, when not only the *condition*, but the very *name* of Slavery shall be no more remembered."

Since the above meeting, Mr Thompson has been assiduously labouring to spread information, and rouse the moral energies of the men and women of Great Britain. His Discussion of the question of American Slavery with the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, has been attended with the happiest effects. Thousands who were previously ignorant, and therefore indifferent, have been informed and awakened, and are now united in their efforts to send the voice of rebuke and remonstrance across the Atlantic. Most cordially do the members of this Committee respond to the sentiments which have been recorded by the Glasgow Emancipation Society, in reference to Mr Thompson's conduct during the Discussion. The Committee have circulated a large number of the published report of the Discussion, and believe they have thereby rendered good service to the cause.

As a Female Association, and an Auxiliary, the Committee have little to report distinct from the proceedings of their honoured, talented, and indefatigable representative, and the transactions of the active Society with which they stand connected. During Mr Thompson's absence in the United States, the Com-

mittee and Collectors were employed in diffusing widely the information they received from thence, and in collecting funds to redeem the pledge they had given, to assist in supporting the Mission. Since Mr Thompson's return, they have steadily pursued their course, cheered by increasing proofs of their ability to aid, *in their measure*, the great cause, and by witnessing the formation of several kindred Societies. They believe it to be their duty to proceed with renewed and increased zeal. They feel that they are rendering service to the oppressed, while circulating the printed appeals of other and stronger minds—while furnishing the means for the delivery of lectures, and the holding of meetings—while humbly labouring at their own fire-sides to awaken an interest in the bosoms of others upon this great subject. They have no desire to step beyond their appropriate sphere, but they do most earnestly desire that in *that* sphere they may not be found wanting in the discharge of their duty. The present Report, they think, supplies *incontrovertible* proof of the ability of WOMAN to help this cause.

The progress of kindred Associations in America has been viewed with peculiar interest. The trials, fortitude, and successes of the Females of the United States, have alternately called forth feelings of deep sympathy, fervent admiration, and devout thankfulness. A glance at the two principal Female Anti-Slavery Societies of America, will be found useful and highly encouraging.

I. THE BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

"This Society," says the First Annual Report, "was formed in October, 1833, by a few (12) individuals, who were anxious to wash away the guilt of Slavery from their consciences, and, if possible, from the world.

"Our Society," the Report proceeds, "has for its object the dissemination of truth, on the subject of Slavery, and the elevation of the Coloured population in our land.

"In seeking the accomplishment of these objects, the Society, during the first year, diffused a considerable number of suitable publications, and established 'an asylum for indigent Coloured children.'

"England," continues the Report, "on the first day of August, gave liberty to her *thousands* of bondmen.

"'Twas noble; and bespoke a nation proud
And jealous of the blessing.'

"When shall *we* follow her example, and give liberty to our *millions?* Who would not delight in bringing about such a glorious day as that which was lately witnessed by Britain's 800,000 redeemed ones, who, on the 1st of August, felt, for the first time in their lives, that they were free—felt that they were MEN? Who would not rejoice to be in any way instrumental in giving liberty to Two Millions of human beings—in giving the word of life, and the Sabbath, and sanctuary privileges, which have been withheld from them by Slavery? Surely *that* heart must be far from *woman's*, that would not

"'Delight to make the wretched smile!'

"It becomes us, as American women, as sisters of them that are in bonds, but especially as Christians, and tearing ourselves away from every thing that

would impede our progress in this blessed work, to arise, and labour for the Emancipation of those whose cries have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.

"We have sought to know what God would have *us* do in this mighty work; and having ascertained, we are determined never to be satisfied, until

'Fetters shall fall
From every limb: the strong
No more the weak shall wrong;
But Liberty's sweet song
Be sung by all!'"

Such was the spirit in which these noble Females began their work. Let us trace their progress.

The Report, from which the foregoing extracts have been made, was adopted at their Annual Meeting in October, 1834. From the Report of the proceedings of the Society during the ensuing year, we extract the following deeply interesting particulars. The Report of the Society, with a history of the Boston mob, is published under the title of "RIGHT AND WRONG IN BOSTON:"—

"Their numbers had now become so great, that none of the members possessed a house large enough to accommodate the Society."

In April, 1835, Mr Thompson delivered an address to a crowded church, filled with the members and friends of this interesting Society.

The 14th October, 1835, the anniversary of the formation of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society drew near. They issued the following notice in the newspapers:—

"By leave of Providence, the Annual Meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, will be holden on October 14th, in Congress Hall, at 3 o'clock, P. M. An address will be delivered by George Thompson. Ladies generally are invited to attend."

The above notice was also read in two of the churches. *Dr Channing's* was one of those churches. The excitement occasioned by the announcement was exceedingly great; and on Tuesday morning, the 13th, the following letter was addressed by the lessee of the Hall, to the gentleman who had engaged it in behalf of the Ladies:—

"BOSTON, *Oct. 13th*, 1835.

"MR GULLIVER.

"SIR,—Such is the state of public feeling with regard to Mr Thompson, and so great, so very great, is the probability, that if he attempt to deliver an address to-morrow afternoon, it cannot but be productive of disastrous consequences: to what extent it is impossible to foretell; and being wholly unwilling to jeopardize my property and that of others entrusted to my care—

"I HEREBY GIVE NOTICE to you and all concerned, (that unless good and satisfactory bonds, to the amount of 10,000 dollars, can be given to make good all damages,) that the meeting of the Female Abolition Society, for the purpose of hearing an address from Mr Thompson, in Congress (late Julien) Hall, is FORBID; and that I shall take measures, by having proper officers on the ground, to prevent all assembling together for that purpose.

"As a specimen of the feelings of the community generally on the subject, I refer you to the *Boston Com. Gazette* of this day, and also express my belief that

it is the determination of (not the rabble,) but the most influential and respectable men in the community, to make trouble to-morrow should Mr T. hold forth. Your obedt. servant, J. M. ALLEN."

The newspapers, with one or two exceptions, did their utmost to rouse the indignation of the public against Mr Thompson.

"It is certainly very remarkable, that Mr Thompson should dare to brow-beat public opinion in this way; but it does not astonish us that he should again call to his aid the petticoats of the Ladies, for he has often been shielded by them from popular indignation, and merited chastisement, not only in this city, but in other parts of the country."—*Boston Com. Gazette.*

An anonymous correspondent, writing to the Editors of another paper, says,—

"I have just returned from church, where I listened to most eloquent and sound preaching, but my religious thoughts (!) were greatly disturbed when, at the close of the service, the minister read, among other notices, the following:—'The Female Anti-Slavery Society, will hold a meeting at Congress Hall, (corner of Milk and Congress Streets,) on Wednesday, at 3 o'clock, P.M., when an address will be delivered by Mr George Thompson. Ladies are invited to attend.'"

Another paper, *(The Transcript,)* in an article of considerable length, has the following:—

"GEORGE THOMPSON.—This scoundrel proposes to lecture some of the women of our city this afternoon at Julien Hall. Our indignation is somewhat averted from him, and is attaching itself to those who support and encourage him by their presence and continuance."

* * * *

"The *Gazette* of yesterday is very indignant with Thompson, and cautions the Ladies not to accept his invitation. We think the caution superfluous, and the indignation misdirected. The vagabond would have made no addresses, nor delivered lectures in any of our cities, if he had not found encouragement from our own citizens. The poor devil must live, and to get bread he must fulfil his covenant. His supporters have no such apology for their conduct. The caution, we have said, we think superfluous."

Another paper remarks,

"Is it not altogether too bad that our peaceable city should be kept in a state of excitement and commotion by such a foreign vagabond as George Thompson? Yesterday afternoon, upon a mere rumour that he was to lecture before the Female Anti-Slavery Society, that part of Washington Street in the neighbourhood of Amory Hall, was filled with a crowd of people waiting for his arrival. What their intentions were, we have no means of knowing, but thought we could read Judge Lynch quite strongly depicted in most of their countenances. Verily, 'the curse never fell upon our nation until now—we never felt it until now.'"

The Ladies having postponed their meeting, met privately, for the purpose of deciding upon their future course of action. The Report says,—

"After mature deliberation and prayer, that no resentment or self-will might mingle with our resolves, we decided to go on. We did not renew our invitation to George Thompson, for we knew that he never asks 'what is safe,' but only, 'what is right?' We felt, therefore, too deep a sympathy for the wife, who never held him back, and the little ones that, till now, had been kept in ignorance of his constant danger, to give so fatal an invitation."

They also caused a letter to be inserted in one of the newspapers. The following are extracts:—

"This association does firmly and respectfully declare, that it is our right,

and we will maintain it in Christian meekness, but with Christian constancy, to hold meetings, and to employ such lecturers as we judge best calculated to advance the holy cause of human rights; even *though such lecturers should chance to be* FOREIGNERS. It comes with an ill grace from those who boast an English ancestry, to object to our choice on this occasion: still less should the sons of the pilgrim fathers invoke the spirit of outrageous violence on the daughters of the noble female band who shared their conflict with public opinion;—their struggle with difficulty and danger. *The cause of freedom is the same in all ages.* Our principles are identical with theirs, except that we would *not*, like them, advocate their forcible establishment. God grant that if the name of freedom must be named upon us with a bloody baptism, the blood may be our own."

* * * *

The following sentence breathes a spirit so truly noble, that it well deserves to be printed in letters of gold. It is an admirable specimen of the ardent piety, and unconquerable intrepidity of the *Female* Abolitionists of New England:—

"*We must meet together, to strengthen ourselves to discharge our duty as the mothers of the next generation—as the wives and sisters of this. We cannot descend to bandy words with those who have no just sense of their own duty or ours, who dread lest the delicacies of the table should be neglected, who glory in the darning-needle, and whose talk is of the distaff. This is a crisis which demands of us not only mint, and anise, and cummin, but also judgment, mercy, and faith; and God being our helper, none of these shall be required in vain at our hands. Our sons shall not blush for those who bore them.*"

They advertised their meeting for the 21st, thus:—

"NOTICE.—By leave of Providence, the Annual Meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, which was necessarily postponed, will be held on Wednesday next, at 3 o'clock P.M., at No. 46, Washington Street. Several addresses will be delivered on the occasion.

"Ladies generally are invited to attend.

"By order of the Board.

"M. V. BALL, *Rec. Secy.*

"*October*, 19."

On the morning of the 21st, a hand-bill, of which the following is a literal copy, was circulated through every part of the city:—

"THOMPSON THE ABOLITIONIST!

"That infamous foreign scoundrel THOMPSON, will hold forth *this afternoon*, at the *Liberator* office, No. 46, Washington Street. The present is a fair opportunity for the friends of the Union to *snake Thompson out!* It will be a contest between the Abolitionists and the friends of the Union. A purse of 100 dollars has been raised by a number of patriotic citizens, to reward the individual who shall first lay violent hands on Thompson, so that he may be brought to the tar kettle before dark. Friends of the Union, be vigilant!

"BOSTON, *Wednesday*, 12 *o'clock*."

The Ladies must now speak for themselves:—

"We caused the Mayor to be informed, that we had reason to think the meeting would be attacked. 'You give us a great deal of trouble,' observed the City Marshal to the friend who bore our message. The time appointed was three o'clock; and at ten minutes past two, about twenty-five Ladies, believing that if they delayed, they should find the building pre-occupied, were on their way to the hall. They found no peace-officers on the spot. Two little boys were on the watch at the door, who smiled significantly at each other as we entered, and ran off in different directions. We entered the hall, which is at the head of two flights of stairs. In less than ten minutes, the staircase, and the

passage leading from it to the Hall, were thronged. We feared that persons below might suppose our rooms also filled by the crowd. We therefore requested a lad, who stood foremost, to station himself at the street door and inform the Ladies, that we were on the spot; with which request he readily complied. Five more succeeded in ascending the stairs. They reported an immense crowd, and the staircase thronged to suffocation. After this, we have since learned from our members, that upwards of one hundred of them were refused admission. The tumult continually increased, with horrible execrations, howling, stamping, and finally shrieking with rage.

"They seemed not to dare to enter, notwithstanding their fury, but mounted on each others shoulders, so that a row of hostile heads appeared over the slight partition of half the height of the wall, which divides the Society's room from the landing-place. We requested them to allow the door to be shut; but they could not decide as to whether the request should be granted, and the door was opened and shut with violence, till it hung useless from the upper hinge. Mr Garrison had, previous to the tremendous uproar we now describe, entered the room. 'That's Garrison! that's Garrison!' said they to each other. He offered to address us, if we would allow him, as he had so many times done at the request of the Society. The President refused, fearing for his safety, and he retired at her urgent request. His main purpose was fulfilled, in establishing the precedent, that our friends may be seen at our meetings, popular opinion to the contrary, notwithstanding. He addressed the crowd, as he passed out, requesting them for their own sakes, as gentlemen, not to remain in a position so unbecoming that character. He passed out, and we thought he penetrated through the crowd to the street. We remained perfectly quiet until three o'clock, amid a deafening uproar. When the hour arrived, we desired one of our number to ask them to interrupt us as little as possible, as the meeting was about to be opened. 'Is Mr Thompson here in petticoats?' said ONE in a disguised voice. We considered the prompt assurances of his absence so constantly given by city authorities, to such illegal interrogatories, ill-judged and cowardly—and we made no reply.

"The President called the meeting to order, and read some appropriate passages of scripture. 'Training's begun! Hurra! here comes Judge Lynch!' shouted the rioters, and the words were passed down the stairs to the crowd in the street. We knelt, and united with the President in prayer. During the few moments so employed, we felt as did Schiller on his death-bed: 'Many things now are clear.' Our souls were strengthened and borne above the violence and insult with which we were surrounded. Our hopes, our faith, our fortitude were increased. We felt grateful that we were accounted worthy thus to express our devotion to TRUTH. We rejoiced that it was our privilege to live in times calling for the exercise of the noblest powers with which God has endowed his creatures; the power to suffer for his righteousness' sake. It was given us to comprehend the minds held forth as examples by the fervent apostle—even 'women, not accepting deliverance, that they might receive a better resurrection.' We saw the very process by which out of the mouth of the weak, 'God ordains strength, to still the enemy and the avenger.' Our prayer was for those in bonds, as bound with them. Our thanksgiving that though there were many to molest, there were none that could make us afraid. There was a composure imparted to us, which, for a time, extended to the multitude, by the untremulous voice which rose, clear and calm, above the tumult. But we prayed for our friends and brethren in a neighbouring state, whom that hour had gathered together, perhaps to die;—for the success of the common cause;—for all throughout the earth who had laid fortune, fame, or life, upon its altar. Here the clamour increased, so that nothing further could be heard. The slight partition began to yield. *The mob hurled missiles at the Lady presiding.* The Secretary rose and began to read her Report, utterly inaudible from the confusion. At this moment Mr Lyman *(the Mayor of Boston)* entered.

"We record no 'imaginary conversation.' The following is, word for word, what passed between him, the President, and other Ladies:—

"*Mr Lyman.* Go home, Ladies, go home.

"*President.* What renders it necessary we should go home?

"*Mr Lyman.* I am the Mayor of the city, and I cannot now explain; but will call upon you this evening.

"*President.* If the Ladies will be seated, we will take the sense of the meeting.

"*Mr Lyman.* Don't stop, Ladies, go home.

"*President.* Will the Ladies listen to a letter addressed to the Society, by Francis Jackson, Esq.

"*Mr Lyman.* Ladies, do you wish to see a scene of bloodshed and confusion? If you do not, go home.

"*One of the Ladies.* Mr Lyman, your personal friends are the instigators of this mob; have you ever used your personal influence with them?

"*Mr Lyman.* I know no personal friends; I am merely an official. Indeed, Ladies, you must retire. It is dangerous to remain.

"*Lady.* If this is the last bulwark of freedom, we may as well die here, as any where.

"*Mr Lyman.* Do you wish to prolong this scene of confusion?

"*President.* Can we pass out safely?

"*Mr Lyman.* If you will go *now*, I will protect you, but cannot unless you do.'

"A motion was then made to adjourn, which was carried. We passed down the staircase, amid the manifestations of a revengeful brutality. If the worst enemies of *some* we saw, had told us that such unmanly and shameful ideas as they openly expressed, lurked in the most hidden recesses of their minds, we should have disbelieved it. The way was darkened by the crowd that blocked up the windows, so that we could but just discern faces, *but there was no mistake.* We could identify *those faces*, even if we had never seen them before. When we emerged into the open day-light, there went up a roar of rage and contempt, which increased when they saw that we did not intend to separate, but walked in regular procession. They slowly gave way as we came out. As far as we could look either way, the crowd extended—evidently of the so-called 'wealthy and respectable,' 'the moral worth,' the 'influence and standing.' We saw the faces of those we had, till now, thought friends;—men whom we never before met without giving the hand in friendly salutation;—men whom till now we should have called upon for condemnation of ruffianism, with confidence that the appeal would be answered;—men who have repeatedly said they were 'as much Anti-Slavery as we were,' that 'our principles were righteous,' and that they only objected to the rashness of upholding them. Yet they did not, 'like the Priest and the Levite, pass by on the other side;' but waited with looks of satisfaction and approval to see the result."

* * * *

"We walked rapidly to the house of one of our members. Our numbers increased as we walked, to fifty. Here, after giving thanks to God for his protecting providence, we were proceeding in our usual manner with our customary business, when a friend entered, pale and breathless with haste and excitement, to say that if Mr Thompson were with us, he must go instantly out of town, and to tell us that Mr Garrison was in the hands of the mob;* and that he saw him dragged in the midst, and so hot a contest going on around him, and such violent blows aimed at his uncovered head, that if he escaped, it would be wonderful. Mr Garrison is regarded as a brother by every one of us; and we could only find relief and composure under this shock, in fervent prayer for his life. At that awful moment we were enabled to devote ALL, even our dearest friends, if God's providence so ordered it, to His cause.

"The question was asked, 'under the solemnity of recent communing with our Maker, DO WE REPENT of what we have done, in view of its immediate consequences; should they be death to ourselves and our friends?' 'No! No!' was the unhesitating answer of Christian faith;—'It is a righteous deed we have done this day.' And we spoke one to another of Him 'who gave us an example that we should follow his steps,' while He knew that they would lead through the strife of infuriated multitudes to ignominious death. It was not for the Slave and his master only that we did it;—the right of association, the right of freely speaking, the right of occupying our own buildings, and walking our own streets,—was denied to ourselves. We might not even meet to agree on earth, touching what we should ask in heaven, lest Christ should be 'in the midst' as a deliverer! It was for our CHILDREN we did it; and we need not now turn conscience-stricken from their trusting gaze; for we have done what lies with us, to preserve them 'an inheritance pure and undefiled, and that fadeth not away."

* This was an unexpected blow. We thought he left the Anti-Slavery rooms before our meeting commenced; but it appears that he would not leave us in peril, having determined, in case of extremity, to secure our safety by taking the fury of the mob on himself. Had we been aware of this, we should not have obeyed the orders of the Mayor.

Although Mr Garrison's account of his treatment by the mob on this occasion, and the excellent letter written to him whilst in prison, by Mr Thompson, were published by the Glasgow Emancipation Society some time ago, we make no apology for inserting, in this place, an extract from Mr Garrison's narrative, and the letter of Mr Thompson entire, deeming both entitled to a more permanent record than has yet been given to them on this side of the Atlantic.

MR GARRISON IN THE HANDS OF THE BOSTON MOB.

"Perceiving that it would be impracticable for me or any other person to address the Ladies, and believing, as I was the only male Abolitionist in the Hall, that my presence would serve as a pretext for the mob to annoy the meeting, I held a short colloquy with the excellent President of the Society, telling her that I would withdraw, unless she particularly desired me to stay. It was her earnest wish that I would retire, as well for my own safety, as for the peace of the meeting. She assured me that the Society would resolutely, but calmly, proceed to the transaction of its business, and leave the issue with God. I left the Hall accordingly, and would have left the building, if the staircase had not been crowded to excess. This being impracticable, I retired into the Anti-Slavery Office, (which is separated from the Hall by a board partition,) accompanied by my friend Mr Charles C. Burleigh. It was deemed prudent to lock the door, to prevent the mob from rushing in, and destroying our publications.

"In the meantime, the crowd in the street had augmented from a hundred to thousands. The cry was for 'Thompson! Thompson!' But the Mayor had now arrived, and, addressing the rioters, he assured them that Mr Thompson was not in the city, and besought them to disperse. As well might he have attempted to propitiate a troop of ravenous wolves. None went away; but the tumult continued momently to increase. It was apparent, therefore, that the hostility of the throng was not concentrated upon Mr Thompson, but that it was as deadly against the Society and the Anti-Slavery cause.

"Notwithstanding the presence and frantic behaviour of the rioters in the Hall, the meeting of the Society was regularly called to order by the President. She then read a select and exceedingly appropriate portion of Scripture, and offered up a fervent prayer to God for direction and succour, and the forgiveness of enemies and revilers. It was an awful, sublime, and soul-thrilling scene—enough, one would suppose, to melt adamantine hearts, and make even fiends of darkness stagger and retreat.

"An assault was now made upon the door of the office, the lower pannel of which was instantly dashed to pieces. Stooping down, and glaring upon me as I sat at the desk, writing an account of the riot to a distant friend, the ruffians cried out, 'There he is! That's Garrison! Out with the scoundrel!' &c. &c. Turning to Mr Burleigh, I said, 'You may as well open the door, and let them come in, and do their worst.' But he, with great presence of mind, went out, locked the door, put the key in his pocket, and by his admirable firmness succeeded in keeping the office safe.

"Two or three constables having cleared the Hall and staircase of the mob, the Mayor came in, and ordered the Ladies to desist, assuring them that he could not any longer guarantee protection, if they did not take immediate advantage of the opportunity to retire from the building. Accordingly they adjourned, to meet at the house of one of their number, for the completion of their business; but as they passed through the crowd, they were greeted with taunts, hisses, and cheers of mobocratic triumph, from 'gentlemen of property and standing, from all parts of the city.' Even their absence did not diminish the throng. Thompson was not there; the Ladies were not there; but 'Garrison is there!' was the cry. 'Garrison! Garrison! We must have Garrison! Out with him! Lynch him!' These, and numberless other exclamations, arose from the multitude.

"It was now apparent, that the multitude would not disperse until I had left the building; and as egress out of the front door was impossible, the Mayor and his assistants, as well as some of my friends, earnestly besought me to effect my escape in the rear of the building.

"Preceded by my faithful and beloved friend, Mr J. R. C., I dropped from a back window on to a shed, and narrowly escaped falling headlong to the ground. We entered into a carpenter's shop, through which we attempted to get into Wilson's Lane, but found our retreat cut off by the mob. They raised a shout as soon as we came in sight, but the workmen promptly closed the door of the shop, kept them at bay for a time, and thus kindly afforded me an opportunity to find some other passage. I told Mr C. it would be futile to attempt to escape—I would go out to the mob, and let them deal with me as they might elect; but he thought it was my duty to avoid them as long as possible. We then went up stairs, and finding a vacancy in one corner of the room, I got into it, and he and a young lad piled up some boards in front of me to shield me from observation. In a few minutes, several ruffians broke into the chamber, who seized Mr C. in a rough manner, and led him out to the view of the mob, saying, 'This is not Garrison, but Garrison's and Thompson's friend, and he says he knows where Garrison is, but won't tell.' Then a shout of exultation was raised by the mob, and what became of him I do not know; though, as I was immediately discovered, I presume he escaped without material injury. On seeing me, three or four of the rioters, uttering a yell, furiously dragged me to the window, with the intention of hurling me from that height to the ground; but one of them relented, and said, 'Don't let us kill him outright.' So they drew me back, and coiled a rope about my body, probably to drag me through the streets. I bowed to the mob, and requesting them to wait patiently until I could descend, went down upon a ladder that was raised for that purpose. I fortunately extricated myself from the rope, and was seized by two or three powerful men, to whose firmness, policy, and muscular energy, I am probably indebted for my preservation. They led me along bareheaded, (for I had lost my hat,) through a mighty crowd, ever and anon shouting, 'He shan't be hurt! You shan't hurt him! Don't hurt him! He is an American,' &c. &c. This seemed to excite sympathy among many of the crowd, and they reiterated the cry, 'He shan't be hurt!' I was thus conducted through Wilson's Lane into State Street, in the rear of the City Hall, over the ground that was stained with the blood of the first martyrs in the cause of Liberty and Independence, by the memorable massacre of 1770, and upon which was proudly unfurled, only a few years since, with joyous acclamations, the beautiful banner presented to the gallant Poles by the young men of Boston! What a scandalous and revolting contrast! My offence was in pleading for Liberty—Liberty for my enslaved countrymen, Coloured though they be—Liberty of speech and of the press for all! And upon that 'consecrated spot' I was made an object of derision and scorn, and my body was denuded of a large portion of its covering, in the presence of thousands of my fellow-citizens! O, base degeneracy from their parent stock!

"Orders were now given to carry me to the Mayor's office in the City Hall. As we approached the south door, the Mayor attempted to protect me by his presence; but as he was unassisted by any show of authority or force, he was quickly thrust aside—and now came a tremendous rush on the part of the mob, to prevent my entering the Hall. For a moment, the conflict was dubious—but my sturdy supporters carried me safely up to the Mayor's room.

"Having had my clothes rent asunder, one individual kindly lent me a pair of pantaloons—another a coat—a third a stock—a fourth a cap, as a substitute for my lost hat. After a consultation of fifteen or twenty minutes, the Mayor and his advisers came to the singular conclusion, that the building would be endangered by my continuing in it, and that the preservation of my life depended upon committing me to jail, ostensibly as a disturber of the peace!! A hack was got in readiness at the door to receive me—and supported by Sheriff Parkman and Ebenezer Bailey, Esq., (the Mayor leading the way,) I succeeded in getting into it without much difficulty, as I was not readily identified in my new garb. Now came a scene that baffles the power of description. As the ocean, lashed into fury by the spirit of the storm, seeks to overwhelm the adventurous barque beneath its mountain waves—so did the mob, enraged by a series of disappointments, rush like a whirlwind upon the frail vehicle in which I sat, and endeavoured to drag me out of it. Escape seemed a physical impossibility. They clung to the wheels—dashed open the doors—seized hold of the horses—and tried to upset the carriage. They were, however, vigorously repulsed by the police—a constable sprang in by my side—the doors were closed—and the driver, lustily using his whip upon the bodies of his horses, and the heads of the rioters, happily made an opening through the crowd, and drove at

a tremendous speed for Leverett Street. But many of the rioters followed even with superior swiftness, and repeatedly attempted to arrest the progress of the horses. To reach the jail by a direct course was found impracticable; and after going in a circuitous direction, and encountering many 'hair-breadth 'scapes,' we drove up to this new and last refuge of liberty and life, when another bold attempt was made to seize me, by the mob—but in vain. In a few moments, I was locked up in a cell, safe from my persecutors, accompanied by two delightful associates, a good conscience and a cheerful mind. In the course of the evening, several of my friends came to my grated window to sympathise and rejoice with me, with whom I held a pleasant conversation until the hour of retirement, when I threw myself upon my prison-bed, and slept tranquilly during the night. In the morning I awoke quite refreshed, and after eating an excellent breakfast, furnished by the kindness of my keeper, I inscribed upon the walls of my cell the following items;—

"William Lloyd Garrison was put into this cell on Wednesday afternoon, October 21, 1835, to save him from the violence of a 'respectable and influential' mob, who sought to destroy him for preaching the abominable and dangerous doctrine, 'all men are created equal,' and that all oppression is odious in the sight of God. 'Hail Columbia!' Cheers for the Autocrat of Russia, and the Sultan of Turkey."

"LETTER FROM MR THOMPSON TO MR GARRISON.

"THURSDAY EVENING, *October* 22*d*, 1835.

"MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—And fellow-labourer in the cause of freedom for Two Millions Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand American Slaves:

"Since despatching the few hasty lines which I wrote you on receipt of the news of yesterday's proceedings in Boston, I have yielded to a strong impulse to address you a longer communication, more fully expressive of the views and feelings with which the signs of the times have inspired me. I despair, however, of finding words to express adequately the deep sympathy I cherish with you in the midst of your trials and persecutions, and the feelings of my soul as I contemplate passing events, and follow out to its ultimate results, the headlong wickedness of this generation. Surely we can enter somewhat into the experience of the lamenting prophet when he exclaimed, 'Oh, that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the sins of this people.'

How unutterably affecting is a view of the present aspect of the country. The enslavement of the Coloured population seems to be but one of a hideous host of evils, threatening, in their combined influence, the overthrow of the fairest prospects of this wide republic. Of the Abolition of Slavery I feel certain. Its doom is sealed. I read it in the holy and inflexible resolves of thousands who are coming up to the contest with the spirit of martyrs, and in the strength, and under the leadership of Jehovah. I read it in the blind fury and unmitigated malignity of Southern tyrants and their Northern participants in crime. I read it in the gathering frown, and bursting indignation of Christendom. The consummation of our hopes draws nigh. The times are pregnant with great events. America must witness another revolution, and the second will be far more illustrious in its character and results than the first. The second will be a *moral* revolution. A struggle for higher, holier, more catholic, more patriotic principles; and the weapons of our warfare will not be carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. During the progress of this latter revolution will be witnessed the advent of 'Liberty,' in the true sense of that now much abused and perverted name.

'O spring to light: auspicious babe, be born!'

While, however, I have no fears respecting the ultimate effectuation of the object so dear to our hearts, I have many fears for the perpetuity of this nation as a Republic—for the continuance of these States as a Union—for the existence of that Constitution, which, properly respected and maintained, would bless this country and the world. These fears do not arise from any tendency to such results in the principles of Abolition in themselves considered. Those principles are conservative of the peace, and happiness, and security of the nation; and, if voluntarily acted upon, would heal many of the feuds and animosities which have endangered the integrity of the Union. My fears are

founded upon the symptoms everywhere exhibited, of an approach to mob-supremacy, and consequent anarchy. In every direction I see the minority prostrate before the majority; who, despite of law, the constitution, and natural equity, put their heel upon the neck of the weaker portion, and perpetrate every enormity in the name of 'public opinion.' 'Public opinion' is at this hour the demon of oppression—harnessing to the ploughshare of ruin, the ignorant and interested opposers of the Truth, in every section of this heaven-favoured, but mob-cursed land. Already the Constitution lies prostrate—an insulted, wounded, and impotent form. A thousand hands are daily uplifted to send assassin daggers to its heart. Look on the pages of the daily press, and say, if traitors to Liberty and the Constitution are not sedulously schooling a hook-winked multitude to commit a suicidal act upon their own boasted freedom? Count (if they can be counted) the disturbances occurring all over the land, and say is not mob-supremacy the order of the day? Where is the freedom of speech? where the right of association? where the security of national conveyances? where the inviolability of personal liberty? where the sanctity of the domestic circle? where the protection of property? where the prerogatives of the judge? where the trial by jury? Gone, or fast disappearing. The minority in every place speak, and write, and meet, and walk, at the peril of their lives. I speak not now exclusively of the Anti-Abolition mania which has more recently displayed itself with all its froth, and foam, and thirst for spoliation and blood. I have in mind the Anti-Mormonism of Missouri, and its accompanying heart-rending persecutions:—the Anti-anti-Masonic fury, with the abduction of Morgan, and its other grim features of destruction and death:—the burning zeal of Anti-Temperance, with its bonfires and effigies, and its innumerable assaults upon persons and property:—the Anti-Gambling and Anti-Insurrection tragedies of Southern States, with their awful waste of human life, and the frequent sacrifice of the blood of innocent victims:—but time would fail to tell of Anti-Whig, and Anti-Jackson, and Anti-Convent, and Anti-Bank, and Anti-Kean, and Anti-Anderson, and Anti-Graham, and Anti-Joel Parker, and Anti-Cheever, and Anti-Coloured School, and Anti-House-of-ill-fame riots, with all the other Anti-men and Anti-women, Anti-black, and Anti-red, and Anti-meat, and Anti-drink riots, and mobs, and persecutions, which have distinguished this age,—this land of Revivals, and Missions, and Bible Societies, and Educational operations, and Liberty, and Independence, and Equality. Suffice it to say, that for some years past, all who have dared to act, or think aloud, in opposition to the will of the majority, have held their property and being dependent on the clemency of a mob. Were I a citizen of this country, and did there seem no escape from such a dreadful state of things—if I did not, on behalf of the righteous and consistent, (for, thank God! there are thousands of such, who cease not day nor night to weep and pray for their country,) hope and believe for brighter days and better deeds, I should choose to own the dominion of the darkest despot that ever sealed the lip of truth, or made the soul of a Slave tremble at his glance. If I must be a Slave—if my lips must wear a padlock—if I must crouch and crawl—let it be before a hereditary tyrant. Let me see around me the symbols of royalty, the bayonets of a standing army, the frowning battlements of a bastile. Let me breathe the air of a country where the divine right of Kings to govern wrong is acknowledged and respected. Let me know what is the sovereign will and pleasure of the one man I am taught to fear and serve. Let me not see my rights, and property, and liberties, scattered to the same breeze that floats the flag of freedom. Let me not be sacrificed to the demon of despotism while laying hold upon the horns of our altar dedicated to 'Freedom and Equality!' I hope, however, for the best. I trust to see the people saved from their infatuation and madness. I look very much to the spread of Anti-Slavery principles for the salvation of the country, for they are the principles of righteous government; they are a foundation for order, and peace, and just laws, and equitable administration, and those who embrace them, will be likely to act wisely and righteously upon other great questions.

"A mob in Boston!! and *such* a mob!!! Thirty Ladies completely routed, and a board six feet by two utterly demolished by 3000 or 4000 respectable ruffians—in broad day-light, and broad cloth! Glorious achievement! and, as it deserved to be—regularly gazetted. Indeed, this noble army of gentlemanly savages had all the customary adjuncts of civilized warfare. There were 'Posts,' and 'Sentinels,' and 'Couriers,' and 'Gazettes,' and a 'Homer' too to celebrate their praise! A mob in Boston! The birth-place of the revolution

—the cradle of Liberty! A mob in Washington (!) Street, Boston, to put down free discussion!!

'Hung be the Heavens with black!'

"Shrouded in midnight be the height of Bunker. Let the bells of the Old South and Brattle Street be muffled, and let the knell of the country's boasted honour and liberty be rung. Ye hoary veterans of the revolution! clothe yourselves in sackcloth! strew ashes on your heads, and mourn your country's downfall:

'For what is left the patriot here!
For Greeks a blush—for Greece a tear.'

"Would that you had died, ere the sad truth was demonstrated, that you fought and bled in vain!

"A mob in Boston! O tell it not in St. Petersburgh; publish it not in the streets of Constantinople. But it will be told; it will be published. The damning fact will ring through all the haunts of despotism, and will be a cordial to the heart of Metternich, sweet music in the ears of the haughty Czar, and a prophetic note of triumph to the sovereign Pontiff. What American lip will henceforth dare to breathe a sentence of condemnation against the bulls of the Pope, or the edicts of the Autocrat? Should a tongue wag in affected sympathy for the denationalized Pole, the outlawed Greek, the wretched Serf, or any of the priest-ridden or king-ridden victims of Europe, will not a voice come thundering over the billows:—

"'Base hypocrites! let your charity begin at home; look at your own Carolinas; go, pour the balm of consolation into the broken hearts of your Two Millions of enslaved children; rebuke the murderers of Vicksburg; reckon with the felons of Charleston; restore the contents of rifled mail bags; heal the lacerations still festering on the ploughed backs of your own citizens; dissolve the star chambers of Virginia; tell the confederated assassins of Alabama and Mississipi to disband; call to judgment the barbarians of Baltimore, and Philadelphia, and New York, and Concord, and Haverhill, and Lynn, and Montpelier, and the well-dressed mobocrats of Utica, and Salem, and Boston. Go, ye praters about the soul-destroying ignorance of Romanism, gather again the scattered schools of Canterbury and Canaan; get the clerical minions of Southern taskmasters to rescind their 'Resolutions' of withholding knowledge from immortal Americans; rend the veil of legal enactments, by which the beams of light divine are hidden from millions who are left to grope their way through darkness here, to everlasting blackness beyond the grave. Go, shed your 'patriotic' tears over the infamy of your country, amidst the ruins of yonder Convent. Go, proud and sentimental Bostonians, preach clemency to the respectable horde, who are dragging forth for immolation one of your citizens. Cease your anathemas against the Vatican, and screw your courage up to resist the worse than papal bulls of Georgia, demanding, at the peril of your 'bread and butter,' the 'heads' of your citizens, and the passage of gag-laws. Before you rail at arbitrary power in foreign regions, save your own citizens from the felonious interception of their correspondence; and teach the sworn and paid servants of the Republic, the obligations of an oath, and the guaranteed rights of a free people. Send not your banners to Poland, but tear them into shreds, to be distributed to the mob, as halters for your sons. When, next July, you rail at mitres, and croisiers, and sceptres; and denounce the bowstring, and the bayonet, and the faggot; let your hall be decorated with plaited scourges, wet with the blood of the sons of the Pilgrims; let the tar cauldron smoke; the gibbet rear aloft its head; and cats and blood-hounds (the brute auxiliaries of Southern Liberty-men) howl and bark, in unison with the demoniacal ravings of a 'gentlemanly mob;' while above the orator of the day, and beneath the striped and starry banner, stand forth, in characters of blood, the distinctive mottos of the age:—

DOWN WITH DISCUSSION!
LYNCH LAW TRIUMPHANT!
SLAVERY FOR EVER!
HAIL COLUMBIA!

"'Before you weep over the wrongs of Greece, go wash the gore out of your national shambles—appease the frantic mother robbed of her only child, the centre of her hopes, and joys, and sympathies—restore to yon desolate husband

the wife of his bosom—abolish the Slave marts of Alexandria,—the human flesh auctions of Richmond and New-Orleans—'undo the heavy burdens,' 'break every yoke,' and stand forth to the gaze of the world; not steeped in infamy and rank with blood, but in the posture of penitence and prayer, a free and regenerated nation.'

"Such, truly, are the bitter reproaches with which every breeze from a distant land might be justly freighted. How long, in the name of outraged humanity, I ask, how long shall they be deserved? Are the people greedy of a world's execration? or have they any sense of shame; any blush of patriotism left? Each day the flagrant inconsistency and gross wickedness of the nation, are becoming more widely and correctly known. Already on foreign shores the lovers of corruption and despotism are referring with exultation to the recent bloody dramas in the South, and the pro-Slavery meetings and mobs of the country generally, in proof of the 'dangerous tendency of democratic principles.' How long shall the deeds of America, clog the wheels of the car of Universal Freedom? Vain is their boast—acts speak louder than words. While

'Columbia's sons are bought and sold;'

while citizens of America are murdered without trial; while person and property are at the mercy of a mob; while city authorities are obliged to make concessions to a bloody-minded multitude, and finally incarcerate unoffending citizens to save them from a violent death; while 'gentlemen of standing and property,' are in unholy league to effect the abduction and destruction of a 'foreigner,' the head and front of whose offending is, that he is labouring to save the country from its worst foe; while assemblages of highly respectable citizens, comprising large numbers of the clergy, and some of the judges of the land, are interrupted and broke up, and the houses of God in which they met, attacked in open day, by thousands of men armed with all the implements of demolition; while the entire South presents one great scene of Slavery and slaughter; and while the North deeply sympathise with their 'southern brethren,' sanction their deeds of felony and murder, and obsequiously do their bidding, by hunting down their own fellow-citizens who dare to plead for equal rights; and, finally, while hundreds of the ministers of Christ of every denomination, are making common cause with the plunderer of his species; yea, themselves reduce God's image to the level of the brute, and glory in their shame; I say, while these things exist, professions and boasts, are 'sounding brass;' men will learn to loathe the name of Republicanism, and deem it synonymous with mob despotism, and the foulest oppression on the face of the globe.

"A word to the opposers of the cause of Emancipation. You must stop in your career of persecution, or proceed to still darker deeds, and wider desolations. At present, you have done nothing but help us. You have, it is true, made a sincere, though impotent attempt to please your masters at the south. The Abolitionists have risen after every attempt to crush them, with greater energy and in greater numbers. They are still speaking; they are still writing; still praying; still weeping; (not over their sufferings, but your sins;) they are working in public and in private, by day and by night; they are sustained by principles you do not (because you *will* not) understand; principles drawn pure from the throne of God; they have meat to eat which you know not of, and live, and are nourished, and are strong, while you wonder that they do not wither under your frown, and fall into annihilation before the thunderbolts of your wrath. Some of you have conversed with them. What think you of the Abolitionists; of their moral courage; their tact in argument; their knowledge of the Scriptures; their interpretation of the constitution? Have you found them ignorant? Have you found them weak? Have you not often been driven to your wit's end by the probing questions or ready answers of these silly and deluded women and children? How then do you expect to conquer? If finally by the sword, why delay? Commence the work of butchery to-day. Every hour you procrastinate, witnesses an increase of your victims, a defection from your ranks, and an augmentation in numbers and influence of those you wish to destroy. You profess to be republicans. Have you ever asked yourselves what you are doing for the principles you profess to revere? In the name of Sacred Liberty, I call upon you to pause. I conjure you,

'By every hallowed name,
That ever led your sires to fame:'—

pause, and see whither your present deeds are tending. Be honest—be just—

just to yourselves, just to us, before you condemn us, still more, before you seek to destroy us. 'Search us, and know our hearts; try us, and know our thoughts, and see if there be any wicked way in us.' Condemn us not unheard. 'Strike, but hear.' Remember, too, that your violence will effect nothing while the Liberty of the Press remains. While the principles and opinions of Abolitionists, as promulgated in their journals, are carried on the wings of the wind over sea and land, you do but give a wider circulation to those principles and opinions by your acts of violence and blood. You awaken the desire—the determination to know and understand what 'these babblers say.' Be prepared, therefore, to violate the constitution, by annihilating the Liberty of the Press.

"In this place it may not be inappropriate to introduce a passage from an able letter, recently addressed by the eloquent M. de Chateaubriand, to the French Chamber of Deputies, while that body were advocating the recent law for imposing severe restrictions on the French press:—

"'I could, (says he,) if I wished, crush you under the weight of your origin, and show you to be faithless to yourselves, to your past actions and language. But I spare you the reproaches which the whole world heaps upon you. I call not upon you to give an account of the oaths you have taken. I will merely tell you that you have arrived at the end of your task, and that in the perilous career you have entered upon—following the example of other governments which have met with destruction—you must go on till you arrive at the abyss. You have done nothing till you establish the censorship; nothing but *that* can be efficacious against the liberty of the press. A violent law may kill the man, but the censorship alone kills the idea, and this latter it is which ruins your system. Be prepared, then, to establish the censorship, and be assured, that on the day on which you do establish it, you will perish.'

"In concluding this lengthened communication, let me exhort you, my beloved brother, to 'be of good cheer,' and to exercise unwavering confidence in the God you serve—the God of Jacob, and of Elijah, and of Daniel—of all who, with singleness, prefer the faithful discharge of duty, and its consequences, to the suggestions of expediency, and the favour of the world. He is able to deliver you in the hour of peril, and give you the victory over all your enemies. To Him resort for refuge. 'He will be a hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place; as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.' To all, who with you are waging this holy war, I would say—let not passing events move you. The turbulence and malignity of your opponents prove the potency and purity of your cause. But yesterday the Abolitionists were esteemed few, mean, silly, and contemptible. Now they are of sufficient importance to arouse and fix the attention of the entire country, and earth and hell are ransacked for weapons and recruits, with which to fight the ignorant, imbecile, superannuated, and besotted believers in the doctrines of *Immediate* Emancipation. This is a good sign. An unequivocal compliment to the divinity of your principles. 'Ye are not of the world, therefore the world hateth you. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.' Let your motto be, 'Onwards!' You have already accomplished much. You have awakened the country from its guilty slumber. You can reckon up three hundred Auxiliary Associations, embracing a large portion of the effective moral energy of the land. The Churches of the North are taking right ground upon the question. The principles of Abolition are diffused through most of the seminaries of learning. The Females of America are nobly devoting themselves to this work of mercy, regardless of the malignity of their heartless and unmanly persecutors. Onwards, therefore! A few years will witness an entire change in the sentiments of the American people, and those who are now drawn up in opposition to your philanthropic movement, will blush to acknowledge the dishonourable part they have enacted. A voice from the other side of the Atlantic, says, Onwards! You are supported by the prayers and sympathies of Great Britain. The Abolitionists of the British Empire are with you. They are the friends of the peace, happiness, and glory of your country, and earnestly desire the arrival of the day, when, having achieved a victory over Slavery in this continent, you will join them in efforts for its Abolition throughout the world. While you pray fervently for strength in the day of conflict, pray also for grace to bear yourselves with meekness and charity towards those who oppose you. Pursue your holy object in the spirit of Christ, 'giving no offence in any thing, that the

(cause) be not (justly) blamed, but in all things approving yourselves as the servants of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings; by pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report, as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold you live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things.'

"Your affectionate friend,

"And devoted fellow-labourer,

"GEORGE THOMPSON."

On the 19th of November, these intrepid Ladies held a meeting for the purpose of finishing the business of their Anniversary. A highly respectable gentleman in Boston, Francis Jackson, Esq., generously lent them his dwelling-house, determined to take the consequences, whatever they might be. The Report says,—

"The number of Ladies present was over a hundred and thirty, among whom were the highly distinguished Miss Harriet Martineau, and her very intelligent companion, Miss Jeffrey, from England, also Mrs THOMPSON, the wife of our inestimable fellow-labourer, George Thompson.

"The meeting was called to order at half-past three o'clock by the President, who read, in an impressive manner, some very appropriate selections from scripture, after which all united in singing 'with the spirit and understanding also,' that well known hymn,—

'Think of our country's glory,
All dimm'd with Afric's tears,'—

written by the late lamented Miss E. M. Chandler. A very devotional prayer was then offered by the President.

"The record of the doings of the last meeting was now read.

"With the conviction that the most important consideration to us ought ever to be, *not events*, but *the manner in which we receive them*, the following resolutions, expressive of our thoughts and feelings, regarding the recent outrages, were unanimously passed for insertion in our record of the 'doings of the last meeting.'

"1. *Resolved*, That we have cause for deep gratitude to our Heavenly Father, for his great goodness in preserving our lives from the violence of the thousands who assembled on the 21st (October) to put down the cause of Abolition.

"2. *Resolved*, That though we view the proceedings on that occasion as utterly incompatible with the character of Christians and civilized men, and to be condemned by all the friends of good order, religion, and civil liberty, we yet deem it a sacred duty to pray as we are taught of Christ to do, for our persecutors, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!'

"3. *Resolved*, That we deeply sympathize with William Lloyd Garrison, our esteemed friend and fellow-labourer for human rights, in all that he has suffered in upholding the holy cause, and view the preservation of his life from the violence attempted by the Pro-Slavery party, with devout thankfulness to Almighty God.

"4. *Resolved*, That the Ladies of Great Britain, in sending to us that noble, powerful, and indefatigable advocate of humanity, GEORGE THOMPSON, have performed an act of kindness and love, which demands a deep and fervent expression of gratitude from all the good; and that we view the effect of his labours in our country during the past year, *as one of the greatest blessings yet recorded in its history*, inasmuch as *he has been greatly instrumental in arousing the nation to a sense of its true condition.*

"5. *Resolved*, That in a conflict of principles, we believe scripture to teach, that 'there is neither foreigner nor native, male nor female, bond or free; but that *all are one* in Christ Jesus:' and therefore think ourselves called, in common with man, to *toil* and to *suffer*, as *all must* who *effectually* defend the truth."

In reporting their labours during the previous year, they say,—

"We have circulated, during the past year, two thousand pamphlets, which have pled for the Slave, silently, but most successfully, as the large addition to our Society will testify."

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"We have published an Anti-Slavery handkerchief, which is operating upon many a heart, sowing the seeds of good-will to the Coloured man, in our midst, and causing the spirit to be bowed in prayer for his less favoured brother. We have not forgotten that the needle may be used in the cause of the oppressed in our own land, as well as for suffering Greece, and the benighted millions of India. A show-case has been procured, in which articles of needlework are deposited, to be sold for the benefit of the Society, and we anticipate large accessions to our funds through its instrumentality. We are now endeavouring to open a correspondence with all the Female Anti-Slavery Societies in New England, for the purpose of knowing their methods of operating, so that we may obtain light, and labour to the best advantage. We have also made four individuals life members of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, namely: Mr and Mrs George Thompson, Rev. Baron Stow, and Rev. Joshua V. Himes.

"To those who feel no interest in the cause of Two Millions of our enslaved brethren and sisters, these labours will doubtless appear very insignificant. But we are content to know that the seed that has been sown, has taken, and is still taking deep root, and bringing forth fruit, in some thirty, in some sixty, and in some an hundred fold. Others tell us, that 'We, as women, have nothing to do with the subject of Slavery; it is a political question.' * * * * But this cry is only an evasion. It is only raised by those who know the power of the weapons we wield. They know that if the question is discussed in the school-room, at the fire-side, by the way, at the temple of the living God, it cannot fail of overthrowing that wicked and cruel system of oppression which now makes our beloved country a proverb, a by-word, and a hissing to all the nations of the earth. * * * * We are accused of going too fast; of feeling too deeply. Aye! it is cause of grief to us that we have not felt *more deeply* the situation of the captive, that we have not remembered him that is in bonds, as bound with him. *When* have any of us felt as we *should* feel, were our brother or sister in bondage? We have not come up to the scriptural injunction, of 'doing unto others as we would that they should do unto us.' Alas! we are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we have seen the anguish of his spirit, when he has besought us, and we have not listened.

"We are determined that the close of another year shall not find us labouring thus lukewarmly for the oppressed, but that it shall behold us, having distributed *millions of tracts*, urging the claims of the cause we have espoused, and praying all within their reach 'to come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty.' We feel that this holy cause *will be triumphant.* It *may* cost treasure, it *may* cost the lives of *some* who are standing in the front of this conflict. But be that as it may. The *treasure* is ready,—the *life* is ready, if it *must be* that the cause can go forward *in no other way.* Not that we think it *necessary* for life to be sacrificed, were men to receive the truth in the love of it; but, if *for proclaiming* that truth, we are to be sacrificed, *that sacrifice is ready.* Yes, we will take joyfully the spoiling of our goods, or the loss of life, knowing that in heaven we have a more enduring substance. * * * * We wish for no weapon of carnal warfare. No; truth, the simple, honest, naked truth, used in the spirit of kindness and love, is all the weapon we desire. We have it, and shall use it, till Slavery is no more, or our lips are silent in death; and if the latter come first, we have taught it to our children, so that they may tread in our footsteps, and the work go forward."

Thus ends the Report of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, for 1835.

During 1836 they went on, increasing in numbers and strength. From the interesting Report which has been received, it appears that the proceedings of the Society, during the past year, have been of great importance. At the

New England Anti-Slavery Convention, on the 25th of May, 1836—

"Our Society," says the Report, "was then pledged to pay 1000 dollars to the cause during the present year. Had our ability been equal to our wishes, we should not have named so small a sum. In other good causes in which we are engaged, men pour gifts into our treasuries with what may be termed the gallantry of alms-giving. But this, which demands the remembrance of what they so much wish to forget,—the wrongs done to their brother, before they offer their gift—this is a cause for the support of which we must learn *self-denial*, *industry*, and *economy*."

At p. 26, they say,—

"At our quarterly meeting, on the 14th of July, it was determined to present the subject of Slavery in the District of Columbia, to the consideration of the *Women* of Massachusetts. Fourteen persons volunteered to perform this service, by lodging a copy of a form of petition, with an earnest entreaty to circulate the same, in the hands of at least one person in every town throughout the Commonwealth."

The petition is concise, comprehensive, and fearless. It is worthy of insertion in this document:—

"PETITION.

"*To the Honourable Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled:*

"The undersigned, women of , deeply convinced of the sinfulness of Slavery, and keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country over which Congress possesses exclusive jurisdiction, in all cases whatsoever, do most earnestly petition your honourable body, immediately to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, and to declare every human being free, who sets foot upon its soil.

"We also respectfully announce our intention to present the same petition *yearly*, before your honourable body, that it may at least be a 'memorial of us,' that in the holy cause of Human Freedom, 'we have done what we could.'"

We proceed to extract a highly interesting part of the Report:—

"The warm season had now arrived, and with it came, as usual, the summer sojourners from the south. Year after year they have visited New England, and found preachers and editors becoming more and more obsequious, all allusions to the condition of the wronged and insulted Slave, studiously avoided in the domestic circle, and the Northern conscience becoming familiarized with the crime of Slave-holding. They have found nothing to quicken their moral sense, or enlighten their mental darkness. Their pictures of the excellencies of the system began to be looked on with favour, even by those whose boasted knowledge of the philosophy of mind, and the laws of moral being, should have enabled them to detect the false colouring. The knowledge and reverence of righteousness,—the life-giving spirit of a community, as well as the *soul* of an individual, was well nigh lost. From the moment we were aroused to the perception of all this, we resolved, in our feeble measure, to make a direct application of the first principles of Christianity, to the cases of such Slaves as were brought within the sphere of our observation by their masters. This year it seemed to us that the numbers of such were greater than usual. They came with every fresh arrival by the rail-roads and steam-boats. No prejudice against Colour ever being exhibited by the North, though *free* women of colour, of high moral and intellectual character and cultivation, and of those strong powers which no prejudice can entirely crush, have been refused the accommodation of public conveyances, out of deference to the prejudice of the South against freedom. Among those who have received our aid, the case of L. T. is peculiarly interesting, and a few memoranda respecting it are subjoined. She possesses uncommon vigour of thought, and power of expression, and is of

a temperament which would as ill brook the necessary and inseparable distresses of a Slave, (and has probably been as unprofitable as such,) as the most aristocratic woman of the land.

"After her escape from the Tremont house, she was visited by one of our number, who shook hands with her, cordially welcoming her to Freedom, and sketched a plan for her security and maintenance. Lucille distinctly declined this arrangement. She said, the persons who then sheltered her were the first who had ever offered her a home, and from attachment and gratitude she should prefer remaining with them."

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"A reward was offered, and a vigorous search kept up for many days. She was in great terror at the idea of being taken, and was compelled to change her quarters frequently, to avoid discovery. At length, her reason gave way under the dreadful excitement, and in this condition she was hunted from one part of the city to another. While we were listening to the report of the American Union for the relief and improvement of the Coloured race, on the evening of July, ——, and learning that it proposed to do something to arrest the *foreign* slave-hunter, the distressing intelligence was brought us, that a search was threatened in Belknap-street;* and that the alarm and indignation of the inhabitants of that part of the town were extreme; as the ruffians who conducted it declared that they would seize and carry off any coloured woman they could find.

"It was at that moment, while penetrated with sympathy for the sufferers, and with grief and shame at the supineness of the community generally, in view of such occurrences, that we resolved to *disinter* the law of Massachusetts. How painfully we felt at that moment, that it was *buried in oblivion*, notwithstanding the public thanksgiving of the year, that 'our soil is unpressed by the footsteps of a slave.'†

"The next circumstances which particularly excited our attention, were those which filled the newspapers, not only in this city, but throughout this region of the country, during the month of August. The following is a faithful statement of them:—

"On Saturday, July 30th, a brig was observed to come to one of the wharves, and suddenly to put back, in consequence, it seemed, of something said to the Captain by a man who was waiting his arrival. Some men of Colour, who observed these proceedings, took a boat, with the intention of going on board. They were ordered off; but on rowing round the vessel, they discovered it to be the Chickasaw, in the *Baltimore* trade, and on further examination, perceived *two women* making signals of distress to them from the cabin windows. They instantly obtained a writ of *habeas corpus*, by which the women were taken from the custody of the Captain, and conveyed to Leverett Street jail; where they were ministered unto by a few who had not forgotten to 'maintain the cause of the innocent,' nor shrunk from the visitation of prisoners, nor neglected the fatherless in their affliction: and who felt the humiliating contrast between what men *do*, and what men *ought* to do;—between the reception they give those who come to them from the South, destitute and distressed, and those who come 'clothed in gay apparel, with gold rings,' standing in no need of their services. We will not sneeringly affirm of these garment fanciers, that 'there is *no* flesh in their obdurate hearts:' we hope it would be more just, as it certainly would be less painful, to say that their views of life, and duty, and God, and humanity, and religion, and salvation, are partial, feeble, and contracted."

* * * *

"Five members of our Society entered the Court Room about 9 o'clock on Monday morning, and found the prisoners already there, in consultation with their counsel. After the entrance of Judge Shaw, the business commenced with a statement from the counsel for the claimant, that these WOMEN were the *property* (!!) of John B. Morris, of *Baltimore;* that the Constitution contained a provision by which they must be returned to him, (!!!) and that he (the counsel) demanded a reasonable construction of the Constitution. (!!!!) Mr Sewall, the prisoners' counsel, argued, in opposition, that in the Bill of Rights it was laid down as the basis of the practice of courts of law in Massachusetts, that ALL are born FREE, and have the right of enjoying and defending their LIBERTIES. This elicited slight applause from the audience, who were princi-

* A part of the city inhabited almost exclusively by Coloured persons.

† Vide Governor Armstrong's thanksgiving proclamation.

pally persons of Colour, which they instantly suppressed, on finding that it was not in order. Judge Shaw arose to give his decision. He observed that he had, as courtesy demanded, listened to the arguments of both gentlemen, though he did not think them applicable to the present case—the question being simply this: Has the Captain of the brig Chickasaw a right to convert his vessel into a prison?—[Here a flurried consultation took place between the agent of the claimant and his counsel, and one of our members, who,—from being also one of the Society of Friends, has had abundant opportunity to observe the course taken by Slave-hunters, in cases like the present,—beckoned to the person who sat nearest to the prisoners, and requested him to tell them to wait for nothing after they should be discharged;—to listen for their discharge, and depart as soon as they received it; as but an instant would intervene before some other means would be resorted to, to detain them.*] All this occupied but a moment; the messenger walked quietly back to his seat by the prisoners; all parties listened breathlessly for the decision; the Judge still continuing his speech. Our blood stood still as he went on, and the time seemed interminable. 'Whence it appears,' he said, at length, 'that the prisoners must be discharged.' All rose at the word—the prisoners—the Coloured women who surrounded them—the counsel on both sides. The agent extended his hand to seize them. A spell seemed to hold them in the same position one deeply exciting instant. The next, and the room was empty. A single voice among the crowd said, 'Go! Go!' There was no other noise, but the sound of feet, and a slight shriek from one of the women, who fainted in the lobby, and was carried down stairs.

"Most grateful were we for their safety, nor has our satisfaction ever been alloyed on retrospection. *There can be no claim of sanctity for earthly place or presence, though it were 'tenfold consecrate,' to check the retreat of an innocent woman, accused of no crime, when violent seizure of her person is threatened by a Slave-hunter.* We see no other course which it would have been right for us, or for these women, to pursue. We think that 'had they been detained on another process, great reproach would have rested somewhere;' and that, had we done otherwise than as we did, great reproach would have rested on us. Were all the circumstances again to occur, we should not, *as Christian women*, dare to do otherwise than we have done.

"We sat till the Judge and the officers of the Court had departed, leaving the hall almost empty, and then rose to go out. One of our number, deeply impressed with a sense of the duty of rebuke, which every inhabitant of the Free States owes to every Slave-holder, (and which is so entirely neglected, that Southern ministers and church members have declared, that if Abolitionists really believed their traffic sinful, they would not be so backward in pungently reproving it,) addressed the agent, who was standing where we must necessarily pass him. We preserved the dialogue.

"*Friend.* Thy prey hath escaped thee.—*Mr Turner.* Madam, you are very rude to a stranger.

"*Friend.* What then art *thou*, who comest here to kidnap women?—*Mr Turner.* I am a member of the Methodist Church, and presume I give much more to the Colonization Society than all of you together.

"*Friend.* Why art thou here then, hunting for those who have *colonized themselves?* I despise thy *conduct* and *thy Colonization Society alike.*

"We left this man, whose life passes in the unchecked, nay, authorized commission of a crime, (which, in another hemisphere, our laws punish with death,) evidently greatly enraged and astonished, that *Woman* should so deeply sympathize with wronged and suffering woman. May the reproof be fastened on his heart, till, by the blessing of the God of the oppressed, he is roused to thought and repentance! He will then thank us for the painful awakening.

"These oppressed and afflicted ones were treated by the members of our Society according to the commands of Christ. They were 'in prison, and we visited them; naked, and we clothed them; strangers, and we took them in.'

"Accept our imperfect obedience, blessed Saviour, for we did it as unto thee!

"The following minutes of a conversation with one of them, are worth preserving. She said, (speaking of the Agent,) 'I was surprised to find they called him Turner, in court; for he told me on board the vessel, that his name was William Wilson; and William Wilson, I knew, was a Methodist minister in Maryland; but I had never seen him, and did not know but this man was he. He asked to see my free papers, and as soon as he got them, he destroyed them.

* The usual course is to detain on charge of theft.

He said I ought to be ashamed to do as I had done. I told him, *No; for I had done nothing wrong.* He said he knew that; but what could I want more than I had always had. Told me that it was but little we wanted here below, for life was short.'

"*Question.* Were you ever a Slave? *Answer.* Yes.

"*Q.* Were you happy in Slavery? *A.* No.

"*Q.* Had you a kind master? *A.* Yes; I never was whipped since I was a woman grown.

"*Q.* Why were you not happy then? *A.* Could *you* live always in horror, and be happy! Master *used* to say he never would sell us; but the price of us is rising every day; people got round him making offers. The Georgia houses were near; Master didn't talk as he used to do about never selling us. Oh! there is nothing but horror to look forward to in Slavery.

* * * *

"*Q.* Why did you come to the North? *A.* I thought I should not be in danger of falling into Slavery again, if I could but get to the free States. I did not expect to meet such troubles the moment I got here; nor to meet such friends to care for me either.

"*Q.* Did you never hear of Abolitionists? *A.* (As if the word was one she did not understand.) Abolitionists! *A.* No.

"*Q.* Did you ever hear of Colonizationists? *A.* Yes; they always come round us as soon as we get *free*, and are doing well, to *persuade us to go Liberia.* But *they are found out now.* They will *not deceive many more so.*

"*Q.* Can you read? *A.* A little.

"*Q.* Were you ever on a plantation? *A.* Oh yes! but only on a visit. I never could tell you what they suffer. Most of the Slaves that I know are pious. They often meet to pray. Two or three will sometimes get together privately, and pray all night, for deliverance.

"*Q.* But if they do not know that there are any at the North labouring and praying for them, how do they think it is to come? *A.* They are waiting to see God do it for them in some wonderful manner, as he did for the Israelites. No human power can do it. We pray to Him, and have faith in Him only; for the whole world seems to have forgotten us.

"*Q.* Did you use to go to church? *A.* Yes. I am a member of the Methodist Church.

"*Q.* Do you think that all Slaves *ought* to be free? *A.* (Much surprised.) Yes; certainly.

"*Q.* Would there not be danger of the bad tempered ones killing their masters for having kept them so long in Slavery? *A.* (In extreme astonishment.) Why, no indeed! Why should they? All they want is to go free. They are willing to work; they don't want any thing wrong. Kill their masters, for doing right by them!

"*Q.* But is this opinion that they ought to be free, a common one among the Slaves? *A.* (Very solemnly.) Yes. Of *course*, they all know it is wrong to keep them in Slavery.

"*Q.* What *makes* them think so? *A.* Of *course* they think so. *It stands to reason.*

"*Q.* Did it not distress you to leave your friends? *A.* Yes; it was a trying thing; but I had rather die than go back.

"*Q.* Would not every thing go to wreck and ruin, if the Slaves were all made free? Would they not be lazy and miserable? *A.* Would they not work better, if they had something to show for it? Just think how it would be with yourself;—except when people get very old—oh, if you would only take it home to yourself, and think what you should suffer to see your old mother obliged to work to the last minute! It does seem as if, when people get quite worn out, they ought not to work.

"In many conversations we had an opportunity of witnessing the nice moral sense and the ardent piety of this woman. We showed her some of the Anti-Slavery publications, and she seemed surprised at the correctness of the description of the condition of Slaves. 'Only,' she added, 'it is impossible to put such dreadful sufferings properly into print.'"

IMPORTANT CASE.

"After the excitement produced by this affair had subsided, the *Daily Advertiser** published an advertisement, for the apprehension of a Slave, escaped

* Nathan Hale, editor.

from his master. We were forcibly reminded by it, of our former resolve to seize the first opportunity to test the validity of the BILL OF RIGHTS. It had always been our impression that the laws of Massachusetts would shelter the Slave brought within their local limits by his master; but we found a different idea the prevailing one in the surrounding community, and the popular voice was confirmed to us by nine members of the Boston bar. In Hilliard's 'Elements of Law, a Summary of American Civil Jurisprudence, for the use of Students, Men of Business, and General Readers,' we found it laid down, that 'a Slave, bought in one State, *acquires* NO RIGHTS *as a freeman by being brought into another;*' and our minds were more deeply than ever convinced of the necessity of immediately trying to counteract this general idea, so dishonourable to Massachusetts.

"It was at a meeting of the Board, held August 11th, that we were informed by the Vice-President of our Society, that a family in the city, recently from the South, had a child in their keeping presumed to be a Slave; and knowing that it was their intention to return with it to the South, our unanimous opinion was, that it was the duty of those who had come to the knowledge of these facts, to prevent, if possible, such a violation of the rights of the child."

* * * *

"We decided to claim for her the protection of the laws of Massachusetts, and applied to Ellis Gray Loring, Esq., for his professional aid,—Levin Harris acting as promoter of the suit. The plea for the Commonwealth was conducted, at the first hearing, by Messrs Loring and Sewall, and at the second, by Messrs Loring and Choate. For their admirable arguments, we refer to 'the case of the Slave child Med,'—a pamphlet containing the proceedings on both sides, and the decision of the court.

"At the request of one of our number, who was most active in bringing the case to notice, the little child is called Maria Sommersett. The time is at hand, when even the South will honour the names of Ellis Gray Loring and Chief Justice Shaw, as they are now honoured by all who reverence the worthy memories of Granville Sharpe and of Lord Mansfield."

We transcribe from the pamphlet above referred to, that part of Chief Justice Shaw's decision which secured the freedom of the Slave Med:—

"We are of opinion, that an owner of a Slave in another State, where Slavery is warranted by law, voluntarily bringing such Slave into this State, has no authority to detain him against his will, or to carry him out of the State against his consent, for the purpose of being held in Slavery."

"The grounds of the decision are, that Slavery having been abolished, by the adoption of the Bill of Rights, every person in Massachusetts must be free. The inhabitant of another country, coming to Massachusetts, is under the law of Massachusetts; for the laws of each nation are binding only within its own local limits, and on the high seas, which are common to all nations."

The following beautiful passage occurs towards the conclusion of this valuable Report. With it we shall conclude, for the present, our notice of the Boston Female Society. The cash account of the Society shows an income of upwards of 1000 dollars during the year. On the 22d of December, the Society realized 550 dollars by an Anti-Slavery fair:—

"In reviewing the history of the past year, as it relates to our cause, grateful astonishment at its progress is the prevailing emotion. How many can bear witness, that its power extends even to the conversion of the heart. 'Love the Lord thy God with all thy heart;' give to his righteous character of love and truth an undivided worship. Behold him manifest in the flesh, and instantly follow the perfect example of impartial love—most active where most needed, in behalf of the weak, oppressed by the strong. These are the principles of the Abolitionists. What wonder that on adopting them, the character should be regenerated? How many mistakes in religion, in politics, in opinion, on all subjects, do they rectify! How many of feeble abilities and scanty

opportunities, do they illuminate and strengthen by their wisdom, which is from above. They teach us to do justly to all; to remember that a man is not the less our brother because he is our enemy; to hate nothing but sin, and to see in every apologist of Slavery, one who may yet, in the good providence of God, be most dear to us as a defender of our lofty faith. They teach us how to avoid that spurious charity which would efface moral distinctions; and that our duty to the sinner is, not to palliate, but to pardon;—not to excuse, but to forgive, freely, fully, as we hope to be forgiven."

NEW YORK FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

In another part of this Report, we have noticed the formation of the above Society. The Society held its first Anniversary in the church in which it was formed, on Thursday, May 12th, 1836. The Report read on the occasion is an eloquent and animating production. What follows is a quotation from it:—

"At an early period, Female Anti-Slavery Societies were formed in many places, and though from its location, ours *should* have been, yet it was not, amongst the first of these. When, however, we were able so to concentrate the Abolition feeling that prevailed amongst the Females of this city, as to combine in an organized form, we succeeded in happily constituting the Society whose first anniversary we are now celebrating, and the influence of whose efforts, we trust, will be found continually increasing, till the last shackle falls from the last Slave—till our country is truly *free*. We cannot advert to the commencement of our career, without referring also to one whose name has been strangely associated with the very extremes of good and ill in character—that illustrious philanthropist whom all Britain honoured for his devotion to the cause of human liberty, while for no worse or better reason, America hunted him from her shores, as a 'felon and a foe.' Feeling as we do, the deep national disgrace incurred by this transaction, and cherishing the most grateful remembrance of the devoted and invaluable services of George Thompson in the cause of American Abolition, we treasure it as one of the most interesting facts in the history of our Society, that we were permitted to enjoy his assistance at its formation. Who that came within the sound of the mighty torrent of his eloquence on that occasion can cease to remember it, or to be impelled by it to untiring action, while Slavery endures?

"When the fact was ascertained that he had really been driven from amongst us, not so much by his persecutors as his friends, who were unwilling that such blood as his should stain our soil, we deemed it due to ourselves no less than to him, to express to him our deep sympathy, our grief and shame, for what he had suffered in our country, while labouring for her best interests,—and our high estimation of his invaluable services."

The Report then refers to the letter and Resolutions respecting Mr Thompson, which we have already inserted. An additional extract will show how the Society has been engaged:—

"The Society has paid into the Treasury of the National Society, the past year, 325 dollars, 100 dollars of which was raised by the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Sewing Society. They have also distributed Anti-Slavery publications, and circulated petitions to Congress, for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and to the General Assembly, praying for some action in that church on the subject."

This Society has also published a thrilling Address to the Christian Women of America. They say,—

"With the system of Slavery as it now exists in our country, a band of fearless and true-hearted patriots have declared open and eternal war; and as American Females, daughters of the Pilgrim Fathers, and mothers of the future defenders of our beloved land, we have come up with them to the contest, *never* to lay aside our armour until the sacred cause of liberty is triumphant, or we

are sacrificed in the struggle. We have blushed for our country's dishonour, we have wept over our country's guilt, and we can never cease to pray and labour for our country's redemption from this, its foulest stain. Nor are we to be turned aside from our purpose by the often repeated objection that this is a political question, with which we as Females have nothing to do. NOTHING TO DO WITH SLAVERY! Nothing to do in behalf of woman, publicly exposed for sale, under circumstances the most revolting to human nature, of Woman bleeding under the torturing lash, trampled into the very dust of humiliation, scorned, polluted, ruined, both for time and eternity! We are *daughters*, and we must feel for the daughter, who can never know a father's tenderness or a mother's love, who if she is not torn from her parents, constantly sees them subjected to the most agonizing punishments, and who can expect from them neither protection or defence in the preservation of that which should be dearer to her than life. As *wives* we sympathise with the wife, who knows nothing of the marriage covenant, but by the agony she feels when her husband, such only in name, is violently dragged from her side and sent away for ever, while her unutterable misery is mocked and ridiculed by the cruel oppressor. As *mothers*, we feel for her, whose children, heirs only of her wretchedness and degradation, are but articles of merchandise, who breathes the bitter prayer as she kisses the unconscious infant, ere she goes forth to hopeless toil, that it may soon die and be at rest beyond the white man's power. We feel for that miserable mother, doomed as she often is, to drag out a joyless existence, deprived of husband, children, all that could render life and *such* a life tolerable. We have read the injunction which bids us as Christians, remember those in bonds as bound with them, and in these words of the Apostle we find a sanction for all the feeling, all the action, which we deem necessary in ourselves or desirable in others."

We feel that this language is equally applicable to the Christian Women of Britain. So also is the following:—

"To you as an individual, alone in the presence of God, we put the question, how will you *wish* to have felt and acted, when you stand before the Saviour, and the poor unpitied Slave is standing at your side, to tell the story of his wrongs in the ear of Infinite Justice? It will not avail you then, to plead that you did not recognize in the sick, naked, hungry, and thirsty prisoner, the representative of the Great Redeemer. 'Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the *least* of these my brethren, ye did it not unto me.'

* * * * *

"Do not seek to shelter yourself under the plea of limited influence, or inferior abilities. The most immense aggregate is made up of minute particles, which by their union acquire importance. *Do what you can;* throw all your talents, all your influence, into the scale of justice and humanity, and leave the result with Him who often makes use of the simplest means to accomplish his wise and holy purposes.

* * * * *

"*Woman!* Of whatever name or station, gifted by heaven with warm affections, gushing sympathies, stedfast faith, and enduring constancy, come to the help of the millions who lie enslaved, weeping, prostrate at your feet.

* * * * *

"God even our God sitteth in the heavens, and the hearts of the children of men are in his hands. Shall we not ask Him that the conscience of the Slaveholder may be awakened, his stern determination to persevere in wrong given up, and the Slave put in possession of the birthright privileges of his being? Shall we not pray, that the last link of the last chain may be speedily broken, and one universal shout of *freedom* go up from all the inhabitants of our regenerated land? In that blessed day, when the breath of Slavery no longer pollutes the air, nor its footsteps stain our soil, will it be *nothing* to join the song of triumph as it swells from angels in heaven, and the redeemed on earth, to Him whose power hath given us the victory?"

The Philadelphia Ladies' Society have republished the work of the late ELIZABETH HEYRICK of Leicester, one of the Society of Friends, "who originated that idea of *Immediate*

Emancipation, which was adopted by Wilberforce and the English Abolitionists, as the only effective one, and to which may be attributed the wonderful progress of the cause in the United States. It has given a vigorous inspiration to the minds of the humblest individuals, of the most obscure societies. It carries a sense of power with it, which is felt in the most remote region."

The foregoing account of some of the Female Societies in America, will show the rapid progress of the cause, and illustrate the value of Female exertions. Did the limits of this Report admit of it, we might, by a reference to the history of other Societies than those named, prove, that in the midst of ridicule and persecution, the Females of the United States have been enabled to carry on the work of Emancipation with great success; and that opposition and violence have only had a tendency to augment their numbers and strength. Mr Thompson was singularly successful in his efforts to enlist the aid of Females; and though some of the Societies organized by him were originated in circumstances of great peril, they have proceeded from small beginnings to large and flourishing Associations. The Society in Lowell, Massachusetts, formed by Mr Thompson during his second visit—when it will be remembered by many, he narrowly escaped death by the violence of the rabble—numbers considerably more than a thousand members. It would be gratifying to record the many instances of zeal and self-denial furnished by the proceedings of these Societies; but it is impracticable. One fact may not, however, be passed over. The piety and liberality of the individual deserves to be memorialized, for the benefit of all whose attachment to the cause of God and righteous liberty is in danger of becoming weak, or who have not at present discovered in what way they can render service to mankind. The following is an extract from the journal of one of the travelling agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society:—

"Lectured in Northfield, Massachusetts, 4th, 5th, and 8th of January, 1837. A small Society exists here, but the mass of the people is of the *non-committal* policy. I cannot forbear making mention of a young lady in this place, of whom this selfish, and heartless, and Christless world, is hardly worthy. She gave me her donation of 365 cents, (on the cent a day plan,) with the expression of regret that it was *so small*. And yet she supports herself by her needle, and contributes thirty dollars a year to benevolent Societies, besides fifty dollars a year for the support of her relatives. *Eighty dollars* a year in the cause of benevolence, *earned by the needle!* I confess, dear brother, I felt almost ashamed to call myself an Abolitionist. I *thought* that I had remembered those that are in bonds, in some small degree, as bound with them; but I was deeply moved by the example of this dear sister, and I felt myself *baptized anew* in the spirit of suffering, and sacrifice, and crucifixion, for the crushed and bleeding image of my God and Saviour. Surely would the redemption of the captive speedily draw nigh, if all who call themselves Abolitionists, were baptized in the spirit of this sister."

The following is a short speech delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, by a clergyman of the State. It refers, as will be seen, to the case of a fugitive female Slave, who was able to reach Halifax, Nova Scotia; and being now under the protection of the British Government, is beyond the reach of the wretches who roam over all the free States of the American union, for the purpose of kidnapping those who have escaped from unjust bondage.

"Rev. Moses Thacher asked leave to make a communication to the Society now, because he must leave the city before the afternoon session. He had recently received a letter from a Lady who had recently been held as property. Yes, I'll call her a *Lady* now; she is in the British dominions, in Halifax; she is a Lady *there*, though she be called a Slave here. I have had the pleasure of seeing her, and a more delicate and conscientious Lady I have seldom seen. In the letter of which I speak, she requests me to return her thanks to the citizens of Boston, for the advice, counsel, and assistance they had given her, in gaining her freedom. She is now where she can walk abroad, without fear; she has escaped her pursuers—bloodhounds! I feel that a large portion of these thanks are due to those heroic Ladies, who were able to maintain unbroken ranks, and secure a judicious retreat for their sister, in the hour of peril. A flush of shame comes over my cheeks, that there is not a spot in these United States, where a fugitive from bondage and degradation can be safe; that such a person, guilty of no crime, must flee for protection to the dominions of a power with whom our fathers, but a little while ago, contended for liberty of speech and of the press."

The Glasgow Ladies' Auxiliary Society has, during the past year, been much encouraged by the formation of several Societies in various parts of England, similar in their object and operations to their own. Among these, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, North Shields, and Darlington, deserve to be specially mentioned. From Newcastle, a donation of £20, per Mr Thompson, has been received, and added to the funds of the Society. The Ladies of the Darlington Association have forwarded to America a very excellent Address, in reply to the Appeal sent from the New England Female Anti-Slavery Society to the Women of Great Britain. To the zeal and liberality of one of the Secretaries * of that Association, the cause is indebted for the republication of a very useful pamphlet by Angelina E. Grimké, of Charleston, South Carolina, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendix, by Mr Thompson. Of this valuable work, the Society has taken 500 copies, nearly the whole of which have been disposed of while this Report has been at press; and they anticipate much good from their circulation. It is confidently expected, that the number of Female Associations will be very greatly increased during the the ensuing year.

The Ladies' Society of Edinburgh have, from their forma-

* In the Appendix will be found an extract of a letter from Miss Grimke, to the Lady here referred to.

tion, steadily prosecuted their great object, and have ever shown the fullest disposition to co-operate with the Glasgow Society.

This Society desire to keep the magnitude of the work in which they are embarked ever in view, and also, the many great interests with which it stands connected. While contemplating the Slavery to be abolished—the prejudice to be overcome—the darkness to be enlightened—and the wretchedness to be relieved, they feel that their sufficiency is in God alone. To Him they would look for wisdom, power, protection, and success. They know that they are acting in conformity with the divine law, and are therefore warranted in looking for the fulfilment of those gracious promises, which are recorded for the encouragement and support of the feeble instruments, which the Great Ruler of the destinies of mankind employs for the accomplishment of his own purposes. They would be grateful for the success which has attended the efforts of the friends of the Slave, in every part of the world, during the past year. In our own country, there has been a diffusion of light on the subject of Universal Emancipation, greater than during any previous year. There has been a general awakening of religious bodies, to a conviction of their solemn duty to undertake the work of moral and Christian remonstrance, with the abettors of Slavery, wherever they exist. A multitude of documents full of cogent reasoning, scriptural illustration, and affectionate appeal, have already been forwarded to the United States. The Society refer to the Report of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, for full proof on this topic. Surely these means will be continued, and that abundantly, both in number and energy, until all the sections of the Christian world are completely arrayed against Slavery, and its manifold evils, and until the wicked system feels the omnipotent influence of the people of God.

In America, the progress of the cause is without an example in the history of human benevolence. From the latest accounts it appears that there are not less than 800 Anti-Slavery Societies. Of these, about 100 are Female. Through the joint liberality of these Associations, upwards of seventy agents are kept constantly travelling and lecturing upon the sinfulness of Slavery and prejudice. By means of Prayer Meetings, Church Conferences, Fast-days, Petitions to Congress, Memorials to Ecclesiastical Assemblies, Religious Newspapers, Public Meetings, and Conventions, the subject is kept fully before the minds of all classes of the community, and the leaven of regeneration is thus universally diffused.

In the midst of their arduous and gigantic labours, our Trans-Atlantic brethren and sisters look with earnestness and pressing entreaty to this country, and ask that sympathy with them in their perils and privations—and those remonstrances with their interested, prejudiced, and persecuting opponents—that shall fully demonstrate that the piety and literature of Great Britain are on their side.

The Committee of the Glasgow Ladies' Auxiliary Emancipation Society, cannot conclude this Report, without referring with the liveliest satisfaction to the determination on the part of their esteemed friend, Mr Thompson, still to pursue his truly philanthropic course on behalf of their degraded fellow-beings. They rejoice in the pledge just given by the Glasgow Emancipation Society at its Anniversary Meeting, to continue to support its devoted Agent, in his further efforts in Freedom's hallowed cause; and, animated by kindred feelings, this Committee trust their Female coadjutors in this city, and throughout the kingdom, will sustain the Ladies' Auxiliary of Glasgow, in its desire increasingly to aid the Parent Society in promoting the Cause of Universal Emancipation.

Feeling the deep importance of the object, may we unhesitatingly persevere in the path of duty. As the work is God's, may we ever remember, that without His blessing, all human efforts are unavailing. Praying therefore that He would prosper every well-intended effort for the benefit of the oppressed, may the time speedily arrive, when the suffering and degraded Slave of either sex, and in whatever clime, shall be elevated to that scale of society which the benificent Creator has destined for them, as candidates equally with ourselves, for a blissful immortality, "through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus."

"Spirit of Freedom, *on!*
Oh, pause not in thy flight,
Till every clime is won,
To worship in thy light.

SPEED *on* thy glorious way,
And wake the sleeping lands,—
Millions are watching for the ray,
And lift to thee their hands.

On, till thy name is known,
Throughout the peopled earth;
On, till thou reign'st alone,
Man's heritage by birth.

On, till from every vale,
And where the mountains rise,
The beacon lights of LIBERTY
Shall kindle to the skies!"

APPENDIX.

I.

Lines written on reading "Right and Wrong in Boston;" containing an account of the Meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, and the Mob which followed, on the 21st October, 1835.

Unshrinking from the storm—
  Well have ye borne your part,
With WOMAN's fragile form,
  But more than manhood's heart!
Faithful to Freedom, when
  Its name was held accursed—
Faithful, 'midst ruffian men,
  Unto your holy trust.

Oh—steadfast in the Truth!
  Not for yourselves alone,
Matron and gentle youth—
  Your lofty zeal was shown:—
For the bondmen of all climes—
  For freedom's last abode—
For the hope of future times,
  For the birthright gift of God.

For scorned and broken laws—
  For honour and the right—
For the staked and periled cause
  Of liberty and light.
For the holy eyes above
  On a world of evil cast—
For the CHILDREN of your love—
  For the MOTHERS of the past!

Worthy of THEM are ye—
  The Pilgrim wives who dared
The waste and unknown sea,
  And the hunter's perils shared.
Worthy of her*—whose mind
  Triumphant over all,
Ruler nor priest could bind,
  Nor banishment appal.

* Mrs Hutchinson, who was banished from the Massachusetts Colony, as the easiest method of confuting her doctrines.

Worthy of her* who died
  Martyr to Freedom, where
Your 'Commons' verdant pride
  Opens to sun and air:
Upheld at that dread hour
  By strength which could not fail;
Before whose holy power
  Bigot and priest turned pale.

God give ye strenth to run
  Unawed by earth or hell,
The race ye have begun
  So gloriously and well—
Until the trumpet call
  Of Freedom has gone forth,
With joy and life to all
  The bondmen of the earth!

Until IMMORTAL MIND
  Unshackled walks abroad,
And chains no longer bind
  The image of our God:
Until no captive one
  Murmurs on land or wave;
And, in his course, the sun
  Looks down upon no SLAVE!

—*From an American Newspaper.*

II.

Address of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, to the Women of Massachusetts.

SISTERS AND FRIENDS,—As *immortal souls*, created by God to know and love him with all our hearts, and our neighbour as ourselves, we owe immediate obedience to his commands, respecting the sinful system of Slavery, beneath which 2,500,000 of our fellow-immortals, children of the same country, are crushed soul and body, in the extremity of degradation and agony.

As *women*, it is incumbent upon us, instantly and always, to labour to increase the knowledge and the love of God, that such concentrated hatred of his character and laws may no longer be so intrenched in *men's* business and bosoms, that they dare not condemn and renounce it.

As *wives* and *mothers*, as *sisters* and *daughters*, we are deeply responsible for the influence we have on the human race. We are bound to exert it; we are bound to urge men to cease to do evil, and learn to do well. We are bound to urge them to regain, defend, and preserve inviolate the rights of all, especially those whom they have most deeply wronged. We are bound to the constant exercise of the only right we ourselves enjoy—the right which our physical weakness renders peculiarly appropriate—the right of petition. We are bound to try how much it can accomplish in the District of Columbia, or we are as verily guilty, touching Slavery, as our brethren and sisters in the Slave-holding States; for Congress possesses power 'to exercise exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia in all cases whatsoever,' by a provision of the Constitution; and by an *act* of the *first* Congress, the right of petition was secured to us.

By a *resolution* of the *last* Congress, that no petition respecting Slavery shall be printed for the information of the members, and that no vote shall be taken on it, by which we may know whether the men we call our representatives are truly such, the whole nation is made to feel the Slave-holder's scourge. The best and noblest of our countrymen, thus seeing, and thus feeling these things, have

* Mary Dyer, the Quaker Martyr, who was hanged in Boston, 1659, for worshipping God according to the dictates of her conscience.

spoken and acted like freemen.—Oh, let us aid them to rouse the slumbering manhood of the rest! Let us rise in the moral power of womanhood, and give utterance to the voice of outraged mercy, and insulted justice, and eternal truth, and mighty love, and holy freedom; in the name and for the sake of our Saviour; and in the mountain-moving faith, that we can do all things, Christ strengthening us.

Let us petition;—petition, till, even for our importunity, we cannot be denied. Let us know no rest till we have done our utmost to convince the mind, and to obtain the testimony of every woman, in every town, in every county of our Commonwealth, against the horrible Slave-traffic, which makes the District of Columbia a disgrace to the earth, and exhibits in the centre of a Christian country, an unrebuked wickedness, for which no other spot on earth affords a parallel.

To facilitate this, we annex a form of petition, and entreat the aid of every woman whose hand it reaches, to circulate it, (or a better,) rapidly, faithfully, and thoroughly, and to transmit the signatures, as soon as possible, to 46, Washington Street, Boston, addressed to the person whose name, as a member of our Executive Committee, shall be affixed to this Address.

A detail of the mere physical particulars involved in the arrangements of a single Slave-dealer, would show the abolition of Slavery in the ten miles square, to be "a cause worth dying for;" but while our whole country, by deliberately sanctioning such atrocities, stands before God and the world, as the strong-hold of Slavery, while the institutions of the free are daily breaking down under the operation of the Slave-system; while in the best regulated parts of our country, the lives of the free are endangered by an avowal of the principles of the Declaration of Independence; and freedom itself imbittered, because honourable and dignifying industry is stigmatized as *slavish*—while these things are, we must devote ourselves to avert the fearful crisis to which these things are leading. Weak and wicked is the idea, that union in oppression is possible. Every nation that attempts it, "God beholds, and drives asunder;" and has done from the foundation of the world.

Christian friends, again we conjure you, by all that woman holds dear and holy, to labour as woman has never yet done, in view of the unutterable destruction which waits visibly round about, to make our land a perpetual desolation, unless the people repent.

Leave no energy unemployed, no righteous means untried. Grudge no expense—yield to no opposition—forget fatigue—till, by the strength of prayer and sacrifice, the spirit of love shall have overcome sectional jealousy, political rivalry, prejudice against colour, cowardly concession of principle, wicked compromise with sin, devotion to gain, and spiritual despotism, which now bear with a mountain's weight upon the Slave. Let but each *woman* in the land do a Christian woman's duty, and the result cannot fail to be his instant, peaceful, unconditional deliverance.—Thus, and thus only, can we hope to deliver our own souls. Only in thus doing, can we hope to hear the voice of Jesus, saying unto us, "Come, ye blessed of my Father!—Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me!"

By order of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society.

M. W. Chapman, } *Cor. Secretaries.*
M. Ammidon, }

July 13*th*, 1836.

III.

Letter from Mrs Child to George Thompson, Esq.

New York, 16*th October*, 1836.

Much esteemed Friend,—My husband is going to England, and I am not;—but although my own deliberate judgment is in favour of this self-denial, I am grievously disappointed. I *try* to bear in mind that our heavenly Father always knows what is best for us, and that He over-rules every event of our lives for good.

My dear husband is sent out to France by a company formed for the manufacture of beet sugar. The Anti-Slavery *Society* have nothing to do with his mission; but I think the *cause* is closely identified with it. This simple vegetable, having the colour of blood, without its stain, will prove like the smooth

stone from the brook, which struck the giant in the forehead.—The records of your combats in England are read with intense delight by your friends here.

How I wish that *half* the proofs we have around us of corruption in the Churches, could be conveyed to you in England. One of these proofs came pretty near home, a few months since. My husband's sister, residing in Mount Vernon, Ohio, named her babe George Thompson. Mr Hard, an Episcopal minister, to whose Church the parents belonged, is strongly opposed to the abolitionists; and he declined baptizing the child, lest he should be mobbed! Poor little George still remains without the Christian ordinance. Item 2d, You are doubtless aware, that the Presbyterians, on the first Monday evening in January, are accustomed to pray for the conversion of the world. The Hindoos are prayed for, the Mahometans, the Chinese, &c. &c. &c. In one of our large cities, the question arose, whether, when all others were prayed for, they should likewise pray for the Slaves. It was decided that such an agitating subject had better be avoided; and it *has* been most scrupulously avoided. They pray all around and around the poor Slave, but never mention him. I know this from persons present at the discussion, and I refrain from mentioning names, merely that I may not involve them in trouble. Item 3d, Mr Mines (I am uncertain whether I spell the name right) is the son of a Slave-holder and settled over Laight Street Church. Members of his society tell me that they know very well who will be invited to pray at the prayer meetings and other meetings of the Church; for whoever dares to allude to the poor Slave is never again invited to address the throne of grace.

I am told that the Rev. Mr Broadhead of this city, instead of praying for the Emancipation of the Slaves, publicly prays that Abolition may not creep into his church.

The Rev. Samuel H. Cox preached to-day for our coloured brother, Theodore S. Wright. It was an eloquent and excellent sermon—without *direct* application to the peculiar circumstances of the congregation* he addressed, but full of pointed and appropriate *allusions*. The church was much crowded. There is a strong effort now being made to build a new church for this good man, and recall him to New York. I do not know whether he would be inclined to accept the call.

I am now on a visit at the house of Doctor A. L. Cox. They are hospitable, kind-hearted friends of all abolitionists; and of you in particular they often speak with great affection.

There is in this city a committee of vigilance to keep watch upon kidnappers, &c. Two instances have come under their observation, of West Indian apprentices, sent here by their masters to be sold at the South! One of the poor fellows was saved by the Committee; but the other is now in bondage. The *Jamaica Watchman* speaks of a brisk emigration of apprentices from one island to another, particularly to Trinidad. This movement excites my jealousy. Trinidad is an easy sail from Texas, where they are smuggling in slaves upon the cheapest possible terms, though from motives of policy they *do* pledge themselves to buy only of United States Slave-holders. I pray you let this matter be looked to. Oh Texas! Texas! How can I describe to you the amount of my anxiety on this subject! If instead of having a free frontier on our South-West, Texas is annexed to the United States, the South will gain an immense accession of political power, and an insatiable market will keep up a forced prosperity in the old Slave States, where the system would soon die a natural death, if it were not for Slave raising.

Are you aware of the immense importance of this crisis? If they get Texas, I had almost said we might as well disband our societies, and fold our hands. *But I still trust in God and England.*

I have left no room to say how often and how kindly we have thought of you. Give my love to Mrs Thompson and the little ones.

Yours most truly,

(Signed,) L. M. CHILD.

George Thompson, Esq., England.

* A *Coloured* one.

IV.

ADDRESS OF THE DARLINGTON LADIES.

At an Adjourned Meeting of Ladies friendly to the extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the world, held in the Friends' Meeting House, Darlington, the following Address was unanimously adopted:—

To the Members of the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association in New England,

Dear Friends,—We have perused your touching and powerful Appeal to the Women of Great Britain, with an interest which no words can adequately convey. The zeal, fortitude, and Christian spirit you evince, are alike creditable to humanity and religion, and have called forth our strongest feelings of sympathy and anxiety to co-operate with you in the noble work in which you are labouring. We abhor Slavery in every shape, and oppression under every form; and are one with you in heart and in hope, in principle and in purpose, to effect its extinction wherever it exists.

We rejoice in the victory which the long-protracted struggle of Great Britain has achieved, in having at length succeeded to a great extent, in breaking the fetters of Slavery in her own Colonies. But our object is *universal* freedom—the breaking of every yoke, the deliverance of the oppressed, in every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation.

We regard, therefore, with feelings of the deepest sorrow, the existence of Slavery and the Slave-trade, with all their attendant abominations, in the Southern States of America. Odious as such a system must be, under any circumstances, its existence is doubly deplorable and culpable in a land calling itself free, and amongst a people professing the Christian name.

So glaring an inconsistency must injure the cause of Liberty in the world at large, whilst it affords to the espouser of Infidelity his most cogent argument against our holy religion.

The heart-stirring addresses of George Thompson have been eminently instrumental, in this country, in awakening feelings of abhorrence towards American Slavery. We cannot better convey to you our sentiments on the subject than by saying, that they are in unison with his.

We shall not attempt to give vent to the feelings of regard and esteem which we entertain towards this talented, eloquent, and intrepid champion of the inalienable rights of man. To you he needs no commendation; and his spirit seeks not its solace in the contaminated region of human applause. He aspires after the favour of heaven, and we rejoice in the belief, that all the hardships, labours, and persecutions he has undergone, on behalf of suffering humanity, will be returned a thousand-fold into his bosom, in the rich enjoyment of that peace which shall be his abundant reward in time and eternity.

Dear Sisters,—We congratulate you on the rapid advances which the cause of human freedom is making in your land.

We contemplate, with peculiar delight, the powerful and salutary influence you must exert over public feeling, by the faithful and fearless testimony you bear against the prejudices, corruptions, and oppressions, which disgrace your nation.

Truth and humanity, reason and revelation, are on your side. Your cause must, therefore, eventually triumph. We would encourage you to persevere with unremitting energy, in the use of all Christian efforts, until the meridian splendour of that glorious day, which shall witness the last link to be broken which binds the Slave—until all the odious distinctions, founded on Colour, shall be buried in oblivion, and the injured sons of Africa in your land, restored to the full enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of humanity.

We again offer you the heartfelt assurance, that the great personal sacrifices, the sufferings and persecutions, you are called upon to endure, claim our warmest sympathy; and in conclusion, we would fervently commend you and your righteous cause to the blessing of Him, in the counsels of whose wisdom it is to crown your efforts with victory.

(Signed, on behalf of the meeting,)

ELIZABETH PEASE.
JESSE ELIZABETH WEMYSS.

December 14*th*, 1836.

V.

Extract of a Letter from Miss A. E. Grimke, to one of the Secretaries of the Darlington Ladies' Society.

New York, *3d Month*, 17*th*, 1837.

Thanks to thee my Sister:—thanks to every British woman whose tears are shed over the wrongs of the Coloured, and over the sins of the white American: thanks too for the secret prayers which ascend up to heaven for the relief of the one, and the deep heart-felt repentance of the other. Thanks for that letter of sympathy to my New England sisters; and for the Resolutions passed at the Darlington meeting. As an American—as a native of South Carolina—as one who was cradled in the lap of Slavery, and has drunk, with the sufferer, of the wormword and the gall in the land of his captivity—as an exile from the home of my fathers—I thank thee; I thank every Briton who is labouring in the great work of man's redemption from the galling yoke of oppression—from the gross darkness and pollution of Heathenism, in this Republican Despotism.

Our fainting hearts are often cheered by the soft-flowing strains of that harp of sympathy which has been touched in yonder father-land, by the hand of your Thompson; and our bosoms swell with gratitude as we catch the sound of Woman's voice across the Atlantic, responding to the sound of freedom which has gone throughout our borders.

We hail you most joyfully as coadjutors in the holy cause.—Of the entire and speedy downfall of the great prison-house of the South I have no doubt; but how as a nation we can escape the judgment of God, I know not. It seems impossible, that such base hypocrisy, such cold-blooded cruelty, such systematized oppression can go unpunished; and I tremble for my country when I remember that "God is just;" and I wonder whether mercy *can* cover the judgment-seat *any longer*.

Sometimes I am ready to despair of the South altogether, and to give up all hope of saving her from going down to the grave of nations in insurrection and blood, covered with the pall of infamy, and buried with the roar of the canon and the shout of the warrior.

I solemnly believe that the love of money and the *lust of power*, reign triumphant there, over the fear of death, hell, and the grave; and that there are thousands who, rather than surrender the victims of their avarice and oppression, would encounter all the horrors of St. Domingo. The South will hold on to Slavery with a death-grasp. Men and women could never live in the midst of such a system of abominations, contented and happy in its bosom-sins, without becoming *deeply corrupted* by it. They could not, year after year, "forbear to deliver those who are drawn unto death," without becoming blinded and hardened to their claims as human beings. They could not withhold the Bible and the sacred rite of marriage, and habitually scatter the members of families to the four winds, without becoming dead to the feelings of justice, humanity, and mercy. Therefore, I fear there will be those at the South who will stand like a brazen wall against all the artillery of right and reason, all the fiery darts of ridicule and satire, and the bomb-shells of contempt and scorn, which will soon be poured into this strong-hold of tyranny by Europe and the world.

I despair because I fear the north will not come up to the rescue in time to save the south. Great numbers of our ministers refuse to open their mouths for the dumb; our politicians stand aghast at the thought of a dissolution of the union; our Gallios exclaim in sinful indifference, What has the north to do with Slavery at the south? and multitudes of our women catch from the lip of their fathers, brothers, and sons, the hackneyed excuse, that as Slavery is a *political concern* they ought not to intermeddle with it. These things cause me to despair. Then again, when I look at all that has been done within the last few years, when I see how the storm of free discussion has swept over the polluted waters of Slavery, (as heavy with corruption as the dull waters of that sea of death which sleeps over the ruins of Admah and Zeboim,) and lashed them into foam and fury, causing them, it is true, to cast up mire and dirt like the troubled sea: when I see that we are awaking to a sense of our sin and danger, then "I thank God and take courage," for who can tell whether God "will be gracious" to my country, and yet arise for her deliverance. Is any thing too hard for Him to do? Cannot he save by the few as well as the many? If one Jonah could (under His blessing) bring a Nineveh to repentance, cannot the thousands who have stood

up in our land to plead the cause of the poor, bring us to repent of our blood-guiltiness, and will not such repentance redound to the glory of His own great name?

But I must answer thy inquiries as to what the little band of friends at Darlington can do to help us in our struggle in freedom's cause. Much every way, my Sisters.

I. Give to the Slaves of Republican Americans your sympathy and your prayers. I have great faith in the power of prayer to move the arm which wields the destinies of the world. I have *no* faith in any efforts *without* this spiritual scaling-ladder, by which we can ascend in spirit to the very throne of Jehovah, and present our petitions, through the mediation of Jesus, for his suffering representatives on earth.

II. Keep the subject of American Slavery continually before the British public. Hold it up to view just as you are accustomed to hold up the horrors of Heathen Idolatry, the deluded victims who prostrate themselves under the car of Juggernaut, the heartless mothers who throw their weeping babes into the Ganges, the shrieking widows who offer themselves up on the funeral pile of their husbands. Yes! Tell British Christians that we are *far more* guilty than these, because *we* have a hundred-fold more light. Look too at the immortal minds we are crushing.

III. Your Anti-Slavery Societies may do great good by passing resolutions at your meetings, such as were contained in the paper thou wast so kind as to send me, and by issuing addresses to our societies in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, or to different classes of individuals amongst us. Northern or southern Women, northern or southern Clergymen, &c. even *Children* may be addressed with great effect now, for they are beginning in the Free States to form themselves into associations, to lisp the wrongs of the Slave, and to throw their pennies into the coffer of the National Society. Appeals to our Churches must be peculiarly impressive. Send them on the wings of the wind, and "be not weary in well-doing, for you shall reap if you faint not."

IV. If you can give our National Society any pecuniary aid, it will be very acceptable, for they have between 60 and 70 agents in the field, who are constantly travelling about and lecturing. They have gone out weeping, bearing precious seed, and by faith we expect them to return, bringing their sheaves with them. Their salaries are 500 dollars, on an average. Then too are the publishing expenses.

V. Any articles of work will be acceptable and stimulating, I am sure. Above all, keep *our* intrepid champion, George Thompson, in the field. Just so far as he moves England, he helps us. I cannot help hoping, that she will soon be prepared to offer a bonus on free Cotton, Rice, and Sugar.—This will startle the South, more perhaps than any thing that has yet been done. Never fail in any addresses you may send us, to touch on the subject of *cruel prejudice*. The North is awfully guilty on this point, and ought to be rebuked sharply.

* * * * * * * *

I need no excuse for being addressed, even by a stranger, when the Slave is concerned. Be assured then of my thanks for thy gratifying letter, and with love and gratitude to thy associates and thyself.

I remain, thine in the cause of the dumb,

ANGELINA E. GRIMKE.

VI.

ANECDOTES OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

A Slave in Georgia sought refuge in the swampy forest from the despotism which he could not brook, and kept himself concealed in places which a refugee slave alone would voluntarily inhabit, until the ragings of hunger overcame him, and he crept back to the plantation.

The overseer received him with wrath, and regardless of his anguish and his entreaties, securing him with cords, flogged him without pity.—The underling's arm grew weary—at length the tortured slave was writhing in his blood. Just then came in the master. He seized the lash, and pursued the outrage. "Pray, Massa," feebly screamed the perishing Slave. What was prayer to the Slave-master! Uncurbed despotism was afloat—who can utter its horrors? The sufferer's cries became more and more feeble, even the convulsions of his quivering

flesh subsided—he felt no more; but the tyrant was inflamed at the passiveness of his object, and swore and drove the lash with more vengeful nerve; but in vain. The spirit had returned to Him who gave it—the voice was silent, and the flesh was dead.

The cause was tried in Milledgeville, the capital of Georgia. I had the account from a public officer who was engaged in the trial. A *white man having been present*, the facts as above stated were proved. But the jury and the judge, as well as the murderer, were Slave-holders. The law was evaded without difficulty; and the murderer walks abroad *without stain*, glorying in the freedom of his country!

C. STUART.

A *kind* Slave-master, in one of the Carolinas, had a large family of various colours, some enslaved, some free. One of the Slaves was his favourite daughter; she grew up beautiful, elegant, and much accomplished. Dying, he willed his heir, her brother, to provide for her handsomely, and make her free. But her brother was a Slave-master, and she was a Slave. He kept and debauched her. It would be unlawful even to speak of such things, were it not taking the part of tyrants to conceal them. At the end of four or five years he got tired of her, and that notorious slave-dealer, Woolfolk, coming down to collect a drove, he sold his sister to him. "There is her cottage," said he to Woolfolk; "she is a violent woman. I don't like to go near her; go and carry her off by yourself." Woolfolk strode into the cottage, told her the fact, and ordered her to prepare. She was dreadfully agitated. He urged her to hasten.—She rose and said, "White man, I don't believe you. I don't believe that my brother would thus sell me and his children. I will not believe unless he come himself." Woolfolk coolly went and required her brother's presence. The seducer, the tyrant, came, and, standing at the door, confirmed the Slave-dealer's report. "And is it true; and have you indeed sold me?" she exclaimed, "is it really possible? Look at this child; don't you see in every feature the lineaments of its father; don't you know that your blood flows in its veins—have you—have you sold me?" The terrible fact was repeated by her master. "These children," she said, with a voice only half articulate, "never shall be Slaves. "Never mind about *that*," said Woolfolk, "go and get ready; I shall only wait a few minutes longer." She retired with her children; the two white men continued alone; they waited—she returned not: they grew tired of waiting, and followed her to her chamber; there they found their victims beyond the reach of human wickedness, bedded in their blood!!

C. STUART.

A SCENE ON THE OHIO.

STEAM-BOAT NIAGARA, *Dec. 1st*, 1836.

BROTHER WILLIAMS,—I have just been witnessing a scene which is enough to make humanity weep. I have often heard of chains, of tears, and blood; I have heard your paper speak of husbands being torn from their wives, and parents from their children, to be sold into southern servitude; but, just at this moment, I have been an eye-witness of *all this;* and, as I grasp my pen to drop you a line, my heart beats high with holy indignation: and who, that has a spark of manly feeling, or a drop of human sympathy, would not feel, when he beholds a company of men and women, immortal as the God who made them, loaded with chains, and subject to all the cruelty which man can inflict, only for the crime of having "a skin not coloured like our own?" Learning that there were twenty or thirty Slaves on board, bound for the southern market, I was induced to go down and see if it were true that they were happier and in a better condition than the poor of the free states. But, alas! the tear moistens my paper, as I write the tale of woe! As I approached the unhappy captives, one raised his galling chains, and a tear glistened in his dark eye, and he seemed to say, "Am I not a man and a brother?" With him I had the following conversation, verbatim:—

Where are you going?—*Slave.* To Mississippi, Sir.

Where have you been living?—*Slave.* In Orange county, Virginia.

To whom were you sold?—*Slave.* To that gentleman yonder, (pointing to his present master.)

How much did he give for you.—*Slave.* One thousand dollars, Sir.

What have you got that chain on your hands for?—*Slave.* My master had it put on to keep me from running away.

Don't you like to go to Mississippi?—*Slave.* O no! I rather die than go, and leave my wife and children.

Then you have a family?—*Slave.* O yes, Sir; I have a wife and ten children.

Do you love your wife?—*Slave.* I love my wife as well as any man in the world.

Did your wife feel very bad when you left her?—*Slave.* Indeed, master, she must feel very bad.—She follow me to the blacksmith shop, and see the iron put round my neck, and this chain on my hands, and she cry like she would break her heart. O, I was sorry she come to see me start.

Do you ever expect to see your wife and children?—*Slave.* O no, never in this world.

And are you prepared to meet them in another.—*Slave.* I 'fraid not, master; though I don't want to live.

Well, you must repent of your sins, and believe in Christ, and then you will go to heaven, where there will be no chains nor Slaves.—*Slave.* I will try, master; but I have so much trouble, and think so much about my wife and children, I 'fraid I can't.

To him and the other Slaves I tried to preach Christ. O let it never again be told in Gath, that the Slave is not possessed of all the finer feelings of the soul. We sometimes hear it said that the Slave would not take his liberty if he could get it; and yet here is a man who prefers death to Southern bondage; for he told me himself, he hoped he should die as soon as he got there.

After witnessing this scene, I called some of my friends from the cabin down, to let the galling chains and the eloquent tears of the Slave, speak to them of the sinfulness of that system which reduces man to a thing, and obliterates the image of the blessed God.

Yours, in Gospel bonds,

T. D. B.

"During the winter, at Nashville," says Mr Birney, "a Slaver was driving his train of fellow-beings down to the landing, to put them on board a Steam Boat bound for New Orleans. A mother among them having an infant ten months old to carry in her arms, could not keep pace with the rest. The Slaver waited till she came up to the place where she was standing, he snatched it from her arms, and handing it over to a person who stood by, made him *a present* of it. The mother, bereft in a single moment of her last comfort, was driven on without delay to the boat."—*American Anti-Slavery Record.*

On the side of the oppressor was power, but *she* had no comforter.

"A New Hampshire gentleman went down into Louisiana, many years ago, to take a plantation. He pursued the usual method; borrowing money largely to begin with, paying high interest, and clearing off his debt, year by year, as his crops were sold. He followed another custom there; taking a Quadroon wife: a mistress, in the eye of the law, since there can be no legal marriage between whites and persons of any degree of colour: but, in nature and in reason, the woman he took home was his wife. She was a well-principled, amiable, well-educated woman; and they lived happily together for twenty years. She had only the slightest possible tinge of colour. Knowing the law that the children of Slaves are to follow the fortunes of the mother, she warned her husband that she was not free, her ancestress having been a Slave, and the legal act of manumission having never been performed. The husband promised to look to it, but neglected it. At the end of twenty years one died, and the other shortly followed, leaving daughters; whether two or three I have not been able to ascertain with positive certainty; but I have reason to believe three, of the ages of fifteen, seventeen, and eighteen; beautiful girls, with no perceptible mulatto tinge. The brother of their father came down from New Hampshire to settle his affairs; and he supposed, as every one else did, that the deceased had been wealthy. He was pleased with his nieces, and promised to carry them back with him into New Hampshire, and (as they were to all appearance perfectly white) to introduce them into the society which by education they were fitted for. It appeared, however, that their father had died insolvent. The deficiency was very small; but it was necessary to make an inventory of the effects to deliver to the creditors. This was done by the brother—the execu-

tor. Some of the creditors called on him, and complained that he had not delivered in a faithful inventory. He declared he had. No: the number of Slaves was not accurately set down; he had omitted the daughters. The executor was overwhelmed with horror, and asked time for thought. He went round among the creditors appealing to their mercy; but they answered that these young ladies were 'a first-rate article,' too valuable to be relinquished. He next offered (though he had himself six children, and very little money) all he had for the redemption of his nieces, alleging that it was more than they would bring in the market for house or field labour. This was refused with scorn. It was said that there were other purposes for which the girls would bring more than for field or house labour. The uncle was in despair, and felt strongly tempted to wish their death rather than their surrender to such a fate as was before them. He told them abruptly what was their prospect. He declares that he never before beheld human grief—never before heard the voice of anguish. They never ate, nor slept, nor separated from each other, till the day when they were taken into the New Orleans Slave-market. There they were sold separately at high prices, for the vilest of purposes; and where each is gone no one knows. They are, for the present, lost. But they will arise to the light in the day of retribution."—*Miss Martineau's "Society in America."*

TO WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

FRIEND of mankind! whose single arm
Was nerved by Afric's hopeless cries,
Whose trumpet gave the loud alarm
To ope a guilty nation's eyes.

Who, when their consciences were steeled
And human souls were counted dross,
Indignant smote the ringing shield,
And roused the soldiers of the Cross.

I've watched thy course and marked thee well
As thou did'st battle with a world;
And though beset by earth and hell,
With banner torn, 'twas never furled.

When tempests howled around thy form,
And blackest night encompassed thee;
Thy torch was seen amid the storm,
The beacon-fire of liberty!

Go on, thou chosen child of God;
Ten thousand angel choirs on high,
Lean, smiling, from their bright abode,
To cheer thee on to victory!

Thy little bark the tempest dares,
And though by adverse winds she's driven;
Safe is the priceless freight she bears,
For it is well insured in heaven.

W. C.

REMEMBER THE SLAVE!

MOTHER! when around your child
  You clasp your arms in love,
And when with grateful joy you raise
  Your eyes to God above,

Think of the Negro mother, when
  Her child is torn away,
Sold for a little Slave,—oh then
  For that poor mother pray!

Father! whene'er your happy boys
  You look upon with pride,
And pray to see them, when you're old,
  All blooming by your side,

Think of that father's withered heart,
  The father of a Slave,
Who asks a pitying God to give
  His little son a grave.

Brothers and sisters! who with joy
  Meet round the social hearth,
And talk of home and happy days,
  And laugh in careless mirth,

Remember too the poor young Slave,
  Who never felt your joy;
Who early old, has never known
  The bliss to be a boy.

Ye Christians! ministers of Him
  Who came to make men free;
When at the Almighty Maker's throne
  You bend the suppliant knee,

From the deep fountains of your soul,
  Then let your prayers ascend,
For the poor Slave, who hardly knows
  That God is still his friend.

Let all who know that God is just,
  That Jesus came to save,
Unite in the most holy cause
  Of the forsaken Slave!

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.*

	1834.			1835.			1836.			1837.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Mrs Blyth's Book.												
Mrs Blyth,	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0			
Mrs Farie,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
Mrs King,							0	5	0			
Mrs Lethem,	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0			
Mr M'Keand,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
Mrs A. Robertson,	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0			
Mrs Robert Smith,	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	10	0			
Mrs Tannahill,	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0			
Miss Brown's Book.												
Mrs Alexander,	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	4	0			
Mr J. Bannatyne,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
Mrs. E. Bland,	0	2	6									
E. Brown,	0	2	6	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0
J. Caldwell,	0	2	6									
Miss Campbell,							0	2	6			
Mrs Cochran,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
Miss Cuthbertson,				0	2	6						
Mrs Farie,				0	2	6						
Mr Colin Frame,	0	2	6									
A Friend,				0	2	6	0	3	0			
A few youn Friends,	0	8	6	0	3	0	0	7	0			
Miss Gray,				0	5	0						
Mrs Hunter,	0	2	6									
Miss Hunter,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
Miss Mary Hunter,				0	2	6						
Mr Jenkine,				0	5	6						
Mr Kirkpatrick,										0	2	6
Miss Miller,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
S. S. Murkland,							0	2	6			
Miss M'Aulay,										0	5	0
J. M. M'Gregor,	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0
Miss M'Gregor,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Mrs M'Nee,	0	2	6				0	2	6	0	2	6
Mrs M'Queen,							0	2	6			
Mr Pollock,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
Mrs Robin,	0	2	6							0	2	6
Miss Selkrig,	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0
Mr Shanks,				0	5	0						
Mrs Sinclair,							0	2	6			
Miss Taylor,							0	2	6			
Miss J. Terrace,							0	2	6	0	2	6
Miss Terrace,				0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
A. Thompson,				0	2	6						
Mr Wilson,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	5	0
Miss Frame's Book.												
Misses Allan,	0	3	0	0	2	0						
Alice Allan,				0	2	6						
Catharine Allan,				0	2	6						

* Subscriptions and Donations will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, Mrs Nelson; by the Secretaries, Mrs Brown and Miss Smeal; or by any of the Ladies on the Committee.

	1834. £	s.	d.	1835. £	s.	d.	1836. £	s.	d.	1837. £	s.	d.
Jane Frame,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
Friends,	0	3	6									
A Friend,	0	1	0	0	0	6						
Two Friends,	0	2	0									
Mr M'Michael,	0	2	6									
Mrs Neil,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
Mrs Russell,	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0			
Mrs Stewart,	0	5	0	0	5	0						
Mrs Taylor,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
Miss Fullarton's Book.												
Mrs Connell, 45, Glassford Street,	1	0	0	0	2	6	0	5	0			
Miss Drysdale, 40, Sauchiehall, Street,	0	4	0				0	3	0	0	2	6
Miss W. Drysdale, do.	0	4	0				0	3	0			
Mr A. Fullarton,	0	10	0									
Mrs Fullarton,				0	5	0	0	5	0			
A Friend,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
A Friend,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
A Friend,							0	1	0			
Mrs Hugh Tweedle,	0	2	6									
Misses M. and J. Gibson's Book.												
Miss Arnot,										0	2	6
Miss Auchincloss,	0	2	6	0	2	6						
Miss Carswell,	0	2	6									
Miss Craig,	0	2	6									
Miss Duncan,										0	2	6
A Friend,	0	3	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
A Friend,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
A Friend,	0	5	0	0	2	6	0	2	6			
A Friend,	0	2	6				0	2	6	0	2	6
A Friend,	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0			
A Friend,							0	2	6			
Miss J. Kidston,							0	2	6	0	2	6
Mr Naismith,	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0
Mrs Renwick,	0	2	6							0	2	6
Mrs Robertson,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Miss Smith,	0	3	0	0	3	0				0	2	6
Miss Spencer,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Mr Steel,	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0			
Mrs Thomson, Camphill,	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0			
Do. Donation,	1	0	0									
Mrs Watt,	0	2	6									
Mr Waddell,	0	10	0									
Miss Wallace,										0	2	6
Miss Hall's Book.												
Miss Adam,	0	1	0									
Mr Bennet,	0	1	0	0	2	6	0	2	6			
Miss Erskine,	0	2	0									
A Friend,	0	1	0				0	1	6			
Mrs Gallie,	0	2	6									
Janet Hall,	0	2	6	0	2	6						
Mrs Leslie,	0	5	0									
Mrs Mitchell,										0	2	6
Miss Morton,							0	2	0			
C. P. M'Millan,							0	2	6	0	2	6
Mrs Primrose,	0	1	0									
Miss Scott,							0	1	0			
Mrs Johnston's Book.												
Alexander Broom,	0	5	0									

	1834. £ s. d.	1835. £ s. d.	1836. £ s. d.	1837. £ s. d.
Mrs Buchanan,	0 5 0			
Miss Crawford, Langside,	50 0 0	5 0 0		
Miss Craig,	0 2 6			
Miss C.	0 2 6			
Misses Drysdale,		0 8 0		
A Friend,	0 2 6	0 1 0		
Miss Gillespie,		0 2 6		
Miss Gray,		0 2 6		
Mrs Harley, Garnet Hill,		0 5 0		
Mr Henderson, Durham,	1 0 0			
Miss Henderson, do.	1 0 0			
Mrs James Johnston,		0 10 6		
Collected by do.	0 16 6	4 12 0		
Do. do. sundry dates,		9 7 6		
Misses Kelly,	0 5 0			
Mrs H. Langlands,		0 5 0		
Mrs Leslie and Daughters,	0 10 0		0 10 0	
Mr Malcolm,	0 2 6			
Mrs Mitchell,		0 2 6		
Mrs Morrison,	0 2 6			
Mrs Dr Moffat,	0 5 0			
Mrs Macintyre,	0 5 0			
Mrs M'Gilp,	0 5 0			
Mr Rankine,	0 2 6			
George Robson, per Miss Leslie,		0 10 0		
Mr Rowan,	0 5 0			
Miss Sanderson, per R. Sanderson,	1 1 0			
Miss Shanks,		0 2 6		
Miss Smith, Cambridge Street,		0 2 6		
Mrs Swan, Garnet Hill,		0 5 0		
Peter Virtue,	0 2 6			
Balance from Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, per Mrs Wigham, Treasurer,	4 9 3½			
Mrs Wigham,	0 5 0			
Do. Donation,		2 0 0		
Collected by Miss Campbell,	0 13 6			
Do. Miss Duncan,	0 12 6			
Do. Miss Lancaster,	1 5 0			
Mrs Nelson's Book.				
Mrs D. Deans, Port-Dundas,			0 2 6	
A Friend,	0 5 0			
A Friend,	0 2 6			
A Friend,			0 2 6	
Mrs Hadden,	0 5 0		0 10 0	
Mrs Mitchell,			0 2 6	
Mrs Murray, Bowling Bay,			0 5 0	
J. Macneill, London,			1 0 0	
John M'Call,			0 5 0	
Mrs M'Gilp,				0 5 0
Mrs W. M'Target,	0 5 0			
Mrs Nelson,				0 5 0
Mrs Russell, Kilpatrick,	0 2 6		0 2 6	
Mrs Struthers, Regent Street,	0 5 0		0 5 0	
Dr James Watson,	0 10 6			
Miss Smeal's Book.				
Mary Aitkenhead,	0 2 6			
Thomas Aucott,	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6
Mrs J. Allan,	0 4 0	0 2 6	0 3 6	0 3 0
Peter Aitken,	0 2 6	0 2 6		
Mrs Anderson,		0 5 0		0 2 6
James Armstrong,	0 0 6	0 1 0		
A. Allison,		0 2 6	0 2 6	

	1834.			1835.			1836.			1837.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Miss Janet Alexander,							0	2	6	0	2	6
Miss Arnot,							0	2	6			
John Angus,				0	1	6	0	1	0			
Mrs Brown,	0	10	0	0	10	0						
Miss Brown,	0	2	6									
Mrs Binnie,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Elizabeth Bowman,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Robert Blair,	0	5	0									
Andrew Browning,	0	2	6				0	2	6	0	2	6
John Black,	0	2	6	0	2	6						
David Black,	0	2	6				0	2	6	0	2	6
J. A. Begg,				0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
James Bennet,				0	2	6						
John Buchanan,				0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Jeremiah Borrows,				0	2	6				0	5	0
Miss Brown, Sawmillfield,							0	2	6			
Miss B.							0	2	6			
R. Brand,										0	2	6
Mrs Craig,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
A. Cameron,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
George Cruden,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Marion Cairns,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Miss Craig,							0	2	6	0	2	6
Mrs Currie,							0	2	6			
James Davis,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Mrs Donald, Whitehill,	2	2	0							2	2	0
Mrs Duncan,							0	2	6	0	2	6
A Friend, per Mrs B.	0	10	0									
Do. do.	0	10	0									
A Friend,	0	2	6									
A Friend,	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0			
A Friend,	0	1	0									
A Friend,	0	2	6	0	2	6						
A Friend, (R. D.)	0	2	6				0	5	0	0	5	0
Friends,				0	6	6						
Mrs R. Frame,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Friends, per Agnes Gray,	0	14	0	0	12	0						
A Friend, (F.)	0	2	6									
Hugh Fulton,				0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
James Fleming,				0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0
Mrs Ferguson,				0	2	6						
Robert Frame,				0	5	0	0	5	0			
A Friend, (J. C.)							0	2	6			
A Friend, (W. M'N.)	0	2	6									
A Friend, per Miss Craig,							0	2	6			
A Friend, per I. G.				0	1	0						
A Friend,							0	2	6			
Two Friends,				0	4	0						
A Friend, per E. F.										0	1	0
Mrs Galloway,	0	5	0				0	5	0			
Jane Gilmour,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
John Gardner,	0	5	0									
James Grindlay,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Isabella Greig,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Hannah Greig,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Robert Glass,				0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Mrs Gentle,				0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Thomas Gray,	0	5	0				0	5	0			
D. & P. Gilmour,	0	3	0	0	2	6	0	2	6			
James Gilmour,							0	2	6	0	2	6
John Greig,				0	2	6						
John Glenny,				0	2	6						
Mr Harvey,	0	2	6									
Mrs Harvey,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Mrs Heugh,	0	5	0									

	1834.			1835.			1836.			1837.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
A. H.	0	5	0									
Robert Hepburn,							0	2	6	0	2	6
Andrew Henderson,										0	2	6
William Jackson,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
John Kaye,	0	2	6	0	1	0						
James Kirkland,				0	2	6						
Miss L.	0	3	0									
William Miller,	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0			
M. Mather, M. D.	0	3	0									
James Marshall,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Mrs Murray,				0	5	0						
Elizabeth Maxwell,				0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Andrew Murrie,				0	2	6						
Mrs Dr Moffat,							0	5	0	0	5	0
Mrs Robert Miller,							0	10	6	0	10	6
Robert Mason, Gallowgate,							0	2	6			
Mary Marchbank,							0	2	6			
Mrs Robert Maxwell,				0	3	0	0	3	0			
Mrs M'Tear,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
James H. M'Dougall,	0	2	6									
George M'Kinlay,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Marion M'Kittrick,	0	2	6	0	2	6				0	2	6
John M'Adam,	0	2	6									
Ann M'Donald,				0	1	0						
Mrs Macintyre,							0	5	0	0	5	0
James M'Gill,							0	1	0			
A. M'Kenzie,							0	2	6			
Agnes M'Leod,							0	2	6			
Miss M'Gregor,							0	2	6			
James Norwood,	0	2	6									
James Nelson,							0	2	6	0	2	6
John Paterson,	0	2	6	0	2	6						
Mrs Reid,	0	2	6	0	2	6				0	5	0
Andrew Robertson,	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0
Mrs Robertson,							0	2	6			
Elizabeth Smeal,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Jane Smeal,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
Jane Smeal, Jun.	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	10	0
Janet R. Sharpe,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Mrs Steel,										0	2	6
James Scott,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
Mrs H. Steel,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6			
James Smith,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Agnes Sutherland,	0	2	6	0	2	6						
Miss Smith,				0	4	0	0	2	6	0	2	6
Miss Jane Smith,							0	2	6	0	2	6
Mrs Sorley,							0	2	6			
John Shaw,							0	2	6	0	2	6
Agnes Shaw,										0	2	6
Mrs Tannahill,	0	2	6	0	2	6						
Robert Thom,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	5	0	0	5	0
Robert Thallon,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Claud Turner,				0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
T. Watters,	0	2	6									
Mrs Wilson,	0	1	0									
Jane White, Violet Vale,	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0	0	10	0
A. W.	0	2	6									
Mrs R. Wright,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Janet Wright, (aged 5 years,)							0	1	0	0	1	0
John C. Wilson,				0	2	6	0	2	6	0	5	0
Gavin G. Wilson,				0	2	6	0	2	6	0	5	0
Janet Wright, Graeme Street,				0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6
Mrs White, per Mrs M'Tear,				0	2	6						
Miss Wallace,							0	2	6			
Thomas White,							0	2	6			
James Wotherspoon,	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6	0	2	6

Miss Smith's Book.	1834. £ s. d.	1835. £ s. d.	1836. £ s. d.	1837. £ s. d.
Miss Broom,	0 5 0			
Mrs Kerr,	0 10 6	0 10 6		
Elizabeth Ker,	0 4 0	0 4 0		
Mr Milroy,			0 5 0	
W. Patterson,	0 2 0			
Mr Russell,			0 5 0	
Andrew Stevenson,	0 5 0	0 5 0		
Miss Templeton's Book.				
Mrs Alexander,		0 2 6		
Elizabeth Alexander,			0 2 6	0 2 6
William Balderston,		0 2 6		
Mrs Berry,			0 2 6	
Miss Brodie,		0 2 6		
Mrs Campbell,			0 2 6	0 2 0
Miss Christie,			0 1 6	
Mrs Crichton,		0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6
J. Craig,		0 5 0		
Walter Cairns,			0 10 6	
James Dow,	0 2 6	0 2 6		
T. D.		0 2 6		
Mrs Falconer,	0 2 6			
Rev. James Forsyth,			0 2 6	
A Friend, (J. T.)	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	
A Friend, (R. F. G.)		0 2 6	0 2 6	
A few Friends, per Mrs Martin, Strathmiglo,	1 0 0			
Miss Graham,		0 5 0	0 5 0	
R. G.	0 2 6			
Andrew Hamilton,		0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6
Rev. Thomas Hannay,			0 1 0	
Mr Hinshelwood,			0 5 0	
Mrs Hinshelwood,			0 5 0	
Rev. Robert Johnston,			0 2 6	
Mr Kennedy,		0 2 6		
Miss J. Lindsay,			0 3 0	
Rev. John Martin,			0 2 6	
Rev. Thomas Martin, Strathmiglo,			0 2 6	
Miss Moncrieff, do.	1 0 0		0 5 0	
Rev. George Middleton,			0 2 6	
John Morrison,		0 2 6		
Mary Morrison,		0 2 6		
Mr D. Miller,			0 1 0	
Mrs M'Donald,	0 1 6			
Miss M'Farlane,	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6
Rev. A. M'Farlane,		0 5 0		
Peter M'Indoe,	0 2 6			
Mrs M'Indoe,	0 2 6			
Rev. Thomas Macindoe,			0 2 6	
A. M'Leod,	0 2 0			
James M'Nair,	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6
Mrs Dr Perry,			0 2 6	0 2 6
Mrs Russell,			0 2 6	
Miss Rait,			0 2 6	
Mrs Rankine,		0 4 0	0 3 0	
Mrs Rennie,			0 10 0	
Mrs Stewart,	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6	
Mr Skene,			0 5 0	
Miss Smith,		0 2 6		0 2 6
Mrs Simpson,		0 5 0		
Miss Spence,			0 2 6	
Rev. Dr Taylor,			0 2 6	
Andrew Wilson,	0 2 6	0 2 6	0 2 6	
Mr Walker,			0 1 0	
Mrs Westwater,			0 2 0	
G. W.		0 1 0		
Mrs Young,	0 2 6	0 5 0	1 1 0	
J. H. Young,	0 10 6	1 1 0	1 1 0	

Mrs Cochran's Book, 1836–7.

Mrs Brown,	£0	10	0	Mr Levy,	£0	2	6
Mrs Cochran,	0	5	0	Mr John M'Aslan,	0	5	0
Miss Fisher,	0	9	0	Mr M'Aslan,	0	10	0
A Friend,	0	2	6	Miss Vancouver,	0	5	0

Miss Agnes Drummond's Book, 1836–7.

John Edmondston,	0	2	6	A Friend,	0	2	0

Miss Isabella Greig's Book, 1836–7.

J. Campbell,	0	1	0	Mrs Greig,	0	1	0
Mrs Christie,	0	1	0	Isabella Greig,	0	2	6
Mary M'Farlane,	0	1	0	Hannah Greig,	0	2	6
Mrs Gibson,	0	2	6	Thomas Johnston,	0	2	6

Miss Christina M'Laren's Book, 1836–7.

Jane Aitken,	0	1	0	Alexander M'Laren,	0	1	0
Anne Clark,	0	1	0	Mrs M'Laren,	0	2	6
Mr Fairlie,	0	10	6	Christina M'Laren,	0	2	6
A Friend,	0	2	6	Mr Stalker,	0	1	6
Miss Grant,	0	2	6	Mr Stevens,	0	5	0

Miss R. Watson's Book, 1836–7.

Mrs Bland,	0	5	0	Elizabeth M'Laren,	0	2	6
Miss Edmund,	0	2	6	M. Smith,	0	3	0
Jessie Edmund,	0	2	6	Mrs T. (Paisley,)	0	2	6
Miss F.	0	2	6	Eliza Watson,	0	2	6
Friends,	0	3	6	Rachel Watson,	0	2	6
A Friend,	0	5	0	Isabella Watson,	0	2	6
Miss Grant,	0	5	0				

Miss Brown's Collecting Box, 1836,				0	9	6
Mrs Cochran's	do.	do.		0	3	6
Mrs Gallie's	do.	do.		0	4	4
Miss Gibson's	do.	do.		0	4	0
Miss M'Gregor's	do.	do.		0	19	10
Mrs Macintyre's	do.	do.		0	6	6
Miss M'Laren's	do	do.		0	10	0
Mrs Nelson's	do.	do.		0	2	0
Miss Smeal's	do.	do.		0	8	8
Miss Smith's	do.	do.		0	2	0
Mrs Puller's	do.	do.		0	10	0
Mrs Thompson's	do.	do.		0	13	0
Miss Watson's	do.	do.		0	2	6
Mrs White's	do.	do.		0	11	8

Collected at First Public Meeting of the Society, in Rev. Dr Wardlaw's Chapel, 1834,	6	1	6½
Collection at Mr Thompson's Address to the Ladies, in Dr Wardlaw's Chapel, May 6, 1836,	13	16	1
Donation from Ladies' Society at Newcastle, per Mr George Thompson,	20	0	0

*** The above list of Contributors is very deficient, owing to several of the Collectors having removed from town since the commencement of the Society, without leaving their books with the Secretaries.

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT—GLASGOW LADIES' AUXILIARY EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

1837. DR.			
March 13, To Amount of Subscriptions and Donations from 1834 to 1835,*	£107	3	10
— Do. 1835 to 1836,	53	3	11½
— Do. 1836 to 1837,	97	11	10½
— Balance due the Treasurer,	0	5	9
	£258	5	5

1837. CR.			
March 13, By Donations to the Glasgow Emancipation Society, from 1834 to 1835,	£ 80	0	0
— Do. 1835 to 1836,	45	15	0
— Do. 1836 to 1837,	80	0	0
— Amount expended on objects connected with this Auxiliary,	52	10	5
	£258	5	5

GLASGOW, 13*th March*, 1837.—We have this day examined the above Account, and compared the Vouchers produced, and find it correct,—the Balance due to the Treasurer being Five Shillings and Ninepence.

(Signed,) JAMES M'TEAR.
WILLIAM SMEAL.

* This year there was a Donation of £50 from Miss Crawford of Langside.

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RESOLUTIONS OF PUBLIC MEETINGS

OF THE

MEMBERS AND FRIENDS

OF THE

GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY;

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SECRETARIES;

AND

MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAID SOCIETY,

SINCE THE ARRIVAL IN GLASGOW, OF MR JOHN A. COLLINS, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

IN REFERENCE TO THE

DIVISIONS AMONG AMERICAN ABOLITIONISTS.

"READ—MARK—LEARN—AND INWARDLY DIGEST."

GLASGOW:
PUBLISHED BY GEO. GALLIE, 99, BUCHANAN STREET.
SOLD BY J. M'LEOD, ARGYLL ST.; J. SYMINGTON & Co., QUEEN ST.;
AND WILLIAM SMEAL, GALLOWGATE;
DUBLIN: R. D. WEBB; AND BY P. KENNEDY, OFFICE OF THE HIBERNIAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, 8, ANGLESEA STREET.

MDCCCXLI.

GLASGOW:
Printed by AIRD & RUSSELL, Buchanan Court,
75, Argyll Street.

RESOLUTIONS, &c.

"At a Public Meeting of the Members and Friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, held in Albion Church, on Friday Evening, 16th instant,

"It was Resolved,—'1st, That this Meeting express its disapprobation of the proceedings of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, in reference to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and their Representative, J. A. Collins, Esq.

"'2d, That the Secretaries be instructed to call a Public Meeting of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, on an early day, for the purpose of prosecuting the business of this Meeting.'

"JAMES M'NAIR, *Chairman*."

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE MEETING OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY,

In the Bazaar, on Tuesday Evening, April 27.

"Moved by the Rev. John Ritchie, D.D., of Edinburgh—Seconded by James Turner, Esq. of Thrushgrove, and supported by the Rev. George Rose, Methodist Minister:—

"Resolved I.—'That Slavery being upheld by every class of society, independent of sect or party, it is equally important, successfully to oppose it, that the friends of the Slave should, irrespective of country, creed, party, or sex, harmoniously co-operate for its overthrow.'

"Resolved II.—'That the constitution of the *Original* American Anti-Slavery Society being thus broad and Catholic,—the letter and spirit of it, so far as this Society has been able to learn, has not been violated by that association; and that institution has, in connexion with its auxiliaries, been instrumental in working a great revolution in public sentiment in the United States, on the question of Slavery; for these reasons, the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* continues to cherish, as it has done for the last seven years, unwavering confidence in the integrity and efficiency of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and that, so long as it continues faithful to the cause of the oppressed, we pledge to it our sympathy and support to the extent of our ability.'

"Resolved III.—'That the Committee of this Society, after receiving Mr John A. Collins, the Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in detaining him in this city for nine weeks, and then refusing to give him an opportunity of publicly advocating the claims of the Slave, or vindicating the Society which he represents from the aspersions of its enemies;

in refusing to explain to their constituents their reason for this course of policy; in disregarding the request of from three to four hundred members and friends of the Society, as also the request of a numerously attended meeting of Ladies, that a public meeting be convened to enlighten the community on the question of the American differences; in refusing to receive a respectable deputation appointed by these memorialists to bring the matter before the Committee; in publishing a series of resolutions calculated to mislead the public in reference to Mr Collins's mission; and, finally, in virtually suspending the connexion of this Society with our American coadjutors, without consulting their constituents, is an act of gross injustice to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and meets with our unqualified disapprobation.'

"Resolved IV.—'That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in refusing to specify to Mr John A. Collins the grounds on which it had lost its confidence in the American Anti-Slavery Society, while some of its members were actively engaged in privately circulating calumnies against it; and also in refusing to give to the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* the reasons for such conduct towards the Representative of the American Society; has proved itself unworthy of our confidence, and cannot, therefore, partake of our sympathy or aid, so long as it pursues a course so reprehensible.'

"Resolved V.—'That this Society express their entire confidence in Mr John A. Collins, as the Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and that the Secretaries be instructed to issue, on behalf of Mr Collins and his Mission, a Circular Letter to the Abolitionists of the United Kingdom, setting forth the claims which the American Anti-Slavery Society has on our sympathies, our support, and our prayers, and that it be published for general circulation.'

"Resolved VI.—'That the following gentlemen be added to the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*:—

"Ronald Wright, 33, King Street.
James Dunn, 33, Govan Street.
Andrew Paton, Moodie's Court.
Peter Bruce, 6, Shuttle Street.
James Bruce, Hill Place.
Ebenezer Anderson, 30, St. Andrew Street.
William M'Leod, 15½, Buchanan Street.
James M'Nair, Greenlaw Place.
Hugh Muir, 24, Hospital Street.
John Barr, Ingram Street.
William Lochead, Jun., 164, Trongate.
Thomas Brown, 43, Queen Street.
Rev. George Rose, 5, Rottenrow Street.
James Turner, Thrushgrove.
William Lang, 33, Duke Street.
David Russell, 75, Argyle Street.
John Ure, Esq., of Croy, Ure Place."

"Moved by Mr Thomas Brown, and seconded by John Ure, Esq. of Croy:—

"Resolved,—'That the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* be instructed to publish the Minutes and Correspondence of the Committee since the arrival of Mr J. A. Collins in this City, and that the Secretaries be a Sub-Committee to carry this into effect.'

"Also, That a Second Edition of the Annual Report be published, if deemed necessary by said Sub-Committee.'

"Moved by Mr M'FARLANE, and seconded by Mr GARDNER—

"Resolved,—'That, in accordance with the sentiments contained in the Address to Mr COLLINS, now read, it is the opinion of this meeting, that the People of this Country are entitled to those rights of Suffrage for which they have been contending these last three years, and that we pledge ourselves to use every moral and legal means to obtain our own liberty and the liberty of all mankind.'

"P. BREWSTER, *Chairman.*"

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE SECRETARIES WITH JOSEPH STURGE, ESQ.

BIRMINGHAM, 25*th of* 1*st Month,* 1841.

DEAR FRIEND,—I received a copy of the Sixth Annual Report of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* a few days ago, and observe my name entered as an honorary corresponding member. I have no recollection of having been informed that I stood in that relation to this body, and as I entirely dissent from some of the sentiments contained in the Appendix to that Report, I must beg to have my name withdrawn. I am unwilling to believe that the unjust imputations cast by the Appendix to this Report, upon some of the best and most devoted of the Abolitionists in America, could have received the sanction of the great body of the Abolitionists of Glasgow, and I should be obliged by thy informing me who were present at the Committee when it was resolved to attach the Appendix to the Report in its present shape.—Very sincerely and respectfully,

JOSEPH STURGE.

TO WILLIAM SMEAL, Glasgow.

GLASGOW, 4*th of* 2*d Month,* 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—My time has been so closely occupied with a variety of engagements, that I have not been able until now, to acknowledge and reply to thine of the 25th ultimo.

I may inform thee, that thy name has been among the Honorary and Corresponding Members of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society, ever since its establishment in* 1833; and have no doubt that, along with the others, thou wouldst be informed of its being placed there at the time. I know that thou hast been constantly apprized of our proceedings, through the medium of newspapers, regularly transmitted to thee and all our Correspondents; and although the circumstance appears to have escaped thy recollection, thou must have seen thy name in our Reports, as I have sent thee large numbers of them, the receipt of which thou hast acknowledged. The entering of thy name on our list of Corresponding Members, was intended as an honour, as it was with our other Correspondents; and no objection having ever been stated, it was *continued* this year *as a matter*

of course. But as thou art now desirous it should be "withdrawn," the omission, in our future Reports, of the name of Joseph Sturge, will be attended to.

The reason thou assigns, for begging to have thy name withdrawn from the list of the "Honorary Members" of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, is because thou "entirely dissents from some of the sentiments contained in the Appendix" to our Sixth Annual Report; in which, thou says, there are "unjust imputations cast upon some of the best and most devoted of the Abolitionists in America." Thou art unwilling to believe that these "could have received the sanction of the great body of the Abolitionists of Glasgow;" and would be obliged by my informing thee, "who were present at the Committee when it was resolved to attach the Appendix in its present shape."

Now, with all frankness, I honestly and candidly avow, that for the character and contents of the Appendix to our Report, my esteemed friend and co-Secretary, John Murray, and myself, are *wholly and exclusively responsible;* and that in *the present* as in *every former instance*, we have been left to select and arrange the matter for that portion of the publication, *according to our own discretion.* We are "perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment" about it; and have not the smallest reason to apprehend, that "the great body of the Abolitionists of Glasgow," will now, any more than heretofore, (in thus exercising our discretion, for the promotion of the Great Cause of *Universal* Freedom,) be disposed either to censure or condemn our course. We wish nothing unfair or underhand—but all above-board work; desiring to do justice to all, without partiality to any; and, if unable to approve their doings, are ready to assign our reasons. It is our desire to see all who have the same object in view, acting harmoniously together—if not in one body, at least in a friendly and Christian spirit, one towards another. If we cannot walk together, in unity of purpose, let us beware of the disposition that would "bite and devour one another"—a spirit, there is reason to fear, unhappily too prevalent. Has any one body a complaint against another? Let them, as men, boldly make known what it is—that the accused, the sometimes hiddenly accused party, may have opportunity to exculpate themselves, or be justly obnoxious to the charge.

It is my firm conviction, that the statements in our Appendix are *substantially and generally true;* and that they exhibit a just view of the question, in connexion with which they are made public; at the same time, my esteemed colleague and myself are ready and willing to re-consider, when they are pointed out, the particular portions objected to, as containing "unjust imputations;" and, on evidence being furnished, that unmerited severity has been exercised towards any "devoted Abolitionists in America," will make all the reparation in our power. The statements in our Report, be it remembered, are given from *Resolutions and Documents published to*

the world. The authors of these, I believe, are incapable of propagating any thing like falsehood; nor would they knowingly cast "unjust imputations" upon any one, and what they have made public, there is no doubt they will be abundantly able to defend, confirm, and justify.

I cannot, my dear friend, conclude this letter, without apprising thee, that I am by no means ignorant of the fact, that "*imputations*," and these of the most *unjust and injurious* kind, have been industriously circulated in this country, affecting the character as well as prudence of "SOME OF THE BEST AND MOST DEVOTED of the Abolitionists in America," with this difference, however, that our course has been *open* and manly—bespeaking our motives to be at once honest and independent, (for we *are* independent, *as a Society*,) whereas, the policy of others has been secret; may I not say, mean and dastardly?—allowing the injured, if my information be correct, neither the opportunity of knowing directly the charges or insinuations brought against them, nor any effectual means of meeting them, in order to their own exculpation. Now, these things, I know thou wilt unite with me in saying, "ought not so to be." Thy character for consistency and open-handed dealing, is too well known, to favour the supposition that any such doings can meet thy approval; or that thou wouldst, for one moment, risk its maintenance, by even *seeming* to acquiesce in them. I am strongly of the mind, however, that the parties deeming themselves aggrieved by the proceedings alluded to, are beginning to think that matters have arrived at such a crisis, as will render it necessary they should come out with a very plain account of what they esteem their unseemly treatment, when that which may have been "spoken in the ear" as "in closets," shall come to "be proclaimed on the housetops." When the fruit is deemed ripe, the work, I believe, will be done. The Abolition cause is a good work—it has been signally favoured of Heaven. Let us *all*, while "zealously affected always in a good thing," avoid every thing like an arrogant temper, or the domineering spirit of mere partizanship; remembering the exhortation, "love as brethren; be pitiful, be courteous."—I am, thy sincere friend,

WILLIAM SMEAL.

GLASGOW, 20*th of* 2*d Month*, 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I wrote thee on the 4th current I think, in reply to thine of the 25th ultimo, stating that thy request to have thy name "*withdrawn*" from our "Honorary" list, would be attended to; and informing thee as to how the "Appendix" to our Annual Report came to be attached to it "in its present shape," &c.

As I am desirous to know whether said letter came to hand, please let me hear *by return*, if convenient, and oblige thy sincere friend,

WILLIAM SMEAL,

One of the Secretaries of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

BIRMINGHAM, 22*d of* 2*d Month*, 1841.

DEAR FRIEND,—I am favoured with thine of the 20th, and had I known thou wished an acknowledgment of the safe receipt of thy letter of the 4th of this month, I would have sent one at the time, as it came safe to hand, and I presume I was right in the conclusion, that I was at liberty to make use of the information it contained, wherever I found it needful to do so to correct any misapprehension, and that the part of the Report which was referred by your Public Meeting to the Committee to alter, was also so altered by the Secretaries, and not at a General Meeting of the Committee.—Very sincerely and respectfully, thy friend,

JOSEPH STURGE.

GLASGOW, 24*th of* 2*d Month*, 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have thine of the 22d, and am pleased to learn that my reply to thy letter of the 25th ultimo, came safe to hand. Thou art perfectly right, in concluding that thou art at liberty to make use of the information it contained, "wherever thou may find it needful to do so, to correct any misapprehension." But then, only see how deplorably thou wouldst misrepresent me, and may already to some extent, have done so, by stating "that the part of our Report which was referred by the Public Meeting to the Committee to alter, was also so altered by the Secretaries!" For there is not, in this statement, a single word *warranted by my letter.*

It was with the Appendix, principally, that thy dissatisfaction and dissent were expressed, and I pointedly wrote thee, that for the contents of that part of the publication, my fellow Secretary and myself were "*wholly and exclusively responsible;*" having *uniformly*, as well as in *the present instance*, been left to select and arrange the matter for printing, "according to our own discretion."

The Report was remitted to the Committee for "revision;" *not* "to alter"—for "revision" does not, *necessarily*, imply alteration. It *was* altered, however; and thou shalt know how—for we have nothing to conceal,—*not*, it is true, "at a General Meeting of the Committee"—but, at a General Meeting of the Committee held "14th September, 1840," a Sub-Committee was appointed, including the Secretaries, to *revise* the Report, in terms of the resolution of the Annual Meeting of our Society. Full confidence being entertained by the Committee in the parties named, they were left at liberty to pass it for publication, seeing it was only a very small portion of the document that had been objected to, and that objection made in a very untimely and improper manner, in *our* apprehension; for, had the objectors been present at the *special* Meeting, convened to hear the Report read in Committee, as they should have been, (and all were *duly warned*,) the matter might have been so arranged, as to remove the scruples that were felt; and these, in *our* opinion, were mainly owing to *misapprehension.*

Well—the Sub-Committee met, and they were all, with one exception, Delegates to the Convention, and when there, of *opposite* sentiments regarding that body and its proceedings, yet they *unanimously* passed that portion of the Report beginning with the words, "your Committee," at the bottom of page 17, and ending with the word "oppressed," at the conclusion of paragraph 3 in the page following. The whole affair about *revising* and *altering*, having ended in this, that on a comparison of the *original* essay with what now appears in print, the difference is simply this, that the *latter* conveys the sentiments of the Secretaries respecting the Convention, in terms even more decided than the former, a result with which, as thou may suppose, they were *not a little gratified.*

Hoping that from the history now given, there will in future, be "no mistake" as to the Report of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, and assuring thee, that the faults that have been found with it, have only increased its notoriety and importance, I may now inform thee, that a number of *highly intelligent* Abolitionists in *various parts* of the kingdom, of *both* sexes, and of *different* denominations, some of them *influential and active* members of the London Convention! have expressed themselves highly satisfied with our Report, for the reference it has made, *especially in the Appendix*, to what may be termed the Questio Vexata! Even from *Birmingham*, we learn that this is *the fact!!* Aye, and there are those who tell, that had they known *at* the Convention, what they *now* know, they would have had to draw very different conclusions regarding that body, and the *animus* of those who *controlled* its proceedings!!!

Ah, my dear friend, it is truly lamentable to think of the spirit which, at the present time, appears in some quarters to actuate the friends of Abolition! What estrangement is it engendering! What bitterness; what prejudice; what slander; what calumny; what violation of charity do we witness! May He, who *overrules all things*, cause it ultimately to redound to the benefit of the victims of oppression, and the exaltation of His own name!—With sincere regard, I remain, thy friend,

WILLIAM SMEAL.

BOWLING BAY, 25*th February*.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—The above letter having been sent to me as one of the Secretaries of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, for my concurrence, I have no hesitation in saying, that I entirely concur in it. And I may take this opportunity of adding, by way of explanation, what may be partly inferred from the above, that the Committee knew nothing in this instance more than in former years what the Appendix contained, until they saw it in print. And *in this*, as generally in former years, the Appendix carefully avoids arguments or opinions, but for the more general information of those

who may not have access to them elsewhere, republishes matters of fact, and to this we have hitherto had no objections made. And now permit me, my dear friend, to say, that I am compelled to conclude that "the slander and calumny" referred to above, and the heart-burnings consequently arising, are not all unknown to you, and I am sorry indeed to think, that *you* should be in any way even tacitly countenancing the circulation of those especially, which are directed against private character, and obviously intended, through that medium, to *stab* the *American* Anti-Slavery Society. These you *must be aware*, are directed by parties in America, and the motives and the spirit by which they are actuated, surely cannot receive *your* approbation. They will be replied to in due and not remote time, as John A. Collins has a pamphlet in the press here, which will tend to put the public controversy and the private scandal on their proper basis.—I am, yours truly,

JOHN MURRAY.

BIRMINGHAM, 3*d of 5th Month*, 1841.

DEAR FRIEND,—I am favoured with thine of the 24th ultimo, with an addition of our friend Murray's. It does not appear to require any reply, except that I think it right to say, I have sent an extract from it to Dr. Wardlaw, in consequence of some remarks in a letter of his to a friend of mine which were communicated to me. I sail for America on the 10th, and therefore have even less time and inclination than usual, for any controversy with friends of the cause with whom it has been so long my privilege to act in harmonious labour, and hope, if needful, I shall be willing to bear much unjust reproach without reply, but if some of us are not as watchful over our own spirits, as we are ready to judge uncharitably and censure others, the cause of the poor Slave is in danger of being neglected for quarrels amongst his professed friends. It is indeed a time when we had need all take heed to the injunction, "watch and pray."—Very sincerely, thy friend,

To WM. SMEAL, Glasgow. JOSEPH STURGE.

EXTRACT OF NOTE FROM DR. HEUGH.

GLASGOW, *February* 11, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,—I regret that I cannot attend the Committee Meeting this evening. And I regret farther, that our Report for this year, is said to contain something equivalent to a support of that section of the American Abolitionists, who support what is called the "Woman Question." You know our Society accords with the decision of the Convention on that head. You will excuse me for withholding my subscription till I see farther into those matters.—In haste, yours truly,

MR SMEAL. H. HEUGH.

In reply to the preceding extract of Dr. H.'s note, it was stated as matter of regret, (or words to that import,) that the Doctor had not been present at the Meeting to receive Mr Collins; that the statements he had laid before the Meeting were highly interesting; and that as he was about to bring out a pamphlet regarding the state of matters in America, it had been concluded to defer further proceedings on the part of the Committee, until that had been in the hands of the Members. In reference to the Report, a contrary opinion, it is believed, to that of Dr. H. was expressed; and allusion was made to the Appendix, as containing important information, &c.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE VICE-PRESIDENTS, DRS. WARDLAW, HEUGH, AND KIDSTON, AND W. P. PATON, ESQ.

About this time it was *discovered*, that Captain Stuart had sent to Dr. Wardlaw a printed letter, containing charges against the Original American Anti-Slavery Society, and against Messrs COLLINS and REMOND, its Representatives in this country; which letter found its way to Dr. Heugh and also to Dr. King, whilst no copy was sent by the Captain to the official organs of the Society, the Secretaries. The reason for this will be seen hereafter. The Captain *knew*, that *that* was not the quarter for his purpose. This discovery induced the Secretaries to propose, while Mr Collins's pamphlet was going through the press, that Captain Stuart should be invited to Glasgow, for the purpose of Meeting Mr. C., and in presence of the Committee defending his charges. They therefore addressed the following letter to four of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, viz.:—

To Drs. WARDLAW, HEUGH, *and* KIDSTON, *and* WILLIAM P. PATON, Esq., *Vice-Presidents of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.*

GENTLEMEN,—You are aware, that to bring about the Emancipation of the Three Millions of Slaves in the United States of America, constitutes now the main object of the Friends of Freedom;—and that for this the Abolitionists of Britain are still called upon to struggle with their Brethren every where, but especially with those in America.

You are also, we doubt not, aware that an unfortunate division exists there, amongst the Abolitionists, which is in some measure

paralyzing the efforts of both parties, and will doubtless continue to do so, as well as tend to damp the energies of Abolitionists in this country, and perhaps be laid hold of, as an excuse for refusing co-operation in the great work of advancing Human liberty.

This unhappy position of affairs among our American brethren, has claimed our serious consideration, and we feel deeply anxious for the prosperity of the cause, which is alike dear to you as to ourselves; and there appears to be no remedy now, but a full and free examination into the differences which separate our American friends.

Charles Stuart,—or Captain Stuart as he is often termed—has been the most assiduous in spreading information regarding the state of matters in the United States; and is, we believe, the best acquainted with the circumstances of any man in this country—for which reasons, we beg respectfully that you would unite with us, in requesting Captain Stuart to visit Glasgow, for the express purpose of investigating the whole case; Captain S. to take up the side of what is commonly designated "New Organization;" while the side of "Old Organization"—or that of the *Original* "American Anti-Slavery Society," would be espoused by its *accredited* Agent, John A. Collins, now in this City, and who has already met the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society.*

As the most likely course to give satisfaction to all parties, we would recommend that the investigation should take place, *first*, in presence of *our whole Committee;* and afterwards before a General Public Meeting of *the Members* and *Friends to the object* of our Society, the arrangements for both Meetings to be hereafter agreed upon by the respective parties.

Submitting these proposals to your calm and unprejudiced consideration, and requesting to be favoured with a reply at your *earliest* convenience, we are, Gentlemen, sincerely yours,

JOHN MURRAY,
WILLIAM SMEAL,
Secs. to the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

GLASGOW, 18*th February*, 1841.

LINN, *February* 19*th*, 1841.

GENTLEMEN AND DEAR FRIENDS,—I have received a copy of your Address to the Vice-Presidents of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, proposing a private and public discussion in Glasgow, of the differences unhappily subsisting amongst the Emancipationists of America. Had I felt myself at liberty to retain my situation of Vice-President of that Society, which I have hitherto regarded as a high honour, I should have been disposed to question, on different grounds, the propriety of such a step. But I hereby do, what for a short while past I have had serious thoughts of doing—resign my Vice-Presidency, and my connexion with the Society.

My attention was recently called, by a highly esteemed friend in England, to the Annual Report of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, with special reference to those parts of its contents which relate to the question of "Woman's Rights." I examined the Report accordingly, and was certainly not a little surprised and grieved to find it so completely *one-sided* on that question; conveying to the public mind, both by the brief reference to it in the body of the Report, and more especially by the various documents relative to it in the Appendix, the impression that the Glasgow Society takes opposite ground on that question to that taken by the great London Convention. From what passed at the Public Meeting of the Society, when, by a formal resolution, the Report was, on that particular subject, remitted to the Committee for revision, I am bound to regard this as *the doing of the Committee, and not of the Secretaries,* whom I dare not suppose to have so far forgotten themselves as, on the ground of their own private opinions, to have *committed the Society,* both on this and the other side of the Atlantic, on a great general principle, affecting to such an extent all the proprieties of public proceedings in all the benevolent Institutions of both countries; and that too in opposition to the decision of the Convention in London, and to the manifest general sense of the public meeting in Glasgow. My own convictions having all along been, decidedly and strongly, on the side of this question espoused by the London Convention, I do not feel myself at liberty, by retaining my connexion with a Society which has publicly taken opposite ground, to appear to countenance what I hold to be an outrage upon all decorum, and an insult to that invaluable portion of the community, whose rights it professedly maintains.

I have to request, therefore, dear friends, that you will lay before the Committee my resignation of my office as one of its Vice-Presidents, and of my connexion with the Society,—a Society to whose great and glorious object my whole heart remains, and while it beats must remain, as warmly attached as ever.—I am, dear friends, yours very faithfully,

Messrs. Murray & Smeal. RALPH WARDLAW.

Glasgow, 23*d February*, 1841.

TO DR. WARDLAW.

Dear Friend,—We beg to acknowledge receipt of yours of the 19th current, declining to comply with our request, that you would join us, as the Secretaries of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, in inviting Captain Stuart to visit Glasgow, for the purpose of discussing both privately and publicly, with Mr Collins, the unhappy differences existing among our Abolition brethren in America; and desiring us, at the same time, to lay before the Committee, your resignation of office as one of its Vice-Presidents, and of your connexion with the Society.

You will believe us, dear friend, when we assure you, that few circumstances have occasioned us deeper regret, than receiving from you such a communication; and we are decidedly of the mind that had you been present at the Meeting of Committee on the 11th instant, to receive Mr Collins, or had heard the conclusion to which the Meeting came, you would not so hastily, *as appears to us*, have made up your mind on a question before hearing *all* the circumstances of the case—and far less have resigned your Vice-Presidentship and connexion with the Society—"a Society to whose great and glorious object," you inform us, your "whole heart remains, and while it beats, must remain as warmly attached as ever."

At the Committee Meeting we have referred to,—Rev. David King, LL.D., in the Chair,—"Mr Collins," as appears from the Minutes, "went into a detail of the present state and prospects of the American Abolitionists, their trials, sacrifices, persecutions, pecuniary difficulties, &c., particularly those of the *Original* American Anti-Slavery Society; giving at the same time an exhibition of their success, and of the state of feeling now, as compared with the commencement of the Abolition movement, of an exceedingly gratifying description. In reply to questions by the Chairman principally, Mr C. went at some length into the differences between the Abolitionists in America, but as he had a pamphlet on the whole subject about going to press, it was deemed desirable it should be brought out forthwith, and distributed to each member of the Committee, before coming to any determination either to hold another Committee Meeting or a Public Meeting, to decide upon the claims of the American Anti-Slavery Society to our pecuniary support," &c.

The pamphlet of Mr Collins, is now in the press, and in a considerable state of forwardness; and we earnestly and most respectfully beg of you, dear friend, for your *own sake*, for the sake of *your friends*, but above all, for the sake of *truth and the interests of the Three Millions of enslaved* in the United States, to suspend your judgment as to *the real merits* of this question, and also to consider *more deliberately* your resigning of office in, and connexion with, the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*.

With respect to the Report—to which it appears your "attention was recently called by a highly esteemed friend in England"—you will permit us to remind you, that we did not think ourselves at all well treated, at the time of the Annual Meeting, in regard to it. *As usual*, the Committee was faithfully warned to attend a special meeting *to hear it read;* and therefore, that any were absent, was no fault of ours. It was approved by those who were present. Then came the Public Meeting, when there was presented to the public, the unseemly spectacle of a *divided* Committee! The Secretaries were broadly accused of stating in the Report, what was false, or something like it; and finally, the Report was recommitted for revision. In terms of this remit, the Committee, on the 14th September last, appointed Messrs. Thompson, M'Tear, Kettle, and

Langlands, in addition to the Secretaries, to undertake the revision. They met in Mr Kettle's Counting-house, with the exception of Mr Langlands, who though warned to attend, we believe was absent on a journey of business; and the result of this Meeting was, that the paragraphs beginning with the words, "your Committee," page 17 of the Report, and ending with the word "oppressed," at the end of paragraph 3, in the following page, obtained the unanimous approbation of the Sub-Committee. The original draught, in reference to the doings of the London Convention, is in our hands; and differs from what appears in print, only in this, that the *latter* expresses our sentiments in even more decided terms than at first, though *dictated by others.* We are, as may be expected, gratified by the circumstance; especially, seeing that the revisers, with one exception, were all Delegates to the Convention, and were, moreover, of *different opinions,* in respect to its proceedings when there.

We cannot concur in your sentiment, that the Report is "*one-sided*" on the question of "Woman's Rights." We hold, that it gives *no opinion* on the subject at all, and that neither our Society nor all the Anti-Slavery Societies in the World put together, have any thing to do with the general Rights of Woman; nor are we, *as a Society,* either one way or another "committed" on the subject. We *(i.e.* the Society,) neither approve nor disapprove, by resolution or otherwise, any decision of the London Convention, that we are aware of; and hence we cannot see that as regards this side of the Atlantic or the other, the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* is "*committed*" on the "great general principle" to which you refer.

For the contents of the Appendix, we are, in *the present,* as *in every former instance, wholly and exclusively responsible,* and have been left at liberty to select and arrange the matter for publication, *according to our own discretion.* No *opinion* is given, even in the Appendix, on the divisions among American Abolitionists; the various resolutions or documents presented to the reader, being *solely to afford information,* and that in an *authentic shape.*

You will excuse us expressing ourselves somewhat surprised, that your "attention was recently" pointed to the contents of our Report, "by *a highly esteemed friend in England*"—to what appeared to *that* friend, to be objectionable matter. But whilst this is to us, no *new* accusation against the Report, we have the satisfaction to inform you, that *several highly intelligent* Abolitionists, in *various parts* of the kingdom, of *both* sexes, and of *different* denominations —some of them *active and influential* members of the London Convention—have expressed their *entire approval* of our Report, for the reference it has made, *especially in the Appendix,* to the subject which, to you, appears to be so obnoxious. That these individuals had thus obtained *very important information* of which they would otherwise have been *entirely ignorant,* that it had led them to form very different conclusions from what they *formerly* held at the time of the Convention, where they were *purposely kept in ignorance,*

and that it had tended to *enlighten the public mind*, on the subject of the vexed question.

Matters being in this position, and you and we having the interests of the cause of Universal Freedom at heart, as well as the interests of the Society, in its instrumentally promoting that cause, we hope you will favour us with the name of the friend, or friends, with whom you have corresponded respecting the Report, seeing it is a matter in which *our vindication*, as *Secretaries*, and the *character of the Society*, are intimately concerned. We ought to know the sum and substance of the accusations brought against us, and the accuser's *proof of our error*. For we are firmly persuaded, had the Report been entirely silent on the topics which are the cause of division—had it only been, *we* will not say "one-sided" *the other way;* but had it *espoused and defended* the side which you and others of our friends seem to be prepared to stand by, and that, as already observed, before a full investigation of *all* the circumstances of the case—no ground for such offence would have been felt. It is just because a Report should *not*, we think, be "one-sided;" or at least, if it be so, to any extent, in the body of the work; if it there speaks the sentiments of the *majority;* that it ought to state, undoubtedly, if a *faithful* document, facts and information connected with the cause—but not arguments. This is precisely what is done in the Report of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*. It has thrown some light—a very small portion, it is true—upon a subject, on which many Abolitionists in this country are in darkness. Some seem to prefer remaining in darkness, and will yet give opinions, while refusing the light. There are some who are endeavouring to shut out the light from their fellows, or are obscuring it by false statements, which others are quite prepared to adopt! Surely, dear friend, to *you* we need not appeal, and ask, is *this* a happy state of things, connected with *any* cause?

Permit us to remind you, that the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* is an *independent* institution. It has nothing to do with that of London, or any other, either at home or abroad, except when it appears expedient and proper, in furtherance of a *common* object, to unite with their measures. And we are more and more satisfied of the wisdom and propriety of *maintaining* our independent position. In this view of the matter, is it not highly important, nay, *incumbent* upon *us* to enquire *patiently and impartially* where the *truth* lies? *Who* are the *steady and unflinching* friends of the Slave, and the persecuted people of Colour? With *whom* rests the *hope* and the *confidence* of these classes? and having, after a candid investigation, attained to satisfactory conclusions on all these points, boldly and honestly to *stand by the right.*

It is quite reasonable to expect, that Abolitionists in America will extirpate Slavery in their own way. The *Constitution* of the *Original* American Anti-Slavery Society, *remains unchanged.* The admission of females to take a part in the Anti-Slavery crusade,

has been *from the first*, an *integral* part of that Constitution, and in our judgment, has *no more to do* with the maintenance or advocacy of the general Rights of Woman, than the admission of Mahomedans, Pagans, or those of *any religious sect whatever*, would necessarily suppose the *approval* of their *respective* opinions. As Secretaries to the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, we desire to know the utmost of the charges brought against the *American* Anti-Slavery Society, *as such*, or against William Lloyd Garrison, as an *individual;* who is very much mixed up, and very *improperly*—with the Society—although we think that his *peculiar* sentiments have nothing to do with that Institution, as an instrument for the Abolition of Slavery, any more than those of William Smeal as a member of the Society of Friends, or of John Murray as a *Relief* man, have to do with Dr. Wardlaw's as an *Independent*—simply because we have all been acting for many years, in promoting, through the Glasgow Society, the sacred cause of *Universal Emancipation.*

We deprecate (and we think *intelligently*) the new system of things which characterizes the course of the American and *Foreign* Anti-Slavery Association—the rival Institution in America of only a few months standing—and upon which the whole matter turns, of making the Anti-Slavery, *or any other* Philanthropic Society, an arena for debating sectarian differences; of deciding what sect shall be admitted and what excluded; of who think with us, or who differ, on this, and that, and the other religious principle or practice. Whereas, the only or main question, in our opinion, ought to be, is the individual a *good*, and *sincere*, and *active* Abolitionist.

The struggle in our *own* country, is to get rid of these sectarian differences on other matters, which rend man from man, even in objects of the highest philanthropy and Christian effort, where Christian ministers, because on *some* points of *opposite* sentiments, could not meet together for the circulation of the Bible, or for the promotion of other enterprises of a Christian nature. And are we *now* to see this *narrowness*—this *jealous*—this *sectarian* spirit, introduced into the *Anti-Slavery* cause? Forbid it, humanity; forbid it, charity and love!

Praying your indulgence for trespassing thus long on your attention, and trusting that you will re-consider your resolution ere you *finally* conclude to withdraw from the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, we remain, dear friend, sincerely yours,

JOHN MURRAY.
WILLIAM SMEAL.

LINN, *February 26th*, 1841.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—I have received and carefully perused your friendly letter. I thank you for the assurances of regard, for the regrets, and for the counsels and wishes, which it contains, as well as for the pains you take to convince me that I am wrong. That

this should be the case, is far more than possible. I must, however, proceed upon my own views and convictions; and these, I must confess, remain quite unaltered. I may be one of those who "prefer remaining in darkness, and will yet give opinions, while refusing the light"—but on the great general question, and the principle of it, on which my resignation is grounded, I must beg leave, however presumptuously, to consider myself quite sufficiently competent to form a judgment for myself, without the illumination of either Captain Stuart or Mr Collins, or the aid of any discussion between them, whether private or public. I refer to the "*Woman's rights*" question, and the *principle* which it involves;—the *one-sidedness* of our Report upon the merits of that question; and the consequent *committing* of our Society to the particular side which the Report, both in the body of it, and especially in the contents of the Appendix, manifestly espouses.

It is vain to say, that "no opinion is expressed," and that you "neither approve nor disapprove, by resolution or otherwise, any decision of the London Convention." Is it necessary to remind you, how many ways there are of conveying a statement, without formally and in so many words expressing it, or throwing it into the shape of a resolution? If any have read the Report and Appendix, without considering it as palpably one-sided on the subject in question, I can only marvel what principles of interpretation they have applied to it. I could enter into details; but I forbear. The "esteemed correspondent" to whom I referred, never expresses the remotest doubt about the character of our Report, but, *proceeding on the assumption* of its *favouring a particular side* of the absurdly designated "*Woman's rights*" question, regrets that the countenance of my *own name*, and that of others, should go across the Atlantic *on that side* of the question. He brings no charges. He enters into no proof. Your wish for his name, therefore, is useless. I have no idea that he would care though his name were proclaimed to the whole world; but my giving it would answer no end, but the gratification of curiosity. It is a name eminent, excellent, and honoured. I referred to the fact of my attention having been called to our Report by that friend, for the purpose of showing the light in which it appeared to persons—and persons well qualified to judge—unconnected with our Society.

I am very sorry that anything should have been introduced into our Report *at all* on what you call "the vexed question." But since it *has* been introduced, and introduced in a way that throws the weight of the Glasgow Society's influence into what I believe to be the wrong scale,—the scale of Woman's misnamed *rights* in opposition to Woman's appropriate *character*,—I must adhere to my resignation, as the only way of bearing my decided testimony in favour of the decision of the London Convention, to which, in the whole scope, and spirit, and effect of it, our Society's Report is in diametrical opposition.

Into your *special pleading*, in vindication of the Report, I do not enter, farther than just to say, that it has produced the very opposite effect to that intended by it,—confirming, instead of shaking, my previous convictions.

With every feeling of personal regard, with unabated interest in the Anti-Slavery cause, and with regret that I should feel myself under the necessity of adopting such a course, I have to repeat the request of my former letter,—with the additional request that this subsequent correspondence accompany the laying of my tendered resignation before the Committee, and to subscribe myself, my dear friends, yours very sincerely,

RALPH WARDLAW.

Mr John Murray and Mr Wm. Smeal.

Although the following, as Dr W. truly says, has "no connexion with his letter;" yet, being resolved to *conceal* nothing connected with our proceedings, we therefore insert it with the rest:—

Linn, *February 27th*, 1841.

Dear Sir,—Since writing the enclosed, I have chanced to cast my eye on two paragraphs in the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*, headed John A. Collins—the one in the paper of January 7th, the other in that of January 21st.

Was the alleged stain on Mr C.'s character, there so confidently stated, fairly met and satisfactorily wiped away before he came to this country? This has no connexion with my letter; but the nature of the charge is such, that I have felt it a duty to open my envelope for the purpose of drawing your attention to it. It may not be true. I hope, in charity, it is not. But *there it stands*.—Yours, very sincerely,

RALPH WARDLAW.

To Mr Wm. Smeal.

I have *not* seen the vindication in Garrison's paper alluded to in the second of the two paragraphs.

To this communication, we could send no reply; not having seen the papers referred to. Any reply from us, however, was soon rendered unnecessary, by Mr Collins noticing "the alleged stain" in his "Right and Wrong"—to which the reader is referred.

Virginia Buildings, 22*d Feb.*, 1841.

To John Murray *and* William Smeal, Esqrs., *Secretaries, Glasgow Emancipation Society.*

My Dear Friends,—I have to acknowledge receipt of your circular letter of the 18th instant, addressed to me and the other

Vice-Presidents of the Society, and after giving the subject of it the best consideration in my power, it appears to me that your suggestion is a very judicious one, for counteracting the evil effects which may arise from the unhappy division which has arisen amongst our American Abolition brethren, and I will be happy to co-operate with you in the matter, as far as may be in my power. With every good wish for the success of your labours, I remain, always faithfully yours,

WILLIAM P. PATON.

A week having nearly elapsed, and no reply being received from Drs. Kidston and Heugh, we addressed to these Gentlemen the following note:—

TO DRS. KIDSTON AND HEUGH.

GLASGOW, 24*th February*, 1841.

DEAR FRIENDS,—We wrote you on the 18th instant, along with the other Vice-Presidents of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, requesting you to join us in inviting Captain Stuart to visit this city, to discuss with Mr Collins the subject of the divisions among American Abolitionists.

You will oblige us by a reply, as the matter cannot remain in its present position. The question is a vital one to the interests of the Abolition cause; and the time of our friend, Mr Collins, you must be aware, is very valuable.—We are, sincerely yours,

JOHN MURRAY.
WM. SMEAL.

BELLEGROVE PLACE, 24*th Feb.*, 1841.

Messrs J. MURRAY *and* WM. SMEAL.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—To the benevolent object of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, I am very far from being indifferent, and I am sorry that I am not able to give effectual aid in promoting this object. For some years, I have from necessity been nothing more than an Honorary Vice-President. I did expect, that the other Vice-Presidents would have arranged with you as to the proposed Meeting, and what they and you think proper will meet my cordial approbation. I think it likely, that the Secretaries have the power of calling such a Meeting as is proposed, and if they have not, the sooner it is given to them the better.—I am, my dear friends, yours sincerely,

WILLIAM KIDSTON.

MONTROSE STREET, *Feb.* 24*th*, 1841.

GENTLEMEN,—I regret that I have been prevented from replying to your joint letter, or indeed to any other letter, for a few days past.

The proposal you make took me by surprise. I did not think any member of our Committee or Society would have made such a proposal. For my own part, I should as soon propose for discussion, whether women should be eligible to the Glasgow Magistracy, or to a seat in the British Parliament, as this "Woman Question" of America. When that question was forced on the Convention, you know how it was disposed of; and you also know that our Society, with all but perfect unanimity, declared for the opinions of the Convention. As for British Ladies, we know their convictions and feelings, and they would thank no man to advocate imaginary rights, from the exercise of which, were they conceded, they would shrink with becoming sensitiveness. Indeed, (although nothing, I am aware, can be farther from your intentions,) I am persuaded, that few discussions could more effectually succeed, than the one you propose, to bring upon us the merited derision of the public in Glasgow—of that portion of the public at least whose opinion is much worth.—I am, Gentlemen, yours faithfully,

H. HEUGH.

Messrs. Smeal and Murray.

TO DR. HEUGH.

Glasgow, 3*d March*, 1841.

Dear Friend,—We have, like yourself, been so closely occupied that we have only now been able to overtake the acknowledging of yours of the 24th ultimo.

Your letter contains abundant evidence of the extent to which other subjects must have engaged your attention, seeing you have totally misapprehended or misinterpreted the contents of ours. The letter we addressed to you and the other Vice-Presidents of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, was, in its language so plain, and, in its object so definite, that we are utterly at a loss to understand how you could, to such a letter, send, what *seems to us*, so irrelevant a reply.

We respectfully requested that you would unite with us in inviting Captain Stuart to visit Glasgow, for the express purpose of investigating, along with Mr Collins, the whole case as respects the differences which separate our American friends. That you should disapprove of a public discussion, is no surprise to us; but that you should so entirely misapprehend our intention, as to take it for granted that the discussion was to be upon a question never once in the most distant manner referred to in our letter, appears to us altogether inexplicable, and you know best what were your reasons for so doing. This much at least is apparent; you have introduced into the official correspondence of the Secretaries with you, as one of the Vice-Presidents, the Woman Question—the very thing you profess to deprecate; and which we are desirous altogether to avoid. That is one of the bugbears got up to *serve a purpose*, in the same

way as the cry of "No Human Government" has been; and these having failed to excite such opposition as to put down the Original American Anti-Slavery Society, or to overthrow the uncompromising Garrison and his faithful coadjutors, other charges have been devised —such as "Infidel," "Unitarian," "Denier of the Divine Authority of Scripture," &c. None of these things, however, are sufficient to move us from a thorough determination to investigate all the bearings of the division among American Abolitionists; to ascertain *where* the *truth* is; *who* are the *stedfast* and *confidential* friends of the Slave; and, *with these*, to persevere in their noble crusade against oppression.

Passing by your allusion to Women being "eligible to the Glasgow Magistracy"—"or to a seat in the British Parliament"—as matters not adverted to in our letter, and as having nothing at all to do with the *Anti-Slavery cause*, any more than the question of the *rightfulness* of Queenly Government, or the *general* question of "Woman's Rights"—you say we know how the "Woman Question" was disposed of by the Convention; and "that our Society, with all but perfect unanimity, declared for the opinions of the Convention."

Now, in the first place, we are quite at issue with you, as to the Convention *disposing* of the question of Woman's Rights—it no more settled that, than it settled the question whether there should be a Buxton's "Extinction and Civilization Society," because it refused to hear Sir Fowell Buxton on that subject. As to the former, it was the mere expression of the opinion of the majority, which did not at all affect that of the minority; and the question was *not*, be it remembered, on the Rights of Women, but merely their admission *as Delegates;* seeing the other was not before them, and neither that Anti-Slavery body, nor any similar convocation, have either the power or the authority to interfere with Woman's Rights. No—the Convention no more *settled* the "Woman Question," than they settled whether the public should or should not be favoured with the *whole* of Mr Clarkson's speech at the opening of the Convention, though, by the *management* of the London Committee, the one-half of it was *suppressed;* and the same body managed to *control* the proceedings of the Convention, to the exclusion of the Female Delegates, who came 3000 miles to attend the meeting.

With regard to *our Society* approving the doings of the Convention on the exclusion of the Women, there is no resolution or decision to that effect; nor, indeed, in reference to any other of its proceedings; and we are well satisfied, *as individuals*, that such is the case.

Leaving your remarks about the "becoming sensitiveness," "convictions and feelings" of "British Ladies," as equally unconnected with the subject upon which we addressed you, as the matters we have already referred to, permit us, dear friend, to assure you, that such is the hold which the differences among American Abolitionists

has now taken, not only on the minds of our Committee, but of the public, that the matter cannot longer be minced. The question of who are right and who are wrong, and who are most entitled to our confidence, must be clearly and satisfactorily made out; and no way is so likely to elicit this, as the public discussion we have proposed. Give our fellow-citizens the FACTS of the case, and we have no misgivings about their judgment. On that judgment we have relied before, and were not disappointed.—We remain, dear friend, truly yours,

JOHN MURRAY.
WM. SMEAL.

Desirous to promote, as extensively as possible, the diffusion of Mr Collins's Pamphlet, entitled, "Right and Wrong among the Abolitionists of the United States," we issued the following Circular to the correspondents of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, and forwarded the same to all the leading Anti-Slavery Friends in the United Kingdom:—

GLASGOW, *5th March*, 1841.

DEAR FRIEND,—A Pamphlet of about fifty octavo pages, the object of which is indicated by the title annexed, is now in the press, and will be published in a few days. It is replete with most interesting and valuable information regarding the past and present struggles of the American Abolitionists. It should be put into the hands of every Abolitionist in the country, and read by every British philanthropist. To do this, will require a fund. Besides the expense of printing, the postage on each pamphlet will be Fourpence. If the leading friends of the Negro will aid in this undertaking, this valuable piece of history can find its way into every family.

How much, dear friend, will you contribute, to aid in circulating this Pamphlet? Will you send us, as early as your convenience will permit, the address of the principal Abolitionists of your acquaintance; and also endeavour to secure the insertion of MISS MARTINEAU's Introduction into some Newspaper in your vicinity.

Permit us to suggest to you, the propriety of starting a Subscription among your friends at once to aid this object, and any amount of money forwarded to ELIZABETH PEASE, *Darlington;* R. D. WEBB, *Dublin;* JANE WIGHAM, 5, Gray Street, Newington, *Edinburgh;* or to WILLIAM SMEAL, *Glasgow*, will be gratefully received, duly acknowledged, and faithfully appropriated.—We are faithfully, your sincere friends,

JOHN MURRAY,
WILLIAM SMEAL,
Secretaries to the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

The above having been objected to, by certain Members of Committee, as committing the Society; we appended to a Second Edition, the following note:—

Some apprehension having been entertained, that our last Circular, having our names officially attached, necessarily committed the Society to the sentiments of our letter, to those of H. Martineau's Introduction, and also to the contents of J. A. Collins's Pamphlet,—we beg distinctly to state, that the Circular was issued on *our own responsibility;* and that our names, *as Secretaries,* were appended with a view to our being more readily recognised by the Abolitionists in the United Kingdom.

J. M.
W. S.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH CAPTAIN STUART, RELATIVE TO THE PROPOSED DISCUSSION WITH MR COLLINS.

GLASGOW, *4th of 3d Month,* 1841.

DEAR FRIEND, CAPTAIN STUART,—At a meeting of the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society,* held last evening, it was resolved, that the Secretary be directed to invite thee to visit Glasgow, for the purpose of defending the charges against the American Anti-Slavery Society, which thou hast in thy *printed letter* widely circulated all over the country; that defence, thou wilt understand, is to be made in the presence of John A. Collins, and, in *the first instance,* before the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society.*

Owing to the state of our pecuniary affairs, we cannot offer, I regret to say, to pay thy expenses; but presuming that thy object is to make known the truth, we have no doubt thou wilt gladly embrace such an opportunity of doing so.

Hoping to have a reply at thy earliest convenience,—I remain, thy friend,

WILLIAM SMEAL,
One of the Secretaries of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

BATHWICK HALL, BATH, *8th March,* 1841.

MY DEAR SMEAL,—I have just received the invitation which you have conveyed to me from the *Glasgow Emancipation Society,* to visit Glasgow for the purpose of defending the charges "against the American Anti-Slavery Society," which I have promulgated.

Now, I am not aware, that those charges need any defence. They are simple matters of fact, and rest on other grounds, than on my affirmations, and I am not of opinion, that *truth* becomes *more true* by mere repetition. But if my charges be false, the *disproof* of the facts on which they are founded, will *best* disprove them, whatever affirmations I may continue to make that they are true; and this disproof can be supplied, *if it exists,* quite irrespective of me. But I do, here, most unequivocally, solemnly, and fully, re-affirm their entire truthfulness.

I may add, my dear Smeal, with all candour and kindness, that *if* I am to judge of the Glasgow Emancipation Committee, by the sentiments and positions advanced by you and dear John Murray, *on this subject*, when I last met you in Glasgow, I should be insane in submitting myself to you as judges, knowing the total and deplorable derangement of your views, *in this matter, both as to facts and principles.*

In Edinburgh, I offered Mr Collins, to debate this question with him round the kingdom. He then declined it.* I have since been satisfied, that I at that time greatly over-rated his power of mischief in the Abolition cause amongst us, so that I do not feel at all warranted at present, in duty, to turn any portion of my time and means from the direct service of God and of my fellow-men, to the indulgence of irrelevant, captious, and pernicious questions. I trust and believe, that my circular has produced, in a good measure, the healing and purifying effect, for which it was solemnly and kindly intended, and it will be time enough for me to undertake its defence, when I find that my countrymen are far more astray from God and their brother, and are far more given up to the pernicious intrusion of extraneous and distracting questions, than I believe them to be.

I expect shortly to make a trip of a few months to America, on my private affairs. As far as duty permits, I shall there further explore this question, as it continues to develop itself, and upon my return, shall probably make a pretty extensive Anti-Slavery tour for the communication of my information, as well as for other Anti-Slavery purposes.—Believe me, kindly yours,

C. STUART.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE LONDON COMMITTEE.

GLASGOW, *5th of 3d Month*, 1841.

TO J. H. TREDGOLD.

DEAR FRIEND,—At a meeting of the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, held on the 3d instant, to consider the propriety of inviting Captain Stuart to meet J. A. Collins here, and, in presence of our Committee, to defend the charges, he has, by his printed letter, been circulating widely throughout the country, against the American Anti-Slavery Society—this proposition was resolved upon, and Captain Stuart has been written to accordingly.

"The meeting having also considered the information received from various quarters, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of London have been circulating privately, accusations and defamatory statements against the character of W. L. Garrison, the devoted American Abolitionist, and against that of J. A. Collins, the Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and the said Committee having, as appears from official correspondence, refused to give Mr Collins an

* For Mr Collins's reply to this, see "Right and Wrong," page 72.

opportunity of ascertaining and disabusing their minds of the reasons alleged by them, as the cause of their alienation of confidence in the American Anti-Slavery Society—It was therefore resolved, unanimously, that the Secretaries be requested to correspond with the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and to solicit from them information as to the grounds upon which they feel warranted to circulate the defamatory statements referred to, and to withhold their confidence from the Society of which Mr Collins is the accredited agent."

"It was further resolved, that as the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, while it adheres to its original constitution, by which it retains *an independent management*, is, at the same time, pledged 'to promote by every means in its power, the great and important object of the London Society,'—when its measures are such as we approve—yet, that the continued co-operation of this Committee with that of London, will very much depend upon the nature of the information now solicited; and it may also affect the channel through which our sympathies are, in future, to be sent across the Atlantic."

Have the goodness, dear friend, to lay the foregoing resolutions before the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society at the earliest opportunity; and, expecting to hear from thee soon, I remain, sincerely, thy friend,

WM. SMEAL,

One of the Secretaries of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

TO W. SMEAL, ESQ., &c.

27, New Broad Street,
15*th March*, 1841.

Dear Friend,—I am directed to inform you that our Committee have received a letter from the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society, containing similar inquiries respecting the American Anti-Slavery Society and Mr J. A. Collins, to those contained in your letter to them of the 5th instant. I am therefore directed to transmit to you a copy of their letter to the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society as an explanation of their views and proceedings in this matter.—Yours respectfully and sincerely,

J. H. TREDGOLD, *Secretary.*

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE HIBERNIAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, DUBLIN.

27, New Broad Street, London,
12*th March*, 1841.

Dear Sirs,—The spirit of controversy is opposed to the principles and feelings of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. On points of difference in theology and politics amongst Abolitionists, they give no opinion, but recognize all who embrace the fundamental views set forth in the Constitution of the Society, as fellow-labourers in the good cause; and they would deeply regret if any of their old friends in any part of the country, should

think they have just ground to question their sincerity on this point. Bear with them then, when they say that you have written in a tone and manner, which they should be sorry could be justified by any act of theirs.

The difference of opinion which exists among Abolitionists in the United States is notorious. It has led to the disruption of the Anti-Slavery Societies there, and engendered a spirit which this Committee would be extremely sorry to see transferred to this country. With whom the blame exists, or whether the points in debate be speculative or practical, or both, may be matter of opinion; but the Committee presume they have not ventured too far in forming for themselves a judgment in this matter.

They have made their election, but this is not to be interpreted into an impeachment of the American Anti-Slavery Society; the Committee say nothing of the spirit that Society has exhibited, lest it should be supposed that the attacks they have made on them, have warped their judgments. It must, however, be obvious to you, that the "alienated confidence" of which this Committee have spoken in their former communications, is but the faint echo of a similar opinion, publicly and frequently expressed in reference to this Committee, by the leading men of that Society at their Public Meetings, which has been embodied in strongly condemnatory resolutions, and in the currency which has been given to the same, through its acknowledged organs. But further, the Committee have decided upon supporting the claims of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, not merely because its executive Committee is nearly to a man the same as that which formerly conducted the affairs of the American Anti-Slavery Society, with so much ability and zeal, but because its constitution and character most resembles its own, and as they believe its proceedings are most likely to accomplish the object they have in view; most sincerely, however, will they rejoice if the other Society be made instrumental also in accomplishing that great end.

The Committee earnestly intreat their Dublin friends and coadjutors not to press the matter further, and not to allow a difference of opinion on the claims of what, unfortunately, must be denominated rival Institutions, to prevent their usual warm and efficient co-operation with the London Committee, in the noble work before them.

The Committee are not aware that they have insinuated charges against Mr Collins, or given rise to "evil surmisings" against him. They have done neither. True it is they could not assist Mr Collins in the object he had in view, for the general reason set forth in their correspondence with him, but that was no attack on Mr Collins. And with respect to the extracts from Mr Colver's letters, and from the *Massachusetts Abolitionist,* which were transmitted to you, the Committee are in no way responsible for the one nor the other. The Committee neither knew nor sanctioned, directly nor indirectly, their circulation in any direction. On inquiry, however, they find

that one or two of their number conceived it to be proper, that a few of the more active Anti-Slavery friends in the country should be made aware that statements of the nature of those referred to, were circulated in the United States apparently on good authority, leaving their friends to exercise their own judgments as to what degree of credit or importance might be attached to them. This is the true state of the affair.

IN REFERENCE TO MR COLLINS,

The Committee have only to add, that in so far as the representations made by him, affect the character of their valued friends, Messrs. Birney and Stanton, they cannot but regard a course of accusation against absent and defenceless parties, as much more injurious to the character of the accuser, than to that of the accused. Such conduct alone must have alienated from the Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the confidence of this Committee.

In bringing these remarks to a close, the Committee disclaim any intention to reflect upon their Dublin friends, when they observe that they do not think they have any right to make the "demands" upon them that they have done, at the same time they feel no disposition whatever to stand upon punctilio. All that they desire is, that their intercourse with their friends may be regulated by Christian kindness and courtesy, and they beg to assure them, that they have too high a sense of the obligations which the Anti-Slavery cause owes to the Hibernian Society, to cherish other feelings than those of sincere respect for its Committee. They would not in the slightest degree interfere with their liberty of action and opinion, and they trust the day is far distant when the bonds which have hitherto united them, shall be either broken or relaxed.—On behalf of the Committee, I am, dear Sirs, yours very respectfully,

JOHN H. TREDGOLD,
Secretary.

To JAS. HAUGHTON, Esq., *Chairman,*
And RICHARD ALLEN, Esq., *Secretary of the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society.*

To J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

GLASGOW, 29*th March*, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter to one of our number, dated 15th current, accompanied with copy of a letter addressed by your Committee, to that of the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society, Dublin, was laid before a meeting of our Committee on the 26th, and said letters being regarded as unsatisfactory, we have now, by desire of the Committee at a meeting held this evening, respectfully to request that you will, as early as possible, be so good

as recall the attention of your Committee to the terms of our Resolution, and transmit us a more specific reply, detailing what are the principal reasons upon which the London Committee has come to the conclusion, that "the new Society in America, in its constitution and character, most resembles its own;" and why they "believe its proceedings are most likely to accomplish the object they have in view." The Glasgow Committee make this inquiry with the desire to have information collected from every quarter, to enable them to come to a decision on what their own conduct should be, in reference to their Anti-Slavery brethren in America.—We are, dear Sir, yours truly,

JOHN MURRAY,
WILLIAM SMEAL,

Secretaries to the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World.

27, New Broad Street, London,
17*th April*, 1841.

TO WILLIAM SMEAL, Esq., &c.

Dear Friend,—I am directed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to inform you, that the communication from your Committee of the 29th ultimo, has been submitted to their consideration, and having received another letter from the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Committee of a similar purport, they transmit to you herewith a copy of their reply to that Committee, which they trust will prevent the necessity of their entering into further explanations with you on this subject.—On behalf of the Committee, yours respectfully,

J. H. TREDGOLD, *Secretary.*

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World.

27, New Broad Street, London,
April 17*th*, 1841.

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE HIBERNIAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Dear Sirs,—Your communication of the 31st ultimo has been submitted to the consideration of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and I am directed to inform you, that the Committee have felt regret that after their explanatory letter of the 12th ultimo, you should still continue to make demands on them which they cannot but regard as unreasonable.

The Committee again decidedly disclaim having insinuated charges against John A. Collins; they alluded in their last, to the charges which Mr Collins has publicly made injurious to the reputation of their valued friends, Messrs. Birney and Stanton, after both these gentlemen had left England.

The Committee have published, as you are no doubt aware, resolutions expressive of the fullest confidence in the integrity of character of Messrs. Birney and Stanton, as likewise of their high estimate of the valuable services, rendered by them to the cause of Abolition; to comply, therefore, with your request in reference to Mr Collins, would be to stultify their own acts, which they think you can scarcely expect them to do.

The Committee would now express their earnest hope, that you will excuse their entering into further correspondence on these matters, which it appears to them can only terminate in an unsatisfactory result, and which serves to occupy time they are desirous of devoting exclusively to the prosecution of the important object they have in view.—On behalf of the Committee, yours respectfully,

J. H. TREDGOLD, *Secretary.*

MINUTES OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

"At a Meeting of Committee, held 11th February, 1841,

"Present:—Dr. King in the Chair,—Rev. J. M'Tear, and Messrs. Gunn, Murray, Reid, Stewart, T. Watson, and Smeal.

"William Smeal intimated that he had received letters, apologizing for absence, from Dr. Heugh and George Thorburn, Esq.

"He further stated, that as indicated by the circular, the object of the Meeting was to receive John A. Collins, as the Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

"On the invitation of the Chairman, Mr Collins then went into a detail of the present state and prospects of the American Abolitionists; their trials, sacrifices, persecutions, pecuniary difficulties, &c., particularly those of the *Original* American Anti-Slavery Society; giving, at the same time, an exhibition of their successful struggles against the Slave system, and of the state of public feeling now, as compared with the commencement of the Abolition enterprize, of an exceedingly gratifying description.

"In reply to questions by the Chairman, principally, Mr C. went at some length into the differences between the Abolitionists in the United States, but as he had a pamphlet on the whole case about going to press, the Meeting deemed it highly desirable that it should be brought out forthwith, and distributed to each member of the Committee, before another Meeting was held, or any decision come to respecting the holding of a Public Meeting, to decide upon the claims of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to our sympathy and pecuniary support."

"At a Meeting of Committee held 3d March, 1841,

"Present:—Dr Maxwell in the Chair,—Rev. Messrs. M'Tear, Johnston, and King,—also Messrs. Blyth, Mathie, Lethem, Reid, Smeal, Watson, and Gunn.

"The Meeting having been convened to consider the propriety of inviting Captain Stuart to meet Mr J. A. Collins, and in the presence of the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, to defend the charges made by him against the American Anti-Slavery Society, in his printed letter, which has been widely circulated throughout the country—it was, after some discussion, resolved, with one dissentient, that Captain Stuart be invited accordingly, and that the Secretaries be requested to write him, in terms of this resolution.

"The Meeting having also considered the information received from various quarters, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of London, have been circulating, privately, accusations and defamatory statements against the character of William Lloyd Garrison, the devoted American Abolitionist, and against that of John A. Collins, the Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and the said Committee having, as appears from official correspondence, refused to give Mr Collins an opportunity of ascertaining and disabusing their minds of the reasons alleged by them, as the cause of their alienation of confidence in the American Anti-Slavery Society—It was therefore resolved, unanimously, that the Secretaries be directed to correspond with the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and to solicit from them information as to the grounds upon which they feel warranted to circulate the defamatory statements referred to, and to withhold their confidence from the Society, of which Mr Collins is the accredited agent.

"It was farther resolved, that as the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, while it adheres to its original constitution, by which it retains *an independent management*, is, at the same time, pledged 'to promote, by every means in its power, the great and important object of the London Society,' when its measures are such as we approve—yet that the continued co-operation of this Committee with that of London, will very much depend upon the nature of the information now solicited; and it may also affect the channel through which our sympathies are, in future, to be sent across the Atlantic.'

"At a Meeting of Committee, held 10th March, 1841,

"Present:—W. P. Paton, Esq. in the chair,—Rev. Drs Heugh and King, W. Anderson and J. M'Tear—also Messrs Reid, Murray, Smeal, T. Watson, M'Leod, Gallie, Maxwell, Lethem, D. Anderson, Blyth, Gunn, and Langlands.

"The circular calling the meeting having been read by one of the Secretaries, Drs Heugh and King intimated that the present meeting had been convened in consequence of a note addressed by them to the Secretary, who they observed had, in the circular, embodied part of said note. That they had been induced so to do, from having a few days ago received a printed circular, to which Messrs Murray and Smeal had appended their names as Secretaries to this Society. Attached to that circular was a letter by Miss

Martineau, recommending in very strong terms, the Pamphlet now in progress of publication, by Mr Collins; and they (Drs. H. and K.) were unwilling it should be understood that they, as individuals, or that the Society should be in any way committed, either to the contents of the Secretaries' letter, to that of Miss Martineau, or even to the contents of Mr Collins's Pamphlet. Dr King next gave a lengthened statement of his dissatisfaction with certain parts of the Sixth Report of the Society, which was agreed to at the Annual Meeting so long ago as in August last; with others in that part of it, revised by the Committee subsequently, and also with portions of the Appendix; contending that altogether the document bore the appearance of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* having taken the side of those Abolitionists in America, who are understood to be what is called the 'Woman's Rights' party, &c. Dr K. concluded by stating, that as an individual, and in conjunction with Dr Heugh, he could not consent to be held as an approver of such views, whether upheld by the Secretaries' letter and its appendage, the Pamphlet of Mr Collins, or the Report of the Society; not only so, but they were of opinion that this Committee was called upon in present circumstances, to make some declaration of its sentiments on behalf of the Society, in order that it might stand right with the public. Opinions very much akin to these, were stated by a number of the other gentlemen present; but it was agreed, for the sake of order and perspicuity, that the two points thus brought under notice, should be treated of separately. This done—the Secretaries were severally heard in explanation and vindication of the course they had followed; and pointedly and frankly disclaimed all intention in any way to commit either the Committee or the Society, by the circular they had published and distributed among the friends of the Emancipation Cause, having added their names as 'Secretaries,' &c., merely with a view to insure the confidence of those who might transmit to them pecuniary assistance, towards the printing, &c. of Mr Collins's pamphlet. They also readily concurred in the wish expressed by different members of Committee, that an explanation should be sent to all those who had received the circular, intimating that the Committee was no way implicated therein, but that they, as Secretaries, were *alone* responsible.

"The meeting then unanimously agreed to adjourn till the evening of Tuesday next, the 16th current, at seven o'clock, when 'the duty of the Committee in present circumstances, will be taken into consideration,' and also the objections to the Report before referred to."

"At a Meeting of Committee, held 16th March, 1841,

"Present:—Wm. P. Paton, Esq. in the chair,—Rev. Dr Heugh, W. Brash, W. Anderson, J. Edwards, and J. M'Tear—also Messrs Blyth, Anderson, G. Watson, T. Watson, Mathie, Reid, M'Leod, Sanderson, Langlands, Murray, Smeal, Lethem and Gunn.

"The Minutes of last meeting having been read, and also a letter from Mr Kettle, omitted to be noticed on that occasion,* Dr Heugh went over much the same ground as Dr King had done at the previous meeting, in regard to those parts of the Report which were then objected to as committing the Society; upon which, after expressing his views at considerable length, both with respect to the Report and its revision by the Committee,

* This letter contained expressions of dissatisfaction with the contents of the Appendix to the Report; but said nothing of resignation.

and also with respect to the Appendix, Dr Heugh offered for adoption the following Resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. Wm. Anderson:—

Resolved—"That the Sixth Annual Meeting of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* having appointed that the Report should be re-committed for revision by the Committee previous to its publication, on the ground, as appeared at the meeting, of its seeming to favour the sentiments of the minority in the late Anti-Slavery Convention at London, respecting the exclusion of Female Delegates, and of that section of American Abolitionists by whom these sentiments are held and defended, and the Report of the Society having been printed and circulated on a review by a Sub-Committee, and without undergoing the revision of the Committee itself,* accompanied also with certain documents in the Appendix, devoted to the defence of the sentiments referred to, this Committee declare, that neither they nor the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, are responsible for those parts of the Report and Appendix, and agree to publish this declaratory Resolution for the information of the members and friends of the Society, reserving for future consideration the conflicting claims of the American Societies."

"After a general expression of opinion regarding this Resolution, on the part of the members present, the Secretaries being also heard at length in explanation of their views and motives in reference to the framing of the Report, and the contents of the Appendix; the following amendment was proposed by Mr Murray, and seconded by Mr Thomas Watson, viz.:—

"Whereas, it is the opinion of certain members of this Committee, that the amended portion of our last Annual Report does still, as originally, convey sentiments which favour the opinions of that party among American Abolitionists, who are said to advocate what is technically termed the Woman's Rights question; and also that other passages in the Report passed by the Society at the Annual Meeting, convey similar sentiments: It is therefore Resolved, as the judgment of this meeting, that the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* has as yet made no declaration of its views, either on this or other questions which divide American Abolitionists; but that it is still, as heretofore, connected with the original American Anti-Slavery Society, and that as an Anti-Slavery body only."

"A show of hands being taken, first in favour of the amendment, and then of Dr Heugh's Resolution, the former was carried by a majority; upon which Dr Heugh tendered the resignation of his office as one of the Society's Vice-Presidents, and of his connexion with the Society.

"It was then unanimously agreed by the meeting to adjourn the consideration of any other business, until after the pamphlet of Mr Collins had been three days in the hands of the Committee, when the Secretaries were instructed to summon a meeting."

"At a Meeting of Committee, held 25th March, 1841,

"Present:—Rev. J. M'Tear in the Chair,—also Messrs T. Watson, Young, Blyth, Smeal, Reid, Murray, Anderson, Maxwell, M'Leod, Sanderson, Brodie, G. Watson, and Gunn.

"Present, also, John A. Collins, Esq., Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

"Read Minutes of last meeting, also a letter from Mr Macintyre, apologising for absence; and suggesting that the Secretaries of this Society

* See opinion of Mr George Thompson, one of the Sub-Committee, who dictated the alteration.—*See p.* 41.

should, as usual, remind the Congregational Union of Scotland, at its approaching Annual Meeting, of the importance of continued rebuke on the subject of Slavery, directed to their Congregational brethren in America.

"The meeting then heard the credentials of Mr Collins, as the Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society; also the concurrent testimonial, on Mr Collins' behalf, of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society; after which, it was proposed that the Committee do, by minute, formally record their reception of Mr Collins in that capacity. A counter-proposition was made, that, owing to the diversity of opinion existing in the Committee, this should be delayed till we have further information regarding the divisions in America; and that the meeting should proceed to consider the letter of Dr. Wardlaw, resigning his office as one of our Vice-Presidents, and his connexion with the Society. To the latter part of this proposal it was objected by the Secretaries, that, as there were other resignations to be laid before the meeting for its consideration, Dr. Heugh having also resigned at our last meeting, and Joseph Sturge having requested to have his name withdrawn from the list of Honorary Members, they were decidedly of the mind, that, in order to do justice to all parties, their whole correspondence with these gentlemen, with Captain Stuart, and with the London Committee, should now be heard; after which, the meeting could take up, seriatim, such matters arising out of said correspondence, and the credentials of Mr Collins, as might be deemed advisable. The meeting having then heard the correspondence read by one of the Secretaries—the following resolution and amendment, in reference to the reception of Mr Collins, were moved and seconded, viz.:

"Moved by Mr Murray, and seconded by Mr M'Leod,

"Resolved, 'That the credentials of Mr John A. Collins now read, are satisfactory to this Meeting; that he be cordially welcomed among us, as the Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and that this Committee consider what answer should be given to the request of that Society.'

"Moved by Mr D. Anderson, as an amendment to the foregoing, and seconded by Mr Young,

"'That in consideration of the divided state of feeling in the Committee, upon the subject of the reception of Mr Collins as the Representative of the American Anti-Slavery Society, his reception in that character be delayed.'

"The amendment and resolution having been severally put from the Chair—the latter was carried by a majority of 10 to 4. There voting for the amendment, Messrs. Anderson, Young, Brodie, and Blyth; and for the resolution, the Rev. J. M'Tear, and Messrs. T. Watson, Smeal, Reid, Gunn, Maxwell, M'Leod, Murray, Sanderson, and G. Watson.

"The letter from Capt. Stuart, mentioned at last Meeting, declining to accept the invitation of this Committee to meet Mr Collins, was next taken into consideration; and it appearing that the Captain intends shortly to proceed to America, it was concluded to drop further attention to the subject.

"The answer from the London Committee, to the resolution transmitted them by direction of the meeting of the 10th current, being considered unsatisfactory; the following were appointed to prepare another letter to said Committee, and present it for approval of next meeting; viz., the Chairman, the Secretaries, and Messrs. D. Anderson and T. Watson.

"The Secretaries were instructed to furnish Mr Collins with a certified copy of the Resolution respecting his reception, as the Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

"It having been proposed, that the Secretaries should prepare a Circular, addressed to the Abolitionists of the United Kingdom, in behalf of Mr Collins and his mission, and that the same should be submitted for the approbation of next Meeting, to be held on Monday evening the 29th current, and the said proposal having been put to the vote, it was carried by a majority of nine to two—two declining to vote.

"In reference to the request of Mr Sturge, to have his name withdrawn from the List of Honorary Members, while the Committee regret that such request has been made, seeing there is not, in their judgment, any adequate reason for it, they leave the matter to be attended to by the Secretaries.

"Some conversation then took place, relative to the resignation of Drs. Wardlaw and Heugh, and it was proposed that a deputation should be appointed to wait upon these Gentlemen, to endeavour to induce them to withdraw their resignation. Agreed to defer this for the present.

"The same conclusion was come to respecting the publication of the Correspondence between the Secretaries and these Gentlemen, and also with Mr Sturge."

"At a Meeting of Committee, held 29th March, 1841,

"Present:—Rev. J. M'Tear in the Chair,—afterwards succeeded by W. P. Paton, Esq.; also Rev. Dr. King and W. Anderson, Messrs Maxwell, Blyth, A. Watson, D. Anderson, M'Leod, G. Watson, Langlands, T. Watson, Gunn, Murray, Gallie, and Smeal.

"A draught of the minutes of last meeting was read and approved.

"The Sub-Committee appointed, produced the essay of a letter to the London Committee, which having been read, was, with some alteration, unanimously agreed to, and the Secretaries directed to forward a copy thereof.

"The meeting then entered on the consideration of the circular in behalf of Mr Collins and his mission, which was ordered at last meeting to be prepared by the Secretaries, addressed to the Abolitionists of the United Kingdom. Much discussion took place, both before and after the circular was read; Dr. King and Mr D. Anderson, urging, at considerable length, that the matter be delayed—some others being of the same sentiment; while the majority of the meeting, on the other hand, considering that as the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* had always been in connexion with the American Anti-Slavery Society, and no valid reasons having as yet appeared to warrant our departure from that connexion; considering also, that the Committee had, at last meeting, by a decided majority, received Mr Collins as the accredited agent of the American Society, it therefore appeared to them to be only a proper, and legitimate, and consistent course, for the Committee now to agree to, and forthwith issue, the circular on Mr Collins's behalf.

"On the vote being taken, that the circular be *adopted*, Mr D. Anderson moved, as an amendment, that the matter be delayed, which was seconded by Mr Langlands. The amendment, however, was lost by a majority of two to one. The names being as follows:—

"For *Delay*—Messrs D. Anderson, Langlands, Dr. King, Blyth, and Paton.—5

"For *adopting* the circular—Messrs A. Watson, M'Leod, G. Watson, Murray, T. Watson, Smeal, Gunn, Maxwell, Gallie, and Rev. J. M'Tear.—10.

"A lengthened conversation followed the recording of the votes; when

it was mutually agreed on both sides, in order to promote, if possible, greater unanimity in the Committee, that the *issuing* of the Circular should be considered at an adjourned Meeting, to be held on Tuesday the 13th of next month; of which Meeting the Secretaries were instructed to give timely notice, by issuing the cards, to the ministers especially, several days previous.

"The following Gentlemen were appointed a Deputation to wait upon Drs. Wardlaw and Heugh, to endeavour to prevail upon them to recall their resignation, and continue to act with the Committee, viz., Dr. King, Dr. Watson, and Mr Paton."

"CIRCULAR IN BEHALF OF MR COLLINS.

"*To the Abolitionists of the United Kingdom.*

"Dear Friends,—The Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, in commending to the Abolitionists of the United Kingdom, their Transatlantic friend and brother, John A. Collins, the Representative of the Original American Anti-Slavery Society, beg your attentive and serious consideration of the following reasons which induce them thus to bespeak for Mr Collins, your confidence and liberality.

"That principle of humanity and religion which led you to labour and sacrifice for the Abolition of Slavery in our own Colonies, can never slumber while the same foul system continues to pollute any of the Governments of this World. In no country does the system of Slavery exist in so frightful and wicked a form, as in the United States of North America. It may be considered as emphatically the stronghold of Slavery. The civil, political, and religious interests of the whole country, previous to the benevolent and untiring efforts of American Abolitionists, were governed by a Slave-holding policy. This system received homage from *every* class of Society. It had poisoned the heart of the nation, and forced its life blood through every vein of the body politic, corrupting and cursing it at its touch. It had smothered the pulpit in its folds, and silenced the voice of the preacher with respect to this greatest of the national sins. Yet the American Anti-Slavery Society and its Auxiliaries have been permitted, in spite of an unexampled combination of opposing influences, to witness an amount of success attending their labours, which has seldom if ever crowned any work of moral reformation during the same space of time. The rights of the Coloured man are now to some extent boldly advocated from the press. The pulpit now not unfrequently resounds with the pleadings of impartial humanity, and the prayers of all-comprehensive love. In many churches, the equality of the Gospel is beginning to be recognized; and in these, there is no longer a '*Negro Pew.*' In some colleges and seminaries, and in many schools, may be seen the White and the Coloured youth meeting together, jointly to study those laws, those discoveries of science, and those humanities of literature, in which it is the will of Him who has kindled the light of reason in the minds of both, that they should feel a sympathetic interest. These are important changes, and others not less so might be named, in the production of which the American Society and its Auxiliaries, have been, under God, mainly instrumental. No revolution in public sentiment has been more extraordinary, more hopeful, or more important. Notwithstanding the success which has attended their labours, the work is far, very far from being accomplished, much, very much, still remains to be done.

"In advocating this righteous object, great sacrifices have been made by many of its ardent supporters. To sustain the cause, some have devoted their time and purse, others have contributed to the extent of their means, and others still have denied themselves even some of the comforts of life. It is estimated that this Society, independent of the amount expended by its Auxiliaries, in the short space of seven years, has expended for the distribution of books, getting up of petitions, sustaining of Agents, &c., more than £50,000 sterling. From a combination of circumstances, the American Anti-Slavery Society is at the present time greatly in need of pecuniary assistance, to enable it to prosecute its unequal warfare against American Slavery. The pecuniary embarrassments to which the Republics of North America have, for the last few years, been subjected, have greatly diminished the Society's resources; but the great cause of its present distress, has arisen from the opposition which the American Society and its Auxiliaries have received, from those who have seceded from their ranks. Many have made the existing differences an excuse for not contributing in behalf of the great and praiseworthy object of the Society, and this again has tended to paralyze the efforts of many who formerly appeared its firm friends.

"The Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* have watched with pain, the history and progress of these unhappy divisions among the Abolitionists of America. Were they to consult their own feelings, they would gladly keep aloof from their differences, and leave the Societies in America to fight their own battles; but the cause of Three Millions of oppressed Negroes in that Country, and the truly noble and catholic principles upon which the American Anti-Slavery Society is based, will not allow them to remain longer silent. By its constitution, that Society can proscribe no person on account of their condition, or their opinions on other subjects, but is bound to give the right hand of fellowship to all who are willing to labour for the overthrow of Slavery. So far as this Committee have been able to examine the subject, the American Anti-Slavery Society has adhered strictly to its constitution, and has uniformly refused to entertain, *as a Society*, any question foreign to the Emancipation of those in bondage.

"As regards the lamentable separations that have taken place among their Abolition friends in the United States, whilst this Committee have for some time past had these under consideration, they feel bound to acknowledge that they have not yet obtained information to warrant their withdrawing confidence from the American Anti-Slavery Society, which, so far as appears, is acting entirely on the defensive. As that Society is the only National Institution which this Committee has hitherto known in America, whose object is the Immediate Abolition of the Slave System, and with which they have now co-operated for the last seven years, they therefore consider themselves virtually pledged to continue that co-operation, so long as that Society continues to labour with its accustomed efficiency, energy, and devotion, or until we shall see sufficient reasons for withholding it. The Committee hope, that those individuals or Committees, into whose hands this Circular may fall, will come to no conclusion regarding the state of parties among Abolitionists in America, until after a careful and impartial investigation; but that, in the meantime, as it were treason to the cause of humanity to allow our efforts to slumber, pending investigation, the Committee trust the Friends of Freedom in the United Kingdom, who have a single eye to the Universal Abolition of Slavery, will, with us, give Mr Collins a cordial reception, and the Society he represents all the aid which it may be in their power to bestow.

"This Committee have had submitted to them, the credentials of which Mr Collins is the bearer, from the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, which ably defend the policy and proceedings of the former Society. Its situation at present, is such as calls for our sympathies, our contributions, and our prayers. Let us hasten thereby to aid in the extermination of the monstrous Slave System from the United States, and then that great and otherwise interesting Country, with its moral and political influence among the nations, will unite with the Friends of Liberty in this Kingdom, to expel Slavery and the Slave Trade from the face of the habitable Globe.

"Signed," &c.

GLASGOW, 29*th March*, 1841.

"At an adjourned Meeting of Committee, held 13th April, 1841,

"Present:—Wm. P. Paton, Esq. in the chair,—Rev. Messrs. Eadie, Harvey, King, Lindsay, and Dr Heugh—also Messrs Anderson, Kettle, Reid, A. Watson, Thorburn, Langlands, Dr. Watson, T. Watson, White, Macintyre, Dick, Murray, Gallie, Smeal, Young, Stewart, Mathie, Lethem, M'Leod, and Dr Maxwell.

"Read and passed Minutes of last meeting.

"Mr Paton, as Convener of the Deputation, appointed to wait on Drs Wardlaw and Heugh, reported that Dr King, Dr Watson, and himself, had had an interview with these gentlemen, on the subject of their resignation of office as Vice-Presidents of this Society, &c., and stated to the meeting sundry grounds upon which they would be willing to withdraw their resignation, and still to act with the Committee, which were substantially those embodied in the Resolutions subsequently moved by Dr King, and carried.

"On the subject of *issuing* the Circular adopted at last meeting, in behalf of Mr Collins, the following Resolutions were proposed as an amendment by Dr King, which were seconded by Dr Heugh—Mr Murray moved the previous question, and on the vote being taken, the amendment was carried by a majority of fourteen to nine.

"For the amendment, Rev. Drs Heugh and King, and Messrs Harvey, Lindsay, and Eadie—also Messrs Macintyre, Dick, Lethem, Stewart, Langlands, Kettle, D. Anderson, Young, and Paton—fourteen.

"For issuing the Circular—Dr Watson, Dr Maxwell, and Messrs T. Watson, White, M'Leod, Reid, A. Watson, Murray, and Smeal—nine.

"The following is the amendment proposed by Dr King:—

"For the purpose of preventing division among the friends of Negro Emancipation in Glasgow, and with the view of obtaining all necessary information on questions of great importance before finally deciding upon them—

"Resolved—1. That this Committee disclaims giving any judgment on what is called the Woman's Rights question, and is not to be understood, from anything that has happened, as pledging itself to a recognition of such rights.

"2. That as there are now two Anti-Slavery Societies in America, one called the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the other the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and as there are many members in each of these Societies, who were wont to be held in high estimation as friends of the Slave, by Emancipationists in this country, no preference be meanwhile expressed, or in any way indicated of either of these Societies over

the other, but all diligence exercised to obtain the fullest information respecting both of them, in the hope of thereby reaching a unanimous or harmonious estimate of their comparative claims.

"3. That this Committee, in accordance with the preceding Resolutions, abstain from identifying itself with any publication or agent of either of the forenamed American Societies, till the most ample opportunity has been afforded of investigating their differences."

"Dr King moved that the Resolutions be printed, which was agreed to, and committed to the care of the Secretaries.

"A Remonstrance from fifty-nine members and friends of the Society, in reference to giving Mr Collins a public hearing, was then read; and it was agreed to send as a reply, a copy of the Resolutions just adopted.

"The same reply was also agreed to be sent to a letter now received and read, signed by the chairman of a public meeting held this day, of the Female Abolitionists of this city, conveying to this Committee a resolution of said meeting,—that George Thompson, Esq., be invited in conjunction with John A. Collins, Esq., to address the members and friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, on the subject of the differences at present existing among the Abolitionists of America. Also informing the Committee, that a Memorial to Mr Thompson, signed by 308 members and friends of the Society, requesting him to address them on the same subject, was ready for presentation—which Memorial the subscribers wished the Committee to forward along with the aforesaid Resolution, to Mr Thompson.

"It was further agreed, that the Secretaries should forward to Dr Wardlaw, and also to Mr Collins, a copy of the Resolutions."

REMONSTRANCE,

To the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

GENTLEMEN,—We, members and friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, being anxious to see the integrity of this Institution maintained, and its humane object promoted, most respectfully request that you inform us and the Society at large, with as little delay as possible, why J. A. Collins, the representative of the Original Anti-Slavery Society in America, has not been afforded an opportunity of stating publicly to you and to the Society, the objects of his mission? It is well known, that there has been a division among our American friends, and that Mr Collins has come to Glasgow for the purpose of securing a continuance of that friendly co-operation, which has existed between us and the Society which he represents since its formation, and that he is able to communicate the information we at present so much require, in reference to the position of the American Abolitionists. Mr Collins has been here for the last six weeks, patiently waiting for an opportunity of defending the old Society from the aspersions of the new one. *He* is now about to leave this country. What will the noble-minded men of America, who have maintained their integrity in this righteous struggle think of us, when their representative has to tell on his return, that the very men who sent George Thompson across the Atlantic at the peril of his life, to inspire the American mind with sympathy for the oppressed, have refused to receive an American delegate from the very Association in which we have all along been so deeply interested? We regard it as due to the American Anti-Slavery Society—to their representative—and to ourselves, that the reasons for this unprecedented conduct be

plainly stated. It surely cannot be a departure from our original zeal in behalf of the Slave, or the fear of having our minds enlightened on a subject of such vital importance to the oppressed, that is thus stultifying our movements. Whatever be the cause, we entreat it be made *public*, that no misunderstanding exists between us and our trans-Atlantic brethren, who in the midst of much persecution, are maintaining the integrity of our principles. Let us beware of doing, or omitting to do, aught that might incur the responsibility of disheartening such men as the Garrisons, the Chapmans, the Childs, and their devoted coadjutors.—We are, Gentlemen, yours in the cause of the Slave,

William Lang, 33, Duke Street.
William Reid, 33, Duke Street.
James Turner, Thrushgrove.
Chas. & Henry Dow, 231, High St.
John Comrie, 12, Glebe Street.
Peter Bruce, 10, College Street.
Robert Simpson, 50, Candleriggs.
Robert M'Kay, 123, Candleriggs.
James Alexander, 123, Candleriggs.
James Reid, 71, Queen Street.
John Dalziel, 62, Queen Street.
David Smith, 173, Trongate.
Mary Welsh, 33, Duke Street.
Peebles Wright, Commercial Road.
Mrs P. Wright, Commercial Road.
Mrs R. M'Farlan, 3, Lawmoor Pl.
Janet Wright, 27, Commercial Rd.
J. Wright, jun., 27, Commercial Rd.
James Dunn, 33, Govan Street.
Christina Dunn, 33, Govan Street.
Mary Dunn, 33, Govan Street.
Elizabeth Dunn, 33, Govan Street.
Duncan Bayne, 71, Commercial Rd.
Cathrine Grahame, do. do.
Matilda Duff, 70, St. George's Pl.
Thos. Bayne, 71, Commercial Road.
Andw. Paul, 71, Commercial Road.
Robert Reid, 33, Duke Street.
Janet M'Kenzie, 77, Commercial Rd.
Janet Paul, 71, Commercial Road.
Hugh Muir, 45, Crown Street.
R. Wright, 33, King Street.
W. Wright, Govan Croft Dyeworks.
J. Wright, Govan Croft Dyeworks
Jonathan Cartmill, 44, High Street.
Charles M'Millan, 141, Bridgegate.
Duncan Livingston, Springbank.
John Dick, 56, Crown Street.
Alexander Campbell, 1, Coburg St.
Robert Barr, Spring Place.
Thomas Steel, 21, Thistle Street.
Robert Steel, 21, Thistle Street.
Peter Fergus, 10, Eglinton Street.
John M'Nee, 3, Muirhead Street.
James Wallace, 47, Crown Street.
Wm. Fulton, 67, Eglinton Street.
Mrs Fulton, 67, Eglinton Street.
Wm. M'Comb, 60, Oxford Street.
Wm. Cochran, 8, Norfolk Court.
William Crawford, 72, Eglinton St.
Mrs W. Crawford, 72, Eglinton St.
James Crawford, 72, Eglinton St.
A. Broom, 52, Bridge Street.
E. Daniel, 43, Bridge Street.
J. Daniel, 43, Bridge Street.
Mrs Jackson, 48, Norfolk Street.
Agnes Fisher, 48, Norfolk Street.
J. M'Nair, Greenlaw Place, Paisley Road.

GLASGOW, *6th of 4th Month*, 1841.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—I have the pleasure to acknowledge receipt of a letter to the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, signed by thyself and 58 other members and friends of the Society, which I shall lay before a meeting of the Committee, to be held on the 13th current, that date having been fixed upon at a previous meeting; as, from local circumstances, we could not conveniently meet on an earlier day.—Respectfully thine,

WM. SMEAL,

One of the Secretaries to the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

TO ROBERT REID.

The following was intended to have been presented to the Committee personally, by three gentlemen, on behalf of those who conducted the Meeting of Ladies; but the Committee declining to receive them when they called with the Memorial, they had no alternative but to send it in by the Beadle :—

MEMORIAL.

TRADES' HALL, *Glasgow*, 13*th April*, 1841.

To the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

GENTLEMEN,—We have been instructed to forward you the following Resolution, unanimously agreed to at a Public Meeting of Ladies, held here this forenoon :—

"That George Thompson, Esq., be invited, in conjunction with J. A. Collins, Esq., to address the members and friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, on the subject of the differences at present existing among the Abolitionists of America."

We are also instructed to inform you that a memorial to George Thompson, Esq., signed by 308 members and friends of your Society, requesting him to address them on the above-mentioned subject, is ready for presentation. This Committee having no wish to interfere with your operations, are desirous that the resolutions and memorial be forwarded by you. Owing to Mr Thompson's engagements at Manchester on the 19th instant, the proposed meeting will require to be held this week.

Hoping you will be agreeable to the above proposal, we are, gentlemen, yours, &c.

(Signed) R. WRIGHT, *Chairman.*

P. S.—It may be proper to state that no reference whatever was made to the American dispute, at the meeting of to-day.

An answer will be expected by to-morrow morning.

R. W.

Extract of a letter from Mr George Thompson, dated Manchester, March 16th, 1841, conveying his judgment as to the power of the Sub-Committee *finally* to amend the Annual Report, without referring it back to the whole Committee :—

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have just perused your favour of the 14th. You will perceive at once my inability to get my views before the Committee at your meeting this evening. Had your letter come earlier into my possession, I would have written such a reply as might have been read at the Council Board. I have a strong impression that, when the amended paragraph was drawn up in Mr Kettle's Counting-house, those concerned were acting under the appointment of the Committee, with full and final powers. Of this, I cherish no doubt whatever. I have not the Report by me to refer to, but do not think there is any thing in the paragraph, as it stands, to offend a liberal mind, or call for censure or revocation."

"MR J. MURRAY, Bowling-Bay."

Such is a detail of the proceedings of the Committee up to the Public Meeting in Albion-Street Chapel, on the 16th April; since which, no meeting of Committee has been held; and the Public Meeting just referred to, and that held in the Bazaar, on the 27th, (which *unanimously* voted that this correspondence should be published,) have both been managed, *independently* of the Committee, by members and friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, who are the *constituents* of that Committee; and who can, *at any time*, unquestionably, *if they see fit*, cashier those who are *their servants;* add to their number; or call them to account; in *the very same way* as a Parliamentary constituency does its representatives in the House of Commons.

JOHN MURRAY,
WILLIAM SMEAL,
Secretaries to the Glasgow Emancipation Society.

GLASGOW, 15*th May*, 1841.

LETTER FROM MR GEORGE THOMPSON.

THE following Letter from Mr Thompson, having come to hand, just as this pamphlet was leaving the press, we insert it here for the information of the members and friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*. We are persuaded, it will be perused with deep interest; and that the sentiments it contains, will receive that respectful attention, to which, from the character of the writer as an uncompromising Abolitionist, they are so justly entitled.

JOHN MURRAY.
WILLIAM SMEAL.

MANCHESTER, *May* 17*th*, 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—You have intimated to me, that, it is the wish of some of the Members of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, that I should state my opinions on the following points, viz.:—

1. Whether the American Anti-Slavery Society, (founded in 1833,) has deviated from its Constitution and original principles? and
2. Whether there exists any sufficient reason for the friends of the Emancipation cause in this country, withholding their sympathy and co-operation from that Society?

My engagements will not permit me to express myself at large upon these particulars; but, I feel no hesitation in conveying in brief language, an opinion, founded upon, I think, a full and accurate knowledge of the Society's operations from the commencement of its existence, and an intimate and endeared acquaintance with many of its most distinguished and

devoted friends. My opinion is, that, the Society has maintained inviolate, both in the letter and in the spirit, the admirable constitution which it originally adopted; and that it has been steadily true to the high principles put forth in its noble declaration—promulgated at the same time.

Such being my deliberate opinion, it is scarcely necessary for me to add, that I consider the Society still entitled to the sincere sympathy, the unabated confidence, and the earnest co-operation of the friends of the Slave in this kingdom.

For my own part, I cannot suffer any differences of opinion on other points, to sever me from those whose love for the Anti-Slavery cause I believe to be, at least, fully equal to my own. While I entertain my present conviction that the American Anti-Slavery Society remains firm in its allegiance to the cause it has espoused, I shall feel it to be, as I have ever done, an honour to be regarded as one of its humble supporters, and to share any reproaches with which it may be assailed.—I am, my dear friend, yours very truly,

GEO. THOMPSON.

Mr Wm. Smeal.

Printed by Aird & Russell, 75, Argyll Street, Glasgow.

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BRITAIN AND AMERICA UNITED

IN THE CAUSE OF

UNIVERSAL FREEDOM:

BEING THE

THIRD ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY:

CONTAINING IMPORTANT INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THE WORKING OF THE APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM IN THE WEST INDIES;
PROGRESS OF THE EMANCIPATION CAUSE IN THE UNITED STATES;
HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION IN TEXAS;
INTERESTING MOVEMENTS OF RELIGIOUS BODIES IN GREAT BRITAIN, DURING THE PAST YEAR;
THE SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, &c. &c. &c.

1837.

GLASGOW:
PRINTED BY AIRD & RUSSELL, 75, ARGYLL STREET;
AND SOLD BY G. GALLIE, BUCHANAN STREET;
J. M'LEOD, ARGYLL STREET; D. ROBERTSON, TRONGATE;
AND WILLIAM SMEAL, GALLOWGATE.

MDCCCXXXVII.

ANNUAL MEETING.

GLASGOW, 13*th March*, 1837.

ACCORDING to previous Advertisement, the Third Annual Meeting of the GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, was held this evening, at 7 o'clock, in the Rev. WILLIAM ANDERSON'S Chapel, John Street.

ROBERT GRAHAME, Esq., of Whitehill, the President of the Society, being absent from indisposition,* on the motion of WALTER BUCHANAN, Esq., the Rev. Dr. HEUGH, one of the Vice-Presidents, was called to the Chair.

The Chairman, after introducing the business, called upon Mr Murray, one of the Secretaries, to read an Abstract of the Annual Report. Mr Beith, the Treasurer, having also read a statement of the pecuniary affairs of the Society; the following RESOLUTIONS were then *unanimously* adopted, viz.:—

I. Moved by the *Rev. Alexander Harvey*, of the Relief Chapel, Calton, and seconded by *Wm. P. Paton, Esq.*,

"That the Report now read be adopted, printed, and circulated, under the direction of the Committee."

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* The following letter from Mr Grahame, addressed to one of the Secretaries, was received next morning:—

"WHITEHILL, 14*th March*, 1837.

"MY DEAR SIR,—On going home yesterday afternoon, I became so unwell that I was unable to attend the meeting, and am now obliged to confine myself to the house. I received, yesterday, a London newspaper, giving an account of the death, by the upsetting of a chaise, of the only son, indeed the only child, of the venerable Thomas Clarkson, the prime mover and chief instrument of providence, in the Abolition of the Slave-trade.

I am, my dear Sir,
Yours truly,
"MR SMEAL. ROBERT GRAHAME."

Every Abolitionist throughout the United Kingdom, indeed we might say throughout the world, will deeply sympathise with the venerable apostle of African Freedom, in the sudden bereavement he has been called to sustain, in the removal by an unexpected and violent death, of his only son. It should be the prayer of every Christian, that divine consolation and aid may be communicated to the aged mourner; and that, if it be the will of God, he may survive to behold the final and entire overthrow of that atrocious system, which, with unequalled ability, patience, and fortitude, he has for so many years laboured to abolish.

II. Moved by the *Rev. William Anderson*, of John Street Relief Chapel, and seconded by *Donald Macintyre, Esq.*,

"*Resolved*,—That according to the natural rights of the species, the revealed will of God, and the common law of this country, our fellow-subjects in all the British dependencies are entitled to Immediate, Unconditional, and Entire Freedom:

"That this Society has ever regarded the system of Apprenticeship, imposed by the Imperial Abolition Act, upon the Negroes of the West Indies, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Island of Mauritius, as most unjust in principle—an unnecessary and cruel restriction upon their liberties—contrary to the repeated assurances of Lord Althorp, that the Government measure should be 'safe and satisfactory,'—and as setting at naught the determination officially and solemnly recorded by the Anti-Slavery Associations of the United Kingdom, through their *three hundred and thirty-nine Delegates* assembled in London in 1833—to oppose by every constitutional means, any measure which, professing to meet the claims of justice, 'would leave the Negro half a Slave and half a Freeman:'

"That the experience of the working of the Apprenticeship System in the Colonies, since the 1st of August, 1834, has more than justified the strong disapprobation and fears previously expressed by the Friends of the Slave, while the results of *Immediate* and Unconditional Emancipation in Antigua and the Bermudas, have afforded additional proof of the fitness of the Negro for *unabridged* personal freedom:

"That evidence the most ample and incontrovertible has shown the Apprenticeship scheme to be vexatious and oppressive in its operation; favourable to the continued exercise of a cruel and arbitrary power on the part of the Manager, and other interested persons; and that instead of fulfilling the promise of Mr Stanley, and being a condition in which the Negro 'would enjoy every right and every privilege of a freeman,' it is one of degrading *bondage*, coerced and uncompensated *labour*, of brutalizing *subjection* to Plantation despotism, and of almost friendless exposure to the worst incidents by which the hateful system of Colonial Slavery has ever been distinguished:

"That this Society, firmly believing 'Apprenticeship' to be but another name for *Slavery*, would express its deep abhorrence and utter condemnation of the system, and its conviction, that it is the duty of Abolitionists throughout the kingdom to demand, in the name of humanity and religion, that it be immediately abolished, and that the Negro be forthwith raised to a state of unqualified freedom, and be governed by laws framed in all respects on the same principle as those to which his white fellow-subjects are amenable."

This Resolution was supported by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and also by *Dr. Prince* from Jamaica.

III. Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and seconded by *Walter Buchanan, Esq.* :—

"*Resolved*,—That, as the object which this Society, in conjunction with kindred Institutions, aims to accomplish, is nothing less than the Universal Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade, it is essentially requisite, that its vast extent and importance should be steadily kept in view; and that deep consideration should be given, by the Christian world, to the great interests, immediate and collateral, connected with it:

"That, as nearly *Six Millions* of our fellow-*Im*mortals (exclusive of a very large number held to various kinds of involuntary servitude in British India), are the victims of a system of Slavery, at once unjust, cruel, and debasing, adminstered by States nominally Christian; and as this system is the parent of the atrocious Slave-trade, by which 80,000 human beings are annually torn from Africa, and at least double that number murdered in the wars necessary to obtain them—it is a duty incumbent on the friends of humanity to seek the removal of these malignant evils, by proclaiming everywhere the doctrine of Immediate, Entire, and Universal Emancipation:

"That, while we contemplate the magnitude of the work yet to be performed, we are called upon to record our deep and unfeigned gratitude to God, for the animating and amply compensating success with which, during the past year, He has been pleased to crown the exertions of the friends of Emancipation, on both sides of the Atlantic."

Thanks having been moved by the *Rev. James M'Tear*, to the Rev. William Anderson, and the Managers, for granting the use of their Chapel, the Meeting, at 11 o'clock, adjourned to Wednesday evening, in Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel.

ADJOURNED MEETING.

Wednesday, *March* 15*th*.

Wm. P. Paton, Esq., in the absence of the Rev. Dr. Heugh, was called to the Chair.

The Resolutions passed at the meeting on Monday evening, having been read by Mr William Smeal, one of the Secretaries, it was—

IV. Moved by the *Rev. John Boyd*, Secession Minister, one

of the Secretaries of the Paisley Emancipation Society, and seconded by the *Rev. Alex. Frazer*, Independent Minister, Alloa:—

"*Resolved*,—That we cordially congratulate our Abolition brethren in the United States of America, upon the mighty progress and auspicious aspect of the Cause of Freedom in their land; and our hearts being warmed, and our zeal stimulated by their noble and praiseworthy exertions, we cheerfully respond to their call for continued co-operation, and would assure them of our entire confidence, our fervent sympathy, and unceasing prayers."

V. Moved by the *Rev. Patrick Brewster*, one of the Ministers of the Abbey Parish, Paisley, and seconded by *James M'Cune Smith, Esq., M.D.*:—

"*Resolved*,—That the labours of Mr George Thompson, our devoted, and faithful, and indefatigable Agent, during the past year, are entitled to, and do now receive, our unqualified approbation:—That, believing it of the highest importance that he should continue his services in the Cause of Emancipation, we earnestly request him to renew his engagement to the Committee; pledging ourselves, in the event of his compliance, to sustain him in the prosecution of his arduous and philanthropic career:—it being our determination never to give up the work of peaceful agitation and moral interference, on behalf of the victims of oppression, until every unrighteous yoke is broken, and Slavery ceases from the face of the earth."

Mr Thompson, at this stage of the business, addressed the Meeting, and on his part, also pledged himself in reference to the foregoing Resolution.

VI. Moved by the *Rev. Dr. Kidston*, and seconded by the *Rev. Andrew Somerville*, of Dumbarton,—both of the United Secession Church:—

"*Resolved*,—That, in conformity with the Resolutions of last Public Meeting of this Society, the Remonstrance with the people of the United States of America, especially with Christian professors there, now read, be adopted, and signed by the President and other Office-Bearers of the Glasgow Emancipation Society."

[The *Remonstrance* will be found after the Speeches.]

VII. Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and seconded by the *Rev. Thomas Pullar*,* of the Independent Chapel, Albion Street:—

Resolved,—"That it appears fully evident to this Society, that the struggle to achieve the Independence of Texas, is not a struggle for the acquirement or maintenance of Civil and Religious Liberty, but

* The Rev. Dr Wardlaw had engaged to second the motion of Mr Thompson, but the delicate state of his health prevented him from being present.

for the privilege of *holding Slaves*, and carrying on the *Slave-trade;* and that the triumph of the Texian arms would, therefore, be calamitous to the Cause of Universal Freedom:

"That the 9th Section of the Constitution adopted by the revolted Texians, demonstrates the inconsistency and falsehood of their profession of attachment to the principles of righteous liberty,—is an infamous and wicked document, reflecting the deepest disgrace upon its framers, and deserving the unmitigated execration of mankind:

"That the offer made by the Texians to the United States, of an exclusive monopoly of the TRADE IN SLAVES, should have been resented as a gross insult to the moral sense of the nation; and that its acceptance is a melancholy proof of the deadening and demoralizing influence of the Slave system:

"That we regard with the highest admiration and respect, the exalted and independent conduct of the Honourable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, in the United States' Congress, in pleading for the Emancipation of the Slave, and in exposing the very suspicious conduct of the United States' Government, in regard to Mexico and Texas."

VIII. Moved by *Bailie William Craig*, and seconded by *Mr David Smith*, one of the Pastors of the Baptist Church, George Street:—

"*Resolved*,—That we present our warmest acknowledgments to the 'Ladies' Auxiliary' of this City, for their exertions in aid of our Funds, and earnestly request them to continue their valuable co-operation: and that we also tender our cordial thanks to those friends of Universal Freedom, who, as Societies or otherwise, have, during the past year, remitted contributions to this Society."

IX. Moved by *J. S. Blyth, Esq.*, and carried by acclamation:—

"That the following be the Office-Bearers and Committee of this Society, for the ensuing year:—(*See List, page* 8.)

X. Moved by *Jas. Beith, Esq.*, and carried by acclamation:—

"That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the REV. DR. WARDLAW and the Trustees, for their kindness in granting the use of their Chapel."

XI. Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and carried by acclamation:—

"That the cordial thanks of this Meeting are due, and are hereby given, to the REV. DR. HEUGH, and WILLIAM P. PATON, ESQ., for their conduct in the Chair."

H. HEUGH, D.D.,
WILLIAM P. PATON, } *Chairmen.*

OFFICE-BEARERS.

President,

ROBERT GRAHAME, Esq., of Whitehill.

Vice-Presidents,

REV. DR WARDLAW, REV. DR HEUGH, REV. DR KIDSTON,
ANTHONY WIGHAM, Esq., Aberdeen.

Treasurer,

JAMES BEITH, Esq.,

Secretaries,

MESSRS. JOHN MURRAY and WILLIAM SMEAL.

Committee,

Rev. William Anderson,
William Auld,
William Brash,
John Duncan,
John Eadie,
John Edwards,
Greville Ewing,
Alexander Harvey,
John Johnstone,
David King,
William Lindsay,
James M'Tear,
James Paterson,
Thomas Pullar,
Michael Willis,
Messrs. David Anderson,
J. S. Blyth,
Hugh Brown, Jun.,
William Brown,
Walter Buchanan,
Robert Connel,
William Craig,
G. C. Dick,
William Ferguson,
John Fleming,
Messrs. George Gallie,
Thomas Grahame,
Robert Kettle,
Henry Langlands,
Patrick Lethem,
Donald Macintyre,
John Maxwell, M.D.,
Colin M'Dougal,
Ninian M'Gilp,
Anthony M'Keand,
David M'Laren,
John M'Leod,
John M'Leod, Argyll Street,
William P. Paton,
John Reid,
David Smith,
James M'Cune Smith, M.D.,
Robert Sanderson,
James Stewart,
George Thorburn,
Archibald Watson,
George Watson,
James Watson,
William White,
Andrew Young.

Honorary and Corresponding Members,

George Thompson, Esq.
William Lloyd Garrison, Esq., Boston, New England.
Arthur Tappan, Esq., New York.
James G. Birney, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio.
M. George Washington Lafayette, } Paris.
M. Victor de Tracey, }
James Johnston, Esq., Upper Canada.
Rev. Thomas Roberts, Bristol.
Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P.
Joseph Sturge, Esq., Birmingham.
Rev. Nathaniel Paul, of Wilberforce Settlement, Upper Canada.
Rev. Patrick Brewster, Paisley.

REPORT, &c.

In presenting to their constituents and the public, their Third Annual Report, the Committee of The Glasgow Emancipation Society have great pleasure in recording the successful progress which, through the blessing of God, has been made during the past year, in the great cause in which they have been engaged.

It will be remembered, that two important documents were passed at last Annual Meeting—a Petition to Parliament for the Entire Abolition of the Apprenticeship System in the British Colonies, and the Complete Emancipation of the Slaves, as in Antigua and the Bermudas;—and a Memorial to the Government, requesting them to examine into the alleged illegal importation of Slaves into the Mauritius,—to take measures to Emancipate those illegally imported,—and to deduct a proportionate amount from the Compensation allotted to that Colony, so that the people of this country might not thus be taxed to reward felony.

The Memorial, signed by the Chairman, on behalf of the Meeting, was sent to Lord Melbourne, who replied, " That it should have that attention which the importance of the subject, and the respectability of the Memorialists, entitled it to." The Petition to the Lords was also entrusted to Lord Melbourne; and was, by his Lordship, presented to the House.

The Petition to the Commons, signed by 29,830 of the inhabitants of this city and suburbs, was sent to Thomas F. Buxton, Esq., M. P.; but from some unforeseen detention after its arrival in London, was not put into his hands until he had submitted his Motion respecting the Colonies to the House. In his letter, acknowledging its receipt, Mr Buxton said, " He would take another opportunity of bringing the Petition under the notice of the House, as he considered it an im-

portant one." Letters were also received from James Oswald, Daniel O'Connell, and Joseph Pease, Esqs., Members of Parliament, promising to support our Petition.

Agreeably to the direction of last Annual Meeting, your Committee prepared an "Address to the Ministers of Religion, in particular; and the friends of Negro Emancipation in general,"—on the importance and duty of remonstrating with their Christian brethren in America, on the sin and guilt, in the sight of God, and scandal to their Christian profession, of keeping their black and coloured fellow-men in bondage. Upwards of 1300 copies of the Address were printed and circulated; and, strenuously supported as this appeal has been, in many places, by our excellent friend, and unceasing advocate of the cause, George Thompson, Esq.,—a continuance of whose invaluable services the Society had agreed to request—it has, we trust, been productive, in a good degree, of its intended effect.

Convinced of the advantage to the cause of the Negro Apprentices, of their case before the Parliamentary Committee being under the superintendence of that well-known, and tried friend of the Slave, George Stephen, Esq.,—the Chairman of the London Universal Abolition Society—your Committee (as did also those of London, Birmingham, and Edinburgh) earnestly solicited that gentleman to undertake the task of conducting, on behalf of the Colonial Apprentices, the evidence to be taken before the Committee of the House of Commons, on the subject of the Apprenticeship, and on the Mauritius, with which entreaties Mr Stephen frankly complied.

Being informed, in April last, that the Rev. David King and Mr David Anderson, both members of Committee, intended shortly to visit Paris, your Committee appointed these gentlemen a Deputation from this Society to the Society in Paris, for the Universal Abolition of Slavery. The Rev. Dr Heugh was appointed to prepare a letter to the Duc de Broglie, the President of the Paris Society, to be delivered by the deputation; and they were also instructed to call upon Messrs George Washington Lafayette, and Victor de Tracy, both Honorary Members of our Society.

The following is a translation of the Duc de Broglie's reply to Dr. Heugh's letter:—

"Mr Vice-President.

"Sir,—I very much regret losing the opportunity of conversing with the Rev. Mr King and Mr D. Anderson. The letter which you were so kind as to send me by them, unfortunately did not reach me till after my return from the country. I would have attached great importance to an interview with these members of the Society of Glasgow, which you would desire to place in direct relation with the Society for the Abolition of Slavery in Paris, in which I have

the honour to take a part. The instructions that I might have received from them, would no doubt have been very precious to me; and on the other hand, we shall joyfully avail ourselves of the means you suggest, of placing at your disposal all the details with which we are acquainted, that may assist you in attaining the exalted end you have in view. Persevering efforts shall not be wanting on our part, for regulating and carrying the important questions relating to the definite Emancipation of the Slaves. We also consider as one of the purest glories in the history of the world, that of those men who, in your country, have so powerfully contributed by their unceasing activity as well as by the energy of their talents, to cause the disappearance of Slavery from the territories of England. I pray you accept my expression of highest regard, &c., &c., BROGLIE."

Next in the order of events, occurred the Discussion on American Slavery, in the Rev. Dr Wardlaw's Chapel, between Mr George Thompson and the Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, of Baltimore, U. S., which took place on the evenings of the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th of June. This Discussion having soon after been extensively published, your Committee for the present postpone any remarks they may feel called to make upon it, in connection with the general subject. But we think this the proper place to introduce the following Resolution, passed at a Meeting of the Committee, held 21st June, 1836:—

"The Meeting having been summoned to consider what steps should be taken by the Society, to apprize the public of the views we entertain with respect to the Discussion just terminated, betwixt Mr Thompson and the Rev. Mr Breckinridge, it was unanimously resolved, after full consideration and conversation on the subject, that the following be adopted as the judgment of this Committee:—

Resolved,—"That although, in consequence of its having been previously fixed as one of the conditions of said Discussion, that no judgment of the audience should be called for at the close of it, this Committee feel themselves, on obvious grounds of propriety, precluded from publishing at present, in their official capacity, any opinion or decision of their own, which might expose them to the charge of seeking to prepossess unduly the minds of the community;—they cannot but regard it, at the same time, as a sacred duty—and it is a duty they have the liveliest satisfaction in fulfilling—to assure Mr Thompson himself, that the anxious desire expressed by him to meet any antagonist, was considered by them as dictated by the consciousness of integrity, and the confidence of truth; that in their opinion, the result of the Discussion has been to prove these feelings on his part fully warranted;—that he has vindicated his former representations, and subjected them to the scrutiny of a shrewd and able opponent, with credit to himself, and benefit to his cause; his statements having been left, in every material point, unaffected, and the evidence augmented rather than diminished, of the rectitude of his principles, the purity of his motives, the propriety of his measures, and the open honesty, as well as steadfast intrepidity of his zeal; so that he never held a higher place in their estimation, than at the present moment."

On the evening of the 1st of August, the Anniversary of the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies—a Public Meeting of the Members and friends of the Society, was held in the Rev. Dr. Heugh's Chapel. In the previous advertisement convening this Meeting, it was announced that "Resolutions would be proposed, expressive of the sentiments of the Society in reference to the recent Discussion on American Slavery, so

far as Mr Thompson was concerned; their approbation of his conduct in the United States; their unabated confidence in him as their Agent; and their unalterable attachment to the great principle of Immediate, Unconditional, and Universal Emancipation."

To the published account of the proceedings, your Committee prefixed the following as an introduction:—

"The Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society did not feel themselves at liberty to give, at an earlier period after the late Discussion between Mr Thompson and Mr Breckinridge, any public declaration of their judgment relative to the merits and results of that Discussion, in as far as the character and conduct of the former of these two gentlemen were implicated. In the spirit of one of the conditions of the Discussion, namely, that no vote should be taken at the close expressive of the mind of the audience, they delayed convening a Public Meeting for the purpose of expressing their own judgment, and calling for the concurrence of their fellow-citizens, till some time had been allowed for the circulation and perusal of the controversy, as issued from the Press. They now, however, consider it incumbent upon them,—a duty which they owe to Mr Thompson as their known and accredited Agent, and a duty which they owe to themselves and others by whom he was engaged and commissioned, to give publicity to their sentiments—and it is to their minds a source of no small satisfaction, that, judging coolly and deliberately, they can pronounce a verdict favourable, in all respects, to their esteemed Agent and friend, without hesitation and without reserve. For the terms of that verdict, they refer to the first of the Resolutions passed at the Meeting of which an account follows. That Resolution was moved and seconded by the two Ministers of the Gospel, Vice-Presidents of the Society, by whom the chair was filled during the Discussion; by one of them at four, and by the other at one of the meetings. While these gentlemen felt it their duty to maintain the strictest impartiality in presiding on such an occasion, by withholding every indication of their own opinions, and showing equal favour to each of the combatants, they are now exonerated from official restrictions, and entitled, in common with others, to avow their judgment."

The chapel was filled with a large and respectable audience. That veteran in the Anti-Slavery cause, Robert Grahame, Esq., of Whitehill, the President of the Society, who, notwithstanding his advanced age, had been present during the Discussion, was called to the chair; and Resolutions, expressive of the object of the Meeting, were passed unanimously.

The Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, in a luminous speech,—in which he took a review of some of the principal topics involved in the Discussion, and the relative aspect in which, regarding it as a medium, the characters of the two opponents were placed; especially how Mr Thompson was affected by it,—moved the First Resolution, similar in purport to that previously passed by the Committee, which was seconded by the Rev. Dr. Kidston;—the Meeting unanimously signifying their assent, by holding up their hands. The Resolution was as follows:—

"That, in the deliberate judgment of this Meeting, the wish announced by Mr George Thompson to meet publicly any antagonist, especially any Minister of the Gospel from the United States, on the subject of American Slavery, or on any one of the branches of that subject, was dictated by a well-founded consciousness of the integrity of his purpose, and assurance of the correctness of his facts; and that the recent Discussion in this city, between him and the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, of Baltimore, has left, not merely unshaken, but confirmed

and augmented, their confidence in the rectitude of his principles, the purity of his motives, the propriety of his measures, the fidelity of his statements, and the straight-forward honesty and undaunted intrepidity of his zeal."

The Second Resolution was ably moved and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Heugh, and the Rev. John Eadie, viz.:—

"That the Glasgow Emancipation Society considers itself called upon to repeat its unmitigated reprobation of Slavery, as existing in the United States of America, and of that prejudice against Colour, which is at once a result and support of the Slave-system; a system which glaringly violates a great principle in the American constitution, declaring liberty to be the inalienable right of all men; which opposes the spirit and letter of the religion of holy benevolence so extensively professed by the American people; which is productive of an incalculable amount of crime and misery, both among the Two Millions of Slaves and those by whom they are held in bondage; and which must constantly offend Almighty God, and expose that land to the visitations of his displeasure:—that it also repeats the expression of its cordial joy in the rapidity with which the cause of *Immediate Abolition* has spread, and is now spreading in America; in the peaceful, intrepid, and religious spirit, which, amidst good and bad report, the American Abolitionists have been enabled to display; and in the near prospect of bloodless triumph with which Divine Providence already animates their efforts:—and, finally, that it resolves anew, along with its many British allies, to remonstrate with the American people in the spirit of fidelity and love, on the claims of the Negro population; to cheer the Abolitionists of America onward in their path of benevolence, until Slavery shall disappear from the American continent, and America and Britain, already united by many powerful ties, shall consistently and indissolubly unite for the Abolition of Slavery from the face of the earth, and the promotion of the happiness of the whole human family."

The Third Resolution was moved by the Rev. David King, and seconded by David M'Laren, Esq., viz.:—

"That it is of great importance for the friends of freedom in different countries, to co-operate in hastening the extinction of Slavery throughout the world, and that in this conviction the meeting feel much satisfaction in the interchange of friendly acknowledgments that has just passed between the Emancipationists of this city and of Paris."

Your Committee gave an extended publicity to the important proceedings of this Meeting; and they have the satisfaction to state, that both in this country, and in the United States, they have been highly approved.

Having been informed, that John Scoble, Esq., the Secretary of the British and Foreign Abolition Society of London, and Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham, one of the Committee of that Society, intended to make a tour of inspection through the West India Islands, with the view of acquiring accurate information of the working of the Apprenticeship, and of the comparative effects of complete Emancipation in Antigua and the Bermudas;—having the utmost confidence in the integrity and fidelity of these gentlemen, and being desirous to testify their approval of the object they had in view, your Committee passed, and transmitted to them, the following Resolution, viz.:—

Resolved,—"That, considering the difficulty, if not impossibility, of obtaining accurate information of the working of the Apprenticeship system in the West

India Colonies, and of the comparative effects of the *complete* Emancipation conferred on the Negroes in Antigua and the Bermudas, the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society highly approve of the tour of inspection proposed by Joseph Sturge, and John Scoble, Esqrs.,—they have the utmost confidence in the integrity and fidelity of these gentlemen, and believe that the evidence they may obtain may have a powerful effect in exposing the true character and real evils of the Apprenticeship system, and may be instrumental in shortening its duration—as well as in warning other Powers, who have yet to Emancipate their Slaves, to avoid that circuitous scheme, which is equally harassing to the Negroes, unprofitable to the Masters, and unprincipled in its character."

It having been thought that Mr Thompson's indefatigable labours would be somewhat aided, and the people to whom he might occasionally lecture, be instigated to form Abolition Societies, by an Address from a kindred Institution; such an "Address, to the Friends of the Enslaved throughout the Kingdom," was prepared and published in the newspapers, and widely circulated. It was also printed in a separate form, and a quantity given to Mr Thompson for distribution, where he might think proper; and your Committee are inclined to believe, that this measure has tended to increase the number of our fellow-labourers, and aid the funds of the Society.

Such is an outline of the principal matters of business which have come before your Committee since last Annual Meeting. These, however, are transacted at our doors, and give no idea of the progress of the cause—the great work which they are intended to aid in promoting—the *Abolition of Slavery, and the Slave-trade throughout the world.* Our position is at a remote part of the machinery—but although remote, and our weight on the lever small, its influence may be felt; and we know that the remote end of the lever must move, and also move much, before we can produce the desired effect.

But there is an Agent in this holy enterprise, whom we are proud to denominate *our* Agent,—George Thompson, Esq., whose interesting and very efficient labours we must next review. His movements have been somewhat erratic; yet infusing fresh vigour, and imparting additional impetus to the machinery in various departments, and at various stations.

Since our last Annual Meeting, Mr Thompson has visited London, Brighton, Leeds, Manchester, Leicester, York, Bradford, Newcastle, North and South Shields, Sunderland, Durham, Darlington, Hexham, Gateshead, Paisley, Dalkeith, Greenock, Dumbarton, Bonhill, Stirling, &c., in addition to labouring very extensively in Edinburgh, and in this City. Many of the towns we have enumerated, Mr Thompson has visited more than once, delivering Lectures to large audiences, or holding public meetings, at which new societies were formed, or old

societies revived; and resolutions, or remonstrances, or both, passed against Slavery, especially against Slavery in America.

By these resolutions and remonstrances, some of which are appended to this Report, it will be seen, that the people of this country require only to be informed of the state of society in America, to have their sympathies enlisted on the right side—the side of the oppressed and degraded Slaves and *free* Coloured people, crushed by these professedly religious and freedom-boasting republicans.

From most of the above-named towns, Mr Thompson had received pressing invitations—everywhere he was most heartily welcomed—and enthusiastically received by all classes—Chief Magistrates in many cases presiding, and the Ministers of religion, of all denominations, cordially co-operating for the benefit of the outcast Negro.

The effect of these meetings and lectures is, that a great amount of information has been communicated on the subject of Slavery; to which,—notwithstanding the important bearing on the progress of general Liberty, of converting six millions of Slaves into freemen; and the nations holding them in Slavery into liberal Governments, we lament that but a very small portion of the public periodical Press of this country is devoted; and even of that portion, the circulation is very limited.

The correspondence and co-operation of all the existing Anti-Slavery Societies, and the formation of new ones for the Universal Extinction of Slavery, is of the utmost importance; for wherever Societies are formed, a more permanent interest is likely to be maintained; a desire to obtain and extend further information regarding the progress of the cause will be promoted; the religious portion of the community, especially the Ministers connected with these societies, will frequently make its object the subject of their prayers, and the number of the friends of Universal Emancipation will be increased.

The resolutions and remonstrances, expressing the sentiments of so many large and influential public meetings, against American Slavery, will arouse many in this country, into whose hands they may fall, to think seriously on the subject, and to consider what is *their* duty in regard to it; —when sent across the Atlantic, they will strike conviction into the hearts of many, who may see themselves seriously and solemnly reproved, either for the sin of cruelly oppressing and degrading *their*, and *our* fellow-men, or for being so far participators in other men's sins, in not reproving those who do so, or in not using every means in their power

to remove from themselves and their country, their reproach among the nations, and their guilt in the sight of God, of holding in Slavery more than *Two and-a-half Millions* of their people; and treating with an unjust and iniquitous prejudice, a large portion of their fellow-subjects, whom God has made to differ *only in complexion.*

The remonstrances of religious bodies—of Congregations, Presbyteries, and Synods, addressed, as several have been in the course of the year, to similar bodies in America, and by them gratefully received, may be expected to have a very beneficial effect on those to whom they were addressed, in awakening them from that lethargy in which they have been so long lying, in regard to this iniquitous system, and in rescuing them from the impending danger of continuing in such a sinful course, or in countenancing those who do.

Those religious societies in this country, who, by an annual exchange of deputations with bodies of the same denomination in America, keep up a friendly intercourse with each other, are not likely hereafter, to send as delegates, Ministers who will compromise their own or the Anti-Slavery principles of those they represent, by a deficiency of moral courage in advocating the Abolition cause on the other side of the Atlantic; nor are the Christian Societies there, likely to send Ministers here, who are either Slave-holders, or not Abolitionists—knowing if they do, they will not be admitted into British pulpits. This position has arisen out of the investigation into the conduct of the Rev. Drs. Cox and Hoby—first publicly alluded to in last year's Report, and now pretty well sifted in London, Birmingham, and elsewhere; and we trust that they and their friends will now join in the "*regret*," expressed by the Committee of the Baptist Union, "that Drs. Cox and Hoby should have deemed it prudent to keep public silence on this crying abomination, during their visit to America." We trust also, that none will now *regret* that the subject was started, since its examination has led to the salutary results we have mentioned.

The progress, then, which has been made in this country during the past year, in arousing the public mind, and especially the religious portion of the community, to a consideration of this important subject, and to the discharge of their *duty* in regard to it, may be estimated by reference to the resolutions and remonstrances in the Appendix, which are far too numerous to include in our Report. From these, the Anti-Abolitionists, who by their violence drove our indefatigable Agent from their shores, will find that they have not silenced him; but only,

as happened to the Missionaries when driven from Jamaica, forced him to occupy a station, whence he will, ere long, bring the whole moral force of the British people to bear down upon the accursed system which Americans would palliate or defend; and, united with the good and the great of their own land, will soon succeed in rescuing the oppressor and the oppressed, from that which is a source of national weakness, disgrace, and crime.

There are yet many cities and towns unvisited by Mr Thompson; while those that have invited him are so numerous, that months must elapse ere he can possibly overtake the labour. And from letters lately received from persons in America, whose opinion and judgment deserve credit, the time seems not far distant, when, in the Northern States, Abolition principles shall have become so prevalent, that they will be ripe to receive, and ready to welcome him again to their aid.

The Discussion with Mr Breckinridge, which arose also from Mr Thompson's agency, had a powerful effect in drawing the minds of many of the reading and thinking portion of the community to the consideration of the subject of American Slavery. This was mainly effected by the publication and extensive circulation of the Discussion, in a cheap form—which Mr B. carefully provided for, by previous arrangement with your Committee—an arrangement in which they most readily concurred. Those who cordially detest the principles which Mr B. advocated, and the feelings which he exhibited, will freely admit that he possesses a respectable share of forensic talent, and an acute judgment; but he most woefully miscalculated either his own abilities, or the discernment of a Glasgow audience, on the subject he brought before them. "His whole object," he said, "was to get before the British churches, certain views and suggestions on this subject, which he firmly believed were indispensable to prevent the total alienation of British and American Christians from each other." But if this was really "his whole object," he surely might have devised some method equally efficient to have "got his *certain views* and *suggestions* before the British churches," as by a Discussion with George Thompson. If, however, we may judge from the zest with which he seemed to vent his spleen against Mr Thompson and the Abolitionists, and the perseverance with which, although repeatedly foiled, he followed out his accusations, and renewed his unfounded charges against them, resting them solely upon his own authority, we would be inclined to suspect that he had some other than his avowed "whole ob-

ject." And if, as there is some reason to believe, he had another object—the depreciation of Mr Thompson's character, and the proceedings of the Abolitionists, which were too radical for him—he most miserably failed in impeaching the former, or in substituting his own quack imposture, for the sovereign remedy proposed by Abolitionists. What his "*views* and *suggestions*" were, "which would prevent the alienation of British and American Christians," we believe the Christians of both countries have yet to learn; unless it were to unite in letting Slavery *alone*, or in expatriating from the soil of the United States, as many of the *Free* blacks as they can. We trust, however, that Mr Breckinridge will live to be convinced, with many eminent men here and in America, that the Colonization theory is as impracticable as it is iniquitous, and that he will unite his talents with Birney, Thome, Jay, and Smith; and, like another Paul, be as zealous for the truth—for Abolition—as he has been against it. From the American papers it appears, that even his own friends regard the results of the Discussion as unfortunate to their views —he seems to have "rolled back" the cause of Colonization, if it still exists, and to have rolled forward the cause of Abolition.

The result of Mr Buxton's motion relative to the Apprenticeship System, and as an answer to the Petition from this city, and other places, for its abolition, was the appointment of a Select Committee, to inquire into what were matters of notoriety to every one who took any interest in the Colonial question, except, perhaps, to Members of Parliament. This is a plausible way of decently giving the go-by to a difficult or disagreeable question. We know how often it was resorted to during the Abolition contest, to gain time; and we fear will be resorted to in this case, from time to time, until the period of the Apprenticeship expires.

This Committee have only embraced Jamaica in their inquiry, and thus the Colonies may be divided, so as to spread over all the remaining time. The Report they have produced must be very unsatisfactory to the friends of the Negroes.

The subjects examined into by the Committee were seven:—

1. The want of reciprocity in the amount and application of the penalties inflicted by authority of the Special Magistrates on Managers and Apprentices.
2. The defective constitution of the tribunal for the valuation of Apprentices applying to purchase their freedom.
3. The want of adequate protection to the Special Magistrates, against vexatious prosecutions.
4. The objection against the Jamaica law, that it contains no enactment to regulate the distribution of the time which the Apprentice is bound to give weekly to his employer.
5. Alleged cases of corporal punishment inflicted on female Apprentices.
6. Objection against the present state of the law with regard to marriages, which only the Clergy of the Church of England can solemnize.

7. Present condition of children who were under six years of age on the 1st of August, 1834.

The Report is dated the 13th August, 1836, two years after the commencement of this patent Stanleyian system; and these matters are only then inquired into, and probably would not even then, had not the sympathy of the British people for the Negroes, for whose freedom they had paid Twenty Millions, urged it on. And what is the result? Why, a "trust," a "confidence," or a "hope," variously expressed under each of these particulars, that the Jamaica Legislature will take measures to remedy these evils. Alas! we know by sad experience, what it is to trust to a West India Legislature to remedy evils, of which, not themselves, but the Negroes are the sufferers—it is to trust to a broken reed. They took measures very speedily to get hold of the *Compensation.*

There is, in some persons, a propensity—whether a good or bad principle, we will not at present examine—sacredly to respect, and rigidly to adhere to what is law, seemingly without inquiring whether the law be in itself good or bad,—founded upon principles of justice or the reverse. Such persons are more disposed to botch, or "tinker up" the more objectionable details of an unsound enactment, framed to serve a party and a purpose, rather than to investigate the principles upon which it is based; lest finding them to be unsound, they should be compelled to condemn the foundation and the fabric, and to originate another upon the sound and permanent principles of justice and impartiality. Such seems to have been the character of the majority of the select Committee, appointed to inquire into the working of the Apprenticeship system in the Colonies—or peradventure, they discovered that the condemnation of this absurd piece of legislation, would involve the condemnation of themselves, as having so lately acquiesced in its construction. Be this as it may, it is obvious, on their own admission, and the evidence laid before them, that the Negroes are in the meantime the sufferers.

Many of the evils resulting from this confessedly defective and anomalous state of Society, may be traced to the complicated system of legislation arising out of such an unnatural condition, and the partial execution of the laws. It is vastly different in its consequent effects to all classes, from the simple, straightforward, equitable principle adopted by Antigua and the Bermudas.

The Colonial laws passed to give effect to the Abolition Act, are so vague and unsatisfactory, that in their practical effects on

the Apprentices, very much depends upon the character or partialities of the Special Magistrates. The latitude of construction which may be given to the law is such, that it may be made to sanction much oppression; and when the Special Magistrate is inclined to favour the Master, it is made to do so. This ambiguity, indeed, to some extent, belongs to the Imperial Act itself. The *Glasgow Chronicle*, of 18th October, 1833,—remarking on the clause to promote order and discipline, and for the punishment of indolence, insolence, &c., observes:—"That a benevolent British Parliament might not be a single whit behind the Trans-Atlantic Slave Legislatures, in this new attempt at Slave Legislation, we find it provided, that 'proper regulations should be framed and established for the prevention and punishment of insolence and insubordination on the part of such apprenticed labourers towards their employers.' But we do not anywhere find it defined, what constitutes this crime of insolence—doubtless, a look, a word, a gesture, haughty carriage or demeanour. Verily, if this is not *Slavery*, we know not what is! The British first *Reformed* Parliament legislating against insolence!!"

1st. It appears from the Report, that Lord Stanley, in a despatch on the 20th February, 1834, noticed the want of reciprocity in the amount and application of the penalties incurred by Managers and Apprentices, and seeing that by the law the fines which might be imposed on the Master for injury done to the labourer, were to be applied to the use of the public of the Island, while the Apprentice was required to compensate the Master by labour for any loss he might sustain from indolence, neglect, or absence, he proposed that the Apprentice should be compensated out of the fines imposed on the Master, for any injury he might sustain from his employer. But it seems no such clause was introduced into the subsequent act, and Lord Sligo appears to have concurred with the Assembly in rejecting such an equitable proposal.

"The Committee had, however, no evidence submitted to them of practical evil having arisen from this defect, to warrant any further recommendation on this point." And how could they expect to have any? Would *Mr Burge* give any such evidence? How many Negroes,—Apprentices, did they examine as to this or any of the evils arising from any of the seven points inquired into? But if Quashie were called before the honourable Committee, and told, "when you idle your time, or are absent when you should be at work, then you are punished by making you work to your Master double the time you

are absent or idle; but when your Master keeps some of your allowance from you, or punishes you contrary to law, he is fined, and the fine paid into the public treasury. Now, Quashie, wouldn't you think it better that these fines should be laid out to provide education for the Apprentices' children who were under six years of age on the 1st of August, 1834?" Quashie would very speedily reply, "Yes, Massa, me tink so for true—dat be good, Massa, for awee pickaninny."

2d. It was clearly the intention of the British Parliament, that the Apprentice should have his services appraised at a fair valuation, at which he should be enabled to purchase his freedom; but undue and excessive valuations have, in many instances occurred, from the preponderance given to the opinion and influence of the Colonial Magistrates over the Specials. This, too, has formed a topic of correspondence between the Colonial Secretary and the Governor; and the Committee "confidently hope," that the Jamaica Legislature will, as bound in "good faith and justice," carry this recommendation into full effect. But have not this Committee yet discovered, that when good faith and justice pull a West India Legislator one way, and his interests another, he is most likely to yield to the latter? And is not this a monstrous state of things, that after Great Britain has paid Twenty Millions for their Emancipation, the poor Negroes should still have "to purchase their freedom;" and, "in many instances, at undue and excessive valuations?" But the Committee "confidently hope," that in "good faith and justice," the Slave-holder will not exact such an exorbitant price. We fear their confidence is misplaced.

3d. The beneficial working of the system, and the protection of the rights of the Apprentices, depend much upon the independence of the Special Magistrates in the discharge of their duty, and their protection from vexatious prosecutions. The Governor being directed to bring this matter before the Legislature, the Committee "hope" that the measures taken may check this evil.

4th. There are two systems prevalent in Jamaica, to regulate the distribution of the time, viz. 40½ hours, which the Apprentice is bound to give to his employer. The one is termed the nine hours' system, by which the Apprentice works nine hours a-day for four days in the week, and four and a half on the fifth day; thus having the half of Friday, and the whole of Saturday, at his own disposal. The other is termed the eight hours' system, by which he works eight hours a-day, for four days in the week, and eight and a half on the fifth; thus having the Satur-

day only, left entirely at his own disposal. The Committee have evidence that the Apprentices decidedly prefer the former system, as it leaves them a larger portion of time free from interruption; and "they hope" that this example, set by many of the larger properties, will be generally followed.

5th. The Committee instituted a strict inquiry into the alleged corporal punishment of females. They found that the Government at home and in Jamaica had been engaged on the subject, and that Lord Sligo had discovered—wonderful discovery of what every body knew !—many instances of this nature, subject to local regulations; but the legality of this punishment has in no instance been assailed. The law, however, seemed to be ambiguous, but the Assembly having had their attention directed to the subject, distinctly recorded their opinion of the illegality of such punishment; and the "Committee entertain the fullest confidence," that they will not fail to take measures to prevent a practice contrary to law, and abhorrent to the best feelings of our nature. But this Committee should remember, that the West Indians are as yet but *Apprentices* to these feelings.

In connection with this subject, the Committee consider the working of females in chains, open to serious objection. Every thing should be avoided which tends to lessen self-respect, especially in females.

6th. The Committee "concur in the trust" expressed by Lord Glenelg, in his Circular of the 5th March, 1836, to the Colonial Governors, that the Legislatures will promptly legalize all marriages already solemnized by the Missionaries, and authorize them by law to solemnize such contracts in future.

7th. An important feature in the character of the vilified Negroes, brought out by this Select Committee, is, that there exists a general disinclination on the part of the parents of those children who were under six years of age on the 1st of August, 1834, and *then* became free, to suffer them to become Apprentices, by the parents neglecting to provide for them;—"a circumstance which the Committee consider indicative of the just value which the Negroes attach to freedom." Who ever thought, and who but their interested calumniators ever said, that they did *not highly* appreciate and desire freedom to themselves and their children? Many noble instances might be adduced of their self-denial of many of the comforts of life, and even of liberty, that they might confer that highly esteemed blessing on their children—instances which might grace a Grecian or Roman story, or do honour even to an American white-skinned Republican.

This Committee, who seem to possess, in an eminent degree, that charity which "hopeth all things," hope that the Jamaica Legislature will speedily remedy all the evils arising from the present state of things; and amongst the rest, that they will take measures, as they have stated their willingness to do, for the better encouragement of schools. But if we understand aright their language on that subject, in their address to the Governor at the opening of the Session,—where they express their "regret and disappointment, that the British Parliament has done so little to redeem its pledge of affording efficient means of moral and religious instruction" to the Negroes, they seem inclined to shift this burden, if they can, from their own shoulders, and lay it upon those of the people of this country—a piece of prudent policy they are very prone to adopt, on all occasions when expense is to be incurred.

It may be deemed presumption in us not to acquiesce in the opinions of such sages in legislation, as this Select Committee; but, however desirous for the results which they anticipate with so much confidence, we cannot so easily banish from our minds our experience of Jamaica legislation; and, up to the present date, we are obliged to say, that whatever may be the language and disposition of individuals to their labourers, we observe in the legislative proceedings, a dogged and obstinate reluctance to adopt mild and equitable principles, unless when compelled to do so by the home Government. They are foolishly planting in the Negro bosom those seeds, which, if they spring not up in enmity and revenge at no very distant day, when they will be all free, will be restrained by better principles, implanted by their religious instructors, whom these legislators seem yet disposed to vilify, and to persecute if they dared.

It is gratifying to the friends of the Negro, to find their anticipations regarding their character confirmed by the evidence given to this Committee. "From a general review of the evidence," they say, "they are warranted in expressing a belief, that the system of Apprenticeship in Jamaica is working in a manner not unfavourable to the momentous change from Slavery to freedom, now going on there. They find abundant proof of the general good conduct of the Apprentices, and of their willingness to work for wages, wherever they are fairly and considerately treated by their employers. It is indeed fully proved, that the labour thus voluntarily performed by the Negro, is more effectual than that which was performed by him while in a state of Slavery, or which is now given to his

employer during the period for which he is compelled to work as an Apprentice."

This is important testimony, on a no less important subject; as it proves, beyond question, the habitually industrious disposition already acquired by the Negro (and no wonder, under the training of Slavery) from which he is unwilling to be driven by this absurd, oppressive, and irritating system, misnamed Apprenticeship; and it equally proves, that however much such a system may contribute, or may have been intended to contribute, to give cheap labour to the master, under the pretence of training men of 30, 40, or 60 years of age, inured to labour from their infancy, to industrious habits; they at least need no such Apprenticeship for such a purpose. It proves, moreover, as we all along believed, that the whole scheme is a hoax upon the people of this country, and a grievous oppression upon the Negroes; is, in fact, a needless prolongation of Slavery, to please *some* of the Slave-holders—for we believe the more respectable portion of them would readily abandon it.

After the complete refutation afforded by the relation of such favourable circumstances, of the pretence set up for the Apprenticeship, as a necessary training of the Negroes in their passage from Slavery to Freedom, we are surprised and grieved to find the Committee winding up their Report, by saying that, "under these circumstances, they feel bound to express their conviction, that nothing could be more unfavourable than any occurrence which had a tendency to unsettle the minds of either class, with regard to the fixed determination of the Imperial Parliament, to preserve inviolate both parts of the solemn engagement, by which the services of the Apprenticed labourer were secured to his employer for a definite period, and under specified restrictions."

What is meant here by both parts, is somewhat ambiguous. If it is meant that there are two parties to these Apprenticeships—the Negroes and their Masters—as we have two parties here to our Apprenticeships, nothing can be farther from the truth; for the Negroes were never consulted in the matter: but the Government, or Lord Stanley, or the West India party in Parliament, acting as parents or sponsors for them, persuaded themselves, or attempted to persuade the Negroes and the people of this country, that they were bestowing upon them a great boon, by conferring upon them only a part of what they were entitled to, by changing, not their condition, but the *name* of it, from Slaves to Apprentices. The Negroes know as well as any of these gentlemen, the differ-

ence between Slavery and Apprenticeship, and between that and Freedom—hence the large sums they pay to be freed from this *boon*, and to obtain their *right*.

This Committee may give themselves no uneasiness about the minds of the majority of the masters being unsettled regarding the duration of the Apprenticeship; for they are as determined as it is possible for the Imperial Parliament to be, to preserve it inviolate to the last day of the "definite period;" unless, indeed, it can be made appear to them, that it will be more for their interest to abandon it. In the meantime, we understand that the Committee is about to be renewed for the present Session; but, although their investigation may bring about some partial alleviation of the evils of the system, yet the irritating, vexatious, and oppressive character of the Apprenticeship is so deeply interwoven in its constitution, that nothing but its *total abolition* can impart to the Negroes, that comfort, peace, and happiness, to which they are justly entitled. This, we fear, the Committee have no intention to recommend; at any rate, having recorded the fixed determination of Parliament against it, it would appear that all we can hope from them, is merely alleviation, and an impartial administration of the laws. But should the people of this country give up their protegées, *(for whose Freedom they have paid Twenty Millions,)* to the tender mercies of the Planters, or their Specials? Or to a system from which, not even the omnipotence of the Imperial Parliament can separate cruelty and injustice? We think not—and that the people of this country are not only justified, but in duty bound, to *demand* the Instant and Entire Abolition of the Apprenticeship.

How this Select Committee could, with the noble and flourishing example of Antigua and the Bermudas before their eyes, declare that nothing could be more unfortunate than the abandonment of the Apprenticeship, we are at a lose to divine.

It is to be regretted, that Antigua suffers much by the noble example she set in entirely freeing her Slaves: while in the other Colonies, they remain Apprentices. This circumstance, by its effects on the price of labour, operates injuriously on both Planters and Negroes.

It appears, that the Planters in Antigua, with all their liberality in freeing their Negroes, have been giving them only sixpence sterling per day of wages, for agricultural labourers, and a trifle more for tradesmen; whereas, in British Guiana, their wages are stated "at 140 dollars per ann."—about four times as much—"for a man," "100 dollars for a woman," and "tradesmen, a dollar or more per day." This went on

quietly for a while, but lately, the Guiana Planters have been desirous to hire labourers from the other Colonies; and Antigua, where they are all free, offers the best and almost only source of supply. The Antigua Planters wish, of course, to keep their labourers; and the Guiana Planters say, that "they could employ 1000 emigrants per month, until 1840, when the demand would be increased to an indefinite extent." Thus they might, in a short time, drain Antigua of her 30,000 labourers; and the only legal means they have of averting this evil, is by raising their wages. But as their soil, like many of the old Colonies, is much worn out, they cannot singly compete with the rich soil of Guiana; and while the Apprentices are prevented from leaving the other Colonies, Antigua or the Bermudas is the only open market. Were the Apprenticeship, however, abolished, the other Colonies would supply a share, and the price of labour, as influenced by other contingent circumstances, would soon settle down to an equable value in all the Colonies. In the meantime, it operates very prejudicially on Antigua. The labourers are seduced away by the temptation of high wages, but they go to work among Apprentices; and, of course, by a very obvious policy, their condition cannot be allowed to appear better than that of the Apprentices, lest it cause dissatisfaction among the latter, who have already sufficient cause to be dissatisfied. They go where they have no claim on the protection of the Special Magistrates, indifferent as that may be; and in all their disputes with their employers or others, they have to depend only upon the tender mercies of the local Magistracy. Their employers have not even the short-lived interest in *their* lives that they have in those of their Apprentices, thus they find out to their cost, but too late—that they are subjected to much oppression, and very hard labour, by the contracts they have made, which may be often misconstrued to their disadvantage. And such is the reluctance to let them away from Antigua, that, a few months ago, a vessel with emigrants, on setting out, was fired at five times from the fort, although regularly cleared out from the Custom House. Thus this absurd system works evil, and only evil, on all sides.

Nor have your Committee any more agreeable report to give respecting the Mauritius affair. The compensation has been paid to those who had illegally and feloniously imported Slaves into this Colony; because, on a garbled and very partial statement of the facts, the Privy Council (all the Judges attending,) held that they had been duly registered; or, if otherwise, that

the fault lay not with the owners, but with the official functionaries. Hence, we have good reason to believe, that not less than 25,000 Negroes are illegally detained in bondage in that Island. Thus saving the trouble of thoroughly investigating the circumstances, and instead of giving the benefit of the doubt, if any, to the injured party, they, with seeming indifference, continue the 25,000 human beings in Slavery; and out of the pockets of the people of this country, reward with compensation at the rate of about £22 sterling a-head, those who feloniously imported them. And what makes this decision the more remarkable is, that about 1000 Slaves in the Grand Caymanas—a cluster of small islands, near and connected in the same government with Jamaica—have been entirely freed, although on the occasion of communicating their freedom to them, the Governor addressing their masters, said, "I admit that the non-registration of these Slaves was no culpable neglect of your own, as the law did not prescribe the necessity of your so doing." The question of compensation to the Caymanians remains open; but if any deserve, or are entitled to it, *they* surely have a preferable claim to the Mauritians, since *they* were not required to register; yet so absurd is the judgment, that those to whom no fault is imputed, have their Slaves freed away from them, and very properly so, without any compensation; whereas the Mauritians, against whom felony and non-compliance with the law is charged, get the compensation to which they are not entitled, and their Slaves are not freed!!!

Well may the Mauritius Planters extol our Liberal Government—liberal out of the people's pockets! Here is from £600,000 to probably near a million, given to reward felony!!

To detail the progress of the Emancipation cause in America during the past year, would fill a volume; and although there has been rather a deficient supply of information by the newspapers devoted to the cause, yet from the mass which has reached us, it is difficult to select and condense into a portion of our Report, a clear view of it; so rapid and extensive has that progress been,—not however without opposition by the General and State Legislatures, by Churches, by mobs, and by individuals. But opposition ever serves the cause—brings it into notice—promotes discussion; and generally ends in making some converts, who before were opposed or neutral.

To take up the subject then, where our last Report left it.—One of the most important occurrences, briefly noticed in that Report, was the violation of the United States' Mail, on the 30th July, 1835, by a mob of Anti-Abolitionists, who forced open the

Post Office, took from thence a Mail package, and burnt it in the public square, before 3000 citizens of Charleston. The City Council, in calling a General Meeting of the Citizens, said, "Whereas a very proper excitement exists in this community, &c." A Committee of twenty-one was appointed to inspect in future, and separate the obnoxious documents; and the Post-master agreed to stop all such publications, as they pleased to call incendiary. At this meeting, his honour the Intendant presided, and *the Clergy of all denominations* attended in a body.—In the preamble to the Resolutions they state, that they "have purposely abstained from any laboured argument on the subject of Slavery, not from any inability to sustain, on *moral* and *scriptural grounds*, its existence and toleration as now established in South Carolina; but from a deep conviction of the fixed resolution of the people of this State, to permit no discussion within her limits, of RIGHTS which she deems inherent and inseparable from the very existence of the State."

The head of the Post Office department declared,—"The Post Office department was created to serve the people of each, and of all the United States, and not to be used as the instrument of their destruction. We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live, and if the former be perverted to destroy the latter, it is patriotism to disregard them." To the Post-master at Charleston, he said—"Your justification must be looked for in the character of the papers detained, and the circumstances by which you are surrounded." And, while acknowledging its illegality, he added, "As a measure of great public necessity, therefore, you and the other Postmasters who have assumed the responsibility of stopping those inflammatory papers will, I have no doubt, stand justified in that step before your country and all mankind."

The President, in his Message to Congress observed, "I would therefore call the special attention of Congress to the subject, and respectfully suggest the propriety of passing such a law as will prohibit, under severe penalties, the circulation in the Southern States, through the Mail, of incendiary publications, intended to instigate the Slaves to insurrection."

And what did a Grand Jury in Alabama, in an indictment against the Anti-Slavery Society's Agent, find to be an insurrectionary paragraph? Why this—That "God commands, and all nature cries out, that man should not be held as property! The system of making men property has plunged 2,250,000 of our fellow-countrymen into the deepest physical and moral degradation; and they are every moment sinking deeper."

An "Incendiary Publication Bill" was brought into Congress, but was rejected by the Senate.

It is the moral discussion of Slavery that Slave-holders fear, especially that going on in the Northern States. And the point to be remarked in the tyrannous resolutions passed in many places is, that the South denies to the North all right of morally discussing the subject of Slavery. "*She* may enjoy free intercourse with our cities," says the American Anti-Slavery Society, "free access to our literary institutions; free use of the Mail—thousands of her citizens may come among us to corrupt the minds of ours, in favour of Slavery; but we must not call in question the moral right of holding men as property. *She* may send among us the poisonous disquisitions of her reverend defenders of Slavery, Drs. Furman and Dalcho, or of Holland and Deubret; *we* may not send back the antidotes of Mrs Child, of Judge Jay, of Dr. Channing, nor of her Birney, nor yet of her own canonized sage, Jefferson!"

The tyrannical demands of the South, were "cringingly and hypocritically" responded to at the North, by meetings of "merchants, politicians, and aristocrats,"—for it seems there *are* "aristocrats" in this great Republic—corrupted by Southern trade and companionship, at Portland, Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Albany.

Happily "there is yet a mass of uncorrupted yeomanry in the land, the bone and muscle of the nation, which sent back no such craven submission."

There was no faultering in the Abolition ranks, occasioned by such a formidable array of public sentiment—there was no waiting for the storm to pass over;—no—this outcry of the abettors of Slavery for silence, was the best possible reason for crying aloud and sparing not.

The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, and the New York State Anti-Slavery Convention, both met on 21st October. The Ladies, as has been already published in this country, were mobbed by 5000 "gentlemen of property and standing." These 5000 respectable and accomplished Lynchers, by brute force compelled the Ladies—met under deep feelings of sympathy for their own sex, degraded and abused by Slavery, to promote measures for their relief—to adjourn to a private house for greater security. The *gentlemanly rabble* laid violent hands upon Mr Garrison, who was writing in an adjoining room, stripped him of part of his clothing, dragged him through the streets bound with a rope—and posterity will wonder to be told, that the protection of the Mayor consisted in committing

him to prison! Some account of the opposition given to the New York State Anti-Slavery Convention, which met at Utica, on the same day, and of its proceedings, was given in our last Report.

Never did the Church give evidence of more fearful corruption, nor was religion ever more dangerously perverted, than when learned Divines attempt to prove, from holy writ, that "might makes right." The past year has been fruitful in sentiments which tend to eternize Slavery in all its horrors, and "the foulest and most malignant expressions in justification of Slavery, or hostility to Abolitionists, have proceeded from consecrated expounders of God's revelation and law."

In confirmation of the justice of these remarks, the following extracts from the proceedings of religious bodies in the United States, are presented.

The *Clergy* of Richmond, Virginia, on 29th August, "*Resolved* UNANIMOUSLY:"—

"That the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his Apostles, in not interfering with the question of Slavery, but uniformly recognizing the relations of master and servant, and giving full and affectionate instruction to both, is worthy of the imitation of all ministers of the Gospel."

The *Synod* of Virginia, at a subsequent period, unanimously Resolved:—

"That we consider the dogma fiercely promulgated by said Associations—that Slavery as it actually exists in our Slave-holding States, is necessarily sinful, and ought to be immediately abolished; and the conclusions which naturally flow from that dogma, as directly and palpably contrary to the plainest principles of common sense, and common humanity, and to the clearest authority of the word of God."

The Edgefield (S. C.) Baptist Association, Resolved:—

"That the practical question of Slavery, in a country where the system has obtained as a part of its stated policy, is settled in the Scriptures by Jesus Christ and his Apostles."

The same Association appointed a day of fasting—not to undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free; but to entreat God—

"To give their brethren at the North, right views of the course pursued by our Lord and his Apostles, on the subject of Slavery, so that they may endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

Surely, this is fasting, "to smite with the fist of wickedness!"

The Ministers and Messengers of the Golien Association, at Free Union, Louisa Co., Va., among other resolutions, passed the following:—

"That the Bible fully and clearly recognizes the relation of master and servant; that our Saviour and his Apostles taught servants their duties to their masters, and submission to the powers that be—the case of Onesimus, and the directions of the Apostles are in point."

The Tennessee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, adopted a "Report on Slavery," in which is the following:—

"Slavery is an evil which the civil authority alone can remedy. The Church can do nothing towards it, except to require kindness on the part of its white members toward their Slaves, and fidelity towards their masters on the part of the Slaves. The indiscriminate traffic in Slaves, and every cruelty towards them is criminal, and falls under the disciplinary interdiction of our Church. But this is all, as a body of Methodist Ministers, we can do. The laws of our country preclude the possibility of any thing like general Emancipation."

The Charleston Baptist Association, in a memorial to the Legislature of South Carolina, say,—

"The undersigned, would further represent, that the said Association does not consider that the Holy Scriptures have made the fact of Slavery a question of morals at all.

"The right of masters to dispose of the time of their Slaves, has been distinctly recognized by the Creator of all things."

The Charleston Union Presbytery, Resolved:—

"That in the opinion of this Presbytery, the holding of Slaves, so far from being a sin in the sight of God, is no where condemned in his holy word; and they who hold the principle, in morals and religion, that Slave-holding is wrong, proceed upon false principles."

The Rev. J. H. Thornwell and the Rev. Mr Carlisle, supported the following Resolutions, in Lancasterville, South Carolina:—

"That Slavery as it exists in the South is no evil, and is consistent with the principles of revealed religion; that all opposition to it arises from a misguided and fiendish fanaticism, which we are bound to resist.

"That all interference with this subject by fanatics, is a violation of our civil and social rights—is unchristian and inhuman, leading necessarily to anarchy and bloodshed; and that the instigators are murderers and assassins."

The Rev. Rufus W. Bailey says,—

"I love to dwell on the religious privileges and prospects of our black population, in contrast with their brethren, who remain free in their native deserts," and he professes greatly to fear that Great Britain, "in a noble endeavour to act nobly, has precipitated her Colonial Slaves to a deeper ruin."

The Rev. W. M. Atkinson of Virginia, rejoices for the sake of the black man, as well as of the white, that the Legislators of that State judged rightly in not abolishing Slavery with the Slave-trade. This Rev. gentleman—the *general agent for the Virginia Bible Society*—in vindicating himself from the charge of being an Abolitionist, says,—

"My interests are identified with those of my native State. My all of property, which if it be but little is still my all, is vested in real estate and *Slaves*, in Virginia."

The Rev. William S. Plumer of Virginia, in a letter highly commended by the Editor of the *Southern Religious Telegraph*, too long for us to quote, says,—"If Abolitionists will set the country in a blaze, it is but fair that they should have the first

warming at the fire." And with the mild and Christian spirit of a Breckinridge, he says,—"Let them understand that they will be caught if they come among us, and they will take good heed to keep out of the way—none of them has any idea of shedding his blood in this cause; they stand off and bark at men and institutions, without daring to march into their midst, and attack them with apostolic fearlessness;" yet this reverend gentleman "is from religious principles opposed to war!" He is regarded as one of the brightest ornaments of the Church; and, professing to labour for the conversion of the whole world, is resolved never to lay down the lash, which makes millions of heathen at home!!

The Rev. William J. Armstrong, one of the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, glories in not being an Abolitionist, and pronounces the charge "false and calumnious."

Similar sentiments have been promulgated by nearly every ecclesiastical body at the south, and not far behind them by a few such bodies at the north. Instead of standing aloof from Slavery, as they pretend Christ and his Apostles did, they are themselves shameless Slave-holders in heart; and often in practice they denounce reprovers of oppression as criminals of the worst stamp.

The *Charleston Courier*, countenanced by such a phalanx of reverends, says—"We hold Slavery to be neither a sin nor a curse, but an ordinance of providence, and a practical blessing."

The Hartwick Synod of the Lutheran Church, on the 24th Sept. last, "Resolved, that the subject of Abolition of Slavery be indefinitely postponed." The President of the Lutheran Church, and the Editor of the *Lutheran Observer*, are Slave-holders.

The Synod of Virginia, on the 7th November, passed an "Act on the state of the Church," in which they specify "the prominent causes" of the present "disturbance" in the Presbyterian Church. Among other things they refer, as has been done by some of the same stamp quoted above, to the word of God, the example of the Apostles, and the rules of the New Testament; and to show the criminality of Abolition doctrines and their own duty, quote 1st Tim. vi. 1—5. "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honour; that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed; and they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and ex-

hort. "*If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words,*" &c., &c., quoting the rest.....; "*from such withdraw thyself.*" Here, say they, it is as plain as words can make any thing, that Abolition principles are wrong. Certainly Abolitionists teach otherwise than Paul taught, and the only scriptural remedy is, "from such withdraw." They add,—

"The attempt to make Slave-holding a bar to communion, or fair ministerial standing, is now changing the constitution of our church, and the original terms of communion. This we cannot permit." Therefore, the Synod solemnly affirm, "that the General Assembly have no right to declare that relation sinful, which Christ and his apostles teach to be consistent with the most unquestionable piety;—and that any act which would impeach the Christian character of any man, because he is a Slave-holder, would be a palpable violation of the just principles on which the union of our church was founded,—as well as a daring usurpation of the authority granted by the Lord Jesus Christ."

The Synod conclude, "in the foregoing sentiments we are unanimous."—Signed by William S. Plumer, scribe of Synod—the fiery, but not fighting gentleman, some of whose acts we noticed above.

The Harmony Presbytery, South Carolina, on the 26th September, unanimously adopted the following, it is part of a Report on the state of the Church:—

"Whereas, sundry persons in Scotland, England, and our country, have denounced Slavery as obnoxious to the laws of God; some have presented petitions to the General Assembly of our Church, and to Congress, whose object is to bring Slave-holders into disgrace, and to abolish Slavery; and whereas they know not what they say, nor whereof they affirm, and with this ignorance discover a spirit of self-righteousness and exclusive sanctity, while they indulge in the most reckless denunciations of their neighbours, as false in fact as they are opposed to the spirit of our holy religion."

Therefore they resolve—in short—that as the kingdom of our Lord is not of this world, his Church has no right to alter or abolish any civil or political institution of man; nor has the Church in our midst, any right to interfere with Slavery; much less has any other Church any right to interfere in the premises.

That Slavery existed from the days of those good old Slave-holders, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, (who are now in heaven,) to the time when the Apostle Paul sent a run-away Slave home to his master Philemon, and wrote a Christian and fraternal letter to this Slave-holder, which still stands in the canon of scripture; and that Slavery has existed since the days of the Apostle, and now exists.

That as the relation of Master and Slave is taught in scripture, as those of parent and child, husband and wife, Slavery is not opposed to the will of God, and that he whose conscience is too tender to recognize this relation as lawful, is "righteous overmuch," is wise above what is written, and has submitted

his neck to the yoke of man, sacrificed his Christian liberty of conscience, and leaves the infallible word of God for the fancies and doctrines of men.

Thus, after having declared that the relative duties of Master and Slave are taught in Scripture, they " resolve that it is a purely civil relation, and, in this State, no person, or persons, can impair, abridge, or alter, that institution, save the legislature, or people of South Carolina only ! !"

Now what mighty cause set in motion this action and reaction between the South and the North, or rather, between the enemies and the slumbering friends of human nature, which has so far broken up the fatal delusion of American Slavery? The simple doctrine of the *sin of Slavery*, and the *duty of Immediate Emancipation*, proclaimed and reiterated by the affiliated Anti-Slavery Societies.

From these lamentable prostrations of principle, to the Dagon of Slavery, it is cheering to turn to the other side of the picture, and behold the host that have already mustered ; that are buckling on their armour, and preparing for the great moral struggle with these enemies of God and man.

The Methodist clergy of the central part of New England have come forward in a body, animated with the spirit of the venerable Wesley, and openly joined the Abolitionists.

The Presbyterian Synod of Cincinnati has censured one of its Presbyteries for admitting a Slave-holder to the pulpit. A large number of Synods, Presbyteries, Associations, Conferences, &c., in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois, have condemned Slavery as a sin against God, and have insisted on the duty of Immediate Emancipation. The Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky has adopted and published a Report, which unfolds the wickedness of Slavery in that State, and recommends the *immediate* adoption of a plan for *ultimate* Emancipation—not a plan for *Immediate* Emancipation—but we trust they are, by this time, not far from this omnipotent principle.

Hancock Baptist Association, Maine, on 7th and 8th Sept., expressing themselves in concise terms, say—

" That of all the systems of iniquity that ever cursed the world, the Slave system is the most abominable. It is the enslavement of the noblest workmanship of the Deity on earth—the debasement of the bodies, the imbrutement of the intellects, and the blotting out God's image in the souls of those who are clothed with the deathless attributes of immortality. It is a daring infringement of human rights, an unblushing violation of all the precepts of the decalogue. It is, in a word, the masterpiece of Satan, involving all that is oppressive in tyranny, shocking in cruelty, base in robbery, degrading in ignorance, and loathsome in licentiousness. And this foul system, existing as it does, in all its

horrors, in this our Republic, is our nation's crying sin, and a massy bar to the universal spread of religion in our country. Therefore,

"Resolved,—That the only proper remedy for this appalling evil, is *Immediate Emancipation.*

"That while we deprecate all *physical* interference in relation to this subject, it is our imperious duty, as patriots, philanthropists, and Christians, to exert a strong *moral* influence, in order to give a speedy practical development to the principle stated in the first Resolution.

"Resolved,—That so long as any of our fellow-creatures remain in bondage, we will not cease to pray for them, and sympathize with them, in their down-trodden and degraded condition.

"Resolved,—That we, as professed followers of Christ, have no fellowship or communion with those who, under the character of Christians, continue to hold their fellow-men in bondage."

The Washington Baptist Association at Stuben, (Me.)—

"Resolved,—That Slavery, especially as it exists in this country, like all other sins, is an evil *not to be mitigated*, but *immediately abandoned.*

"Resolved,—That while it exists, it is the imperious duty of all Christians most fervently and perseveringly to pray that God will sustain the oppressed, and speedily work out for them a peaceable and entire deliverance.

"Resolved,—That, as Christians, we can have no fellowship with those who, after being duly enlightened on this subject, still advocate and practise its abominations, and thus defile the church of God."

The Baptist Church in South Reading, (M. S.) date Sept., 25th, send to W. L. Garrison, through their chairman, a Report of their Committee on Slavery, in which they say, that

"The spirit of the gospel of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, in no sense inculcates or justifies the enslaving of our fellow-beings, but contrariwise marks it as a sin of the most flagrant enormity; classing Slave-holders in the catalogue of the vilest criminals, and denouncing them with the severest reprobation: and Resolve, that Slavery is an infraction of the natural, religious, and undeniable rights of man;—that the law of Christian kindness requires not to suffer sin on our brethren, but to rebuke and restore him in the spirit of meekness, and not to keep silence for fear of offending those on whom this crime is chargeable;—that all ministers and members who hold Slaves, are unworthy of a place in the Church of Christ, and we cannot extend to them the right hand of fellowship as good ministers, and worthy members; that while we would cherish for them the spirit of love and prayer, we cannot commune with them at the table of the Lord, who died to redeem souls out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; in whom the kindreds of the earth are blessed; and in whom there is neither Jew nor Greek, Barbarian, Sythian, bond nor free; that to exclude Coloured persons from an equal seat in the house of God, or at the communion table, on account of Colour, is sinful, and ought to be *immediately* repented of."

The Primitive Methodists have also caught the flame. At a Missionary meeting of that body, the following was proposed:—

"Resolved,—That as a body of Primitive Methodists assembled for Missionary purposes, we wish solemnly to enter our protest against the identity of Methodism with the work of Slavery."

This was seconded by the Rev. Mr Thompson, a deputy from a large body of Primitive Methodists in England, and carried unanimously.

In a letter of the Rev. William S. Plumer of Virginia, abridged and quoted above, he says he is honoured with the friendship of many of the Society of Friends there and in

Philadelphia, yet that he does not know one of them who approves the course of the Abolitionists.

This being the testimony of a *Slave-holder*, or an *apologist* for Slavery, is not entitled to much credit. As a counterpart to it, however, we have an "Address from Farmington, (New York,) Quarterly Meeting of orthodox Friends, to its members, on Slavery, dated 11 month, 9, 1836." It is too long to insert, or even to abridge. They declare the principle of its being sinful to claim property in man, to be that which has, from a very remote period, always stimulated their body to testify against Slavery. They rejoice at the success of the Abolition cause in the British Colonies, describe the miserable condition of the Slaves in America, and state that more than 100,000 are annually transported from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, to the cotton, sugar, and rice plantations of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana; where the rigours of Slavery are so cruel as greatly to abridge the period of human life. "If," they ask, "we are freely partaking of the unrequited labour of Slaves, are we actively complying with the following advice of our late yearly meeting?" viz. :—

"This meeting, while taking an enlarged view of this interesting subject, is sensible that many of its members feel religious scruples in relation to partaking of the produce of the unrequited labour of Slaves; and desires that all may be faithful to the requirements of duty, in their varied allotments, and means of usefulness."

In conclusion, they call upon their members, agreeably to the doctrines and the requirements of scripture, to act upon the principles they profess. We trust their admonitions may extend into the Southern States, and bring forth abundant fruit.

A correspondent from Harrisville, Ohio, date, January 3, 1837, says—

"The Church is our hope in this State. The Seceders have come into the Anti-Slavery ranks almost *en masse*. The Methodists have taken a decided stand in this region. The majority of Baptists, I think, are with us. And while things are thus favourable, with truth and God on our side, how should we be defeated?"

As it has been affirmed by our friend George Thompson, and but too painfully confirmed from various sources; and still farther by the lamentable facts detailed above, that the Church *in the South* is the stronghold of Slavery—so these excellent proceedings in different churches are not only highly gratifying in themselves; but, when we see the artillery of truth and righteousness in one portion of the church, set against the inventions of wickedness and oppression in the other, we can have no doubt which side shall have the victory. The question of the Membership of Slave-holders has also been agitated,

and will, we trust, ultimately purge the Churches of the "unrighteous leaven."

The Addison County Anti-Slavery Society, in Vermont, among other Resolutions, passed the following:—

"That the attitude assumed by the late General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in their attempts to suppress the truth, and to prevent discussion on the Slave question, instead of discouraging, ought to excite to greater and more determined exertions in this great cause of civil and religious liberty, since these events plainly show the danger and magnitude of the evil, and the importance of speedily bringing the requisite moral power into action to accomplish its destruction."

They also condemned the violation of the Constitution, of the rights of the press, and the liberty of speech, by rejecting the petitions of the people, by the violence inflicted on Mr Birney and his press, and by the lawless mobs—and propose that a law should be passed in Ohio, making every town, borough, and city, liable for the property destroyed by the mobs.

The Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society have issued a similar appeal to the citizens of Cincinnati, occasioned by the outrages committed by the mob on 31st July last, when they broke every thing to pieces in Mr Birney's printing premises, stove out the windows, scattered his papers and books in the street, and burned many of them. They next threw out his press, hauled it down to the river, broke it, and threw it to the bottom. They then proceeded to his house, breathing forth destruction; but happily Mr Birney was not at home.

The printing-office of the *St. Louis Observer*, was also broken into by a night mob, the press upset, and the types cast into the street.

An Anti-Slavery Society in connexion with the Methodist Episcopal Church, has been formed in Utica; where, a year before, the Anti-Slavery Convention had been broken up. The Preamble and Resolutions of this Society are:—

"Whereas, we believe, that the holding and treating the human species as property, is a sin against the laws of God, man, and nature, and hurtful to society, contrary to the dictates of conscience and pure religion, and doing what we would not that others should do to us:

"Whereas we know that millions of our species are held in this dreadful state by republicans and professed Christians, in this nation; and whereas we have no expectation that this great evil will ever be done away, until the example and testimony of the Christian church are set against it:

"Whereas we desire to 'register [our] testimony against the unprincipled, inhuman, antichristian, and diabolical Slave-trade, with all its authors, abettors, and sacrilegious gains, as well as against the great devil, the father of it and them;' believing, as we do, that 'this equally concerns all Slave-holders, of whatever rank or degree, seeing men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers:'

"Whereas, to reiterate these sentiments in another form, we 'feel [ourselves] called upon to record [our] solemn judgment, that the holding of human beings

in a state of Slavery, is in direct opposition to all the principles of natural rights, and to the benign spirit of the religion of Christ:'

"And whereas we find these ancient landmarks of pure Christianity and Primitive Methodism, in danger of being swept away by the extraordinary proceedings of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Cincinnati, including the sixth section of the Pastoral Address by the Bishops, in which they exhort the members and friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church not simply to stand aloof from '*modern* Abolitionism,' but to abstain from all Abolition movements and associations, and to refrain from patronizing any of their publications:

"And whereas we find these alarming innovations upon our principles and practices, as a body of Christians, and as Methodists, not only fully concurred in by the New York Annual Conference, but followed up by a Resolution, disapproving of the members of the Conference patronizing, or in any way giving countenance to, a paper called *Zion's Watchman*,—a paper maintaining the principles here avowed; and also by another Resolution, declaring that 'none ought to be elected to the office of deacon or elder in our church, unless he give a *pledge* to the Conference, that he will refrain from agitating the church with discussions on this subject:'—

"Therefore, determined not to 'be weary in well-doing,' but to go on, in the name of God, and in the power of His might, till even American Slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish away before it.'"

They then formed an Anti-Slavery Society, and Resolved,

"That we view with alarm the recent Pastoral Address, and also the letter preceding it, under the signature of two of our Bishops, and also the proceedings of the late General and of the New York Annual Conference, as an infringement upon our rights of conscience, and our liberties as Americans, and endangering the peace of our church, and consider it as a loud call upon the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for *immediate* action.

"Therefore, we would recommend the formation of Anti-Slavery Societies in every station and circuit throughout the bounds of the Oneida Conference.

"Resolved, That *Zion's Watchman* meets with our decided approval, and is entitled to, and shall receive, our countenance and support, so long as it continues to plead the cause of the oppressed in our land."

Here is some wholesome doctrine for the Methodist Church. She is likely soon to get out of the trammels of Slave-holding Bishops. Much of the language used in the above is that of the venerated John Wesley, Dr. Adam Clarke, and Richard Watson.

A subject of no small importance, as connected with the cause of Emancipation, is the intercourse betwixt the Baptist, Methodist, and other churches, on both sides of the Atlantic. The correspondence of religious bodies so numerous and respectable, especially on this all-exciting question of Slavery, is likely to be regarded with intense interest; the more so, as those on this side are remonstrating with, and endeavouring to convince their Trans-Atlantic brethren, of the cruelty, injustice, and sinfulness of their connection with Slavery.

On the 31st December, 1833, the Board of Baptist Ministers in and near London, addressed an affectionate expostulation on the subject of Slavery, to their brethren of that denomination in the United States. This letter was for some time either neglected or suppressed. But in September, 1834, Lucius Bolles, Corresponding Secretary of the American

Board, sent an evasive and apologetic reply, confessing that, in the Southern States, the Baptists are "*generally, both Ministers and People*, SLAVE-HOLDERS." A reply to this expostulation, of a very different character, was also prepared and approved in a convention of more than fifty Baptist Ministers in Boston, in May, 1835, and signed by 185 Ministers of that body, was forwarded to England.

Before this time, however, viz., in October, 1834, the English Baptists had sent a deputation to their brethren in the United States; and in their circular of that date say,—

"We send our deputation, (Drs. Cox and Hoby,) to promote, most zealously, and to the utmost of their ability, in the spirit of love, of discretion, and of fidelity; but still most zealously, to promote the sacred cause of Negro Emancipation."

The English Baptist Union held its Annual Meeting in London, in June last. A considerable number of the Ministers and messengers urged an immediate termination of the correspondence with the American Baptists; others, equally abhorrent of Slavery, pleaded that faithful, earnest, solemn remonstrance should be tried; and upon the effect must depend the steps to be taken. The deputation said, that the American Baptists had not refused to receive communications from the Union on the subject of Slavery, but that they (Drs. Cox and Hoby,) on their own responsibility, had not introduced the subject at the American Baptist Meeting at Richmond, Virginia. It was ultimately agreed to try a firm and earnest appeal, and to suspend future proceedings on the result. All parties reprobated an intercourse which would compromise their character as Abolitionists. The Resolution was, in substance, that the connection of the Union with the Baptist Churches of the United States, consists in a correspondence to the advantage of both parties, by an unfettered expression of opinion on Christian consistency, the advancement of religion, and the glory of God.

Many regretted that the deputation had not, in America, *publicly advocated* the principles of Abolition; but it was believed that they had acted conscientiously in the silence they maintained. Even those who deemed their conduct injurious to the cause, gave them credit for honesty of intention; and the Resolution bore that,—

"Having sent our brethren (Drs. Cox and Hoby,) to promote, with other objects, the sacred cause of Negro Emancipation, we rejoice that they conveyed to Ministers and Churches our abhorrence of the system of Slavery; but, although assured of their integrity of purpose, we regret that to attain denominational objects, they deemed it advisable to refrain from introducing

it in public meetings, and to withhold from the Abolition Society their encouragement and support."

In the fourth Resolution, the Union freely express their condemnation of the Slave system, and its influence on the American Churches; and earnestly entreat the Baptist Church in America, which contains more than 600,000 members—"by their sense of equity, by their love of liberty, and by their hope of salvation, to rouse themselves to their duty, and withhold no effort from the general cause of humanity and freedom, until the jubilee of Universal Emancipation is proclaimed."

These Resolutions were accompanied by an affectionate and soul-stirring appeal; but our limits preclude us from doing justice to the former, by an attempt at abridgment; and for the latter, we must refer those who wish to enjoy the high gratification of its perusal, to the religious publications in which they have severally appeared.

The correspondence of the Wesleyan Churches on both sides the Atlantic, forms a no less interesting topic in the present agitated state of the Church on the question of Slavery. In the United States 600,000 members are numbered in connection with this Church, the largest branch of which is Episcopal in its government.

In August, 1835, the British Conference sent, by the Rev. William Lord, an address to the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, in which they very tenderly touched upon the subject of Slavery, merely as it were putting out their feelers. "Great scriptural principles," say the Conference—"are opposed to the continuance of Slavery in a Christian State—it is contrary to the precepts of Christianity"—and they trust "that they (their American brethren) have begun to resist and condemn this baneful system, and will be led to such practical steps as shall produce such a consentaneous opinion, feeling, and purpose among their people, as will result in a rejection of Slavery, on the ground of its repugnancy to the laws of Christ."

This is the substance, indeed almost all the Conference said on the subject; yet it was like a fire-brand cast into the American Methodist Church.

That church met in Conference at Cincinnati, in May 1836. The Rev. Mr Lord was introduced, and presented the address of the British Conference. On which, after its being read, and a motion to print it set aside, a Committee were appointed to report. Next day, Dr. Bangs, one of the Committee, presented a report. He spoke of the "trouble Abolitionism" had

made. Mr Spencer said, "the report speaks of the trouble Abolitionism has made us; I think Slavery should be inserted instead of Abolitionism." This report was recommitted, and next day another was produced, which was more generally agreeable.

The Rev. Mr Early of Virginia said,—

"Let the Methodist Members from Maine to Georgia come out and denounce Abolitionists. It was of little use for Southern Methodists to denounce them, for that is expected, and it is replied the South are Slave-holders; but let the Church altogether denounce them, and it will place the Methodist Church on an eminence it never had before, while other Churches are divided by this excitement."

The Rev. Mr Paine of Tennessee then moved to strike out all that part of the address which related to Slavery, which several supported.

Bishop Soule satisfied Mr Paine, that it would be best to retain that part. The report was then adopted.

A memorial, signed by 151 travelling, and 49 local preachers, (200 in all,) was presented, praying for the restoration to their discipline, of the original rules on Slavery. Dr. Bangs said, he hoped the question of Slavery would have been kept out of General Conference; but seeing it could not, he referred it to a Committee. Mr Winnans, from Mississippi, agreed on account of the respectability of the memorialists; but said he could get 500,000 names against its prayer. Thus the Abolitionists have fortified themselves with the rule of discipline of Wesley, Clarke, Coke, and the Conference. A similar memorial, signed by 2,204 members, was presented by the Rev. Orange Scott. S. G. Rozzell of Baltimore moved, that a paragraph on Abolition, in order to put it down, be inserted in an address to the people. O. Scott moved an amendment to add "Slavery." A resolution was next day proposed to condemn modern Abolitionism; and in reference to two brethren who had attended an Abolition meeting, it stated "their conduct was unjustifiable." O. Scott, who was one of those referred to, defended "modern Abolition," and identified it with the doctrines of Wesley, Clarke, Watson, the Wesleyan Conference, and those formerly held by the Methodist Episcopal Church. Bishop Soule thought the best service they could render the country, was to make no interference. Mr Scott closed, by assuring the Conference, *that they might as well think of putting their foot on the burning mountain to stop its rumbling,—turn back the waters of the Niagara,—or take up the waters of the Mississippi in the hollow of their hand, as to think of stopping the progress of Abolitionism.*

Mr Crouder of Virginia was in favour of that "noble, benevolent, and heaven-born institution, the Colonization Society." Mr Winnans said, Jehovah had permitted, had regulated Slavery. He believed there should be Christians and Christian ministers known to be Slave-holders extensively throughout the South, and Slave-holding Bishops too; for the same reason that you should exclude us from any office in the church, you should exclude us from membership in the church. Abolition movements are evil and only evil, always, and everywhere, and at all times. Wm. A. Smith said, Abolition was a political and moral heresy—alike against our discipline and the scriptures—it was carried into our class-meetings and quarterly Conferences. Speaking of Mr O. Scott, he said, "I would to God he were in heaven, where he is prepared to go." Mr J. F. Adams called to order, and inquired if it were admissible for one member to wish another member dead. No retraction was made, nor did the Conference require it. 120 voted to condemn Abolition, 14 would not bow to the image of Slavery in any shape.

The address which the Conference produced, is of a piece with the discussions which preceded it. They say,

> That in common with sister-denominations, they have been more or less agitated on the *perplexing* question of Negro Slavery. They receive with respectful deference what their elder brethren have said on the question; but had they been as well acquainted with the subject as they, had they known the many difficulties arising from State Constitutions and civil compacts, and perceived its *delicate* relations to the *Church*, to the States, and to the General Government, (in short, the lions in the way,) while expressing their decided disapprobation of the system of Slavery itself, their tone of sympathy would have been deeper, more pathetic.

But they utter no condemnation of the system, nor even denominate the decided disapprobation of their British brethren just. They state, that of the Coloured population in the Southern and South-western States, they have not less than 70,000 in church membership. This reply was signed by four bishops, (R. R. Roberts, Joshua Serle, Elijah Hedding, and James D. Andrew, and by Thomas L. Douglass, Secretary, from Cincinnati, Ohio) —and sent to England by the Rev. Dr. Fisk, a rank Colonizationist; who, when leaving America, earnestly implored his brethren, as perhaps the last favour he might have an opportunity to request of them, to *cease to agitate the church and the world on the subject.* And referring to a letter of "a clergyman of their church, of high standing," the Rev. Dr. Obin, president of a College in Virginia, who had stated that the agitation of the question would excite the masters to greater severity to their Slaves, Dr. F. said, that "he *hoped*, *prayed*, and

trusted, that the strength of public sentiment would put an end to this *most thriftless* and *ill-timed Northern agitation*, on the question of Southern Slavery."

Such was the delegate sent to the British Methodist Conference, in August, 1836. That body, in reply, take somewhat higher ground than in their former address; but, considering the evasive character of the communication received, and the nature and importance of the subject, they would have been justified in using stronger terms of remonstrance—" it would not break the heads of their American brethren."

"We regret," say the Conference, "that our former allusion to the subject should have occasioned you pain or embarrassment. We claimed no right or privilege but what we would freely yield to you :—

"We utterly disclaim all responsibility for any other kind of foreign interference with your views and feelings, which may have been exerted from any other quarter'—alluding probably to the interference of the Emancipation Societies of this country, through their *invited* 'foreign emissary' George Thompson. 'We considered it our duty to give our moral weight in support of those views which were held by our great Founder, repeatedly professed by the British Conference, and for many years avowed in your own Book of Discipline, and in accordance with our merciful and righteous Christianity.' 'Slavery,' they add, 'in itself is so obviously opposed to the immutable principles of justice, to the inalienable rights of man of whatever colour or condition, to the social and civil improvement and happiness of the human family, to the principles and precepts of Christianity, and to the full accomplishment of the merciful designs of the gospel, that we cannot but consider it the duty of the Christian church to bear an unequivocal testimony against a system which involves so much sin against God, and so much oppression and wrong inflicted on an unoffending race of our fellow-men.

"The British Conference expresses its anxious and earnest hope, that our American brethren will feel it their duty, in union with other Christians, to adopt such measures as may lead to the safe and speedy Emancipation of the whole Slave-population of their great and interesting country."

Thus the subject of Slavery and the question of its Abolition, is fully introduced to the consideration of the American Churches. There it will be subjected to the scrutiny of the Ministers of Christianity, and the votaries of Mammon, and we have no doubt, that Truth and Righteousness will prevail; and that the Churches will, ere long, be delivered from the destructive infection and ruinous consequences of this Beelzebub-Slavery; for the Spirit of Him, who is powerful to overcome the Prince of devils, will cast it out of His church.

The Abolition question has also got into some of the State Legislatures, and into Congress, where, to the shame of this professedly free Republican Legislature, the petitions of the people on this crying abomination are, to gratify the avarice of the Southern Slave-holders, totally disregarded. But here too, the spirit of liberty, personified in the honourable John Quincy Adams, and, we trust, in many more noble minds, stimulated by

his example, and too exalted to monopolize to themselves the inalienable rights of man, will wrestle with and overcome this giant evil, which threatens the ruin of the commonwealth.

"Abolition principles are becoming commendatory in candidates for the Representation. In several districts in Vermont, Abolitionists were lately elected over Anti-Abolitionists. The governor of Vermont is president of an Auxiliary Abolition Society. Large majorities in both Houses of Legislature of that State lately passed resolutions, strongly asserting the right of free discussion, and of Congress to abolish Slavery in the district of Columbia; and directed these resolutions to be sent to the legislatures of the Slave-holding States, in reply to their demand for the legislative suppression of Anti-Slavery Societies. Their Secretary of State, who is a thorough-going Abolitionist, in communicating these resolutions to me says:—'The Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 'took occasion to say, that the people of Vermont are now ready to receive back our magnanimous and devoted friend George Thompson, and to stand by him!'

"The governor of Pennsylvania, in his message to the Legislature in December last, openly denounced 'the base bowing of the knee to the dark spirit of Slavery.' The tone of the Southern Governors is this year much lower."—*Letter to one of the Secretaries of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.*

The *Glasgow Discussion* is printed at full length in the *Western Presbyterian*, Louisville, State of Kentucky. Thus Mr Thompson is in the *Slave States!!* Thanks to the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge. The Discussion has, besides, gone through several editions in America; and one of these, furnished with copious *notes*, by William Lloyd Garrison.

Misses Sarah and Angelina E. Grimké, from South Carolina, a Slave State, are *lecturing* to Female audiences, on the subject of Abolition!!!

Mr Garrison writes to Mr Thompson, of date January 10th, 1837:—

"In this country the Anti-Slavery cause is marching onward with astonishing celerity; and it is now the all-pervading impression, both at the North and the South, that ere long it is to be completely victorious. Mobs are now quite rare—the brutal crisis seems to have passed away—and though we meet with sturdy opposition in various quarters, yet we always keep the mastery.

"The number of our Societies increases too fast for me to keep an accurate reckoning. It cannot be less than 800, and may amount to 1000—and still it continues to augment. But the strongest proof of our growth—the most sublime manifestation of our whole-hearted determination to conquer by one decisive effort, is seen in the fact, that we have commissioned no less than SEVENTY Agents, to go forth and give battle to a corrupt public sentiment—all good men, and true—all more or less able and successful lecturers—a large portion enlisted 'to serve' during the war, and others for a limited period. I believe the world has seen nothing like this, since the seventy disciples were sent forth by our Lord—and returned with joy, saying, 'Even the devils are subject to us.' Only think of it—seventy men, official Agents, pleading with the people, night and day! If in a cause like this, the promise is, that 'one shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight,' what under God may not this sacramental host achieve?"

Your Committee deem it right to notice the recent and still continued struggle in Mexico, between the Anglo-American Settlers of Texas, and the general government of that country. There is abundant evidence that the chief, if not ex-

clusive cause of the collision, is to be found in the introduction of Slaves into Texas, and the determination of the Slave-holding Colonists, to establish and perpetuate the system of Slavery, and the Slave-trade, in opposition to the Mexican Constitution of 1824, providing that thereafter no Slaves should be born or introduced into any portion of the Mexican States; and to the decree of the 15th of September, 1829, abolishing Slavery throughout the bounds of the Republic. In their revolt from the General Government, and their attempt to dismember the Mexican Republic, the Anglo-American Settlers have been sustained by the Land Speculators, Slave-holders, and scheming Politicians of the United States, who have succeeded in enlisting a large amount of effective sympathy in behalf of the Texians.

Volunteers in considerable numbers have been induced to join the rebel army, and supplies of money, arms, and ammunition, have been plentifully voted in various public meetings. The issue of the contest is still uncertain. The Abolitionists of the United States are decidedly opposed to the Texian war, and the annexation of the province of Texas to the United States, and have fully demonstrated that the triumph of the Texian arms, would lead to the re-establishment of Slavery, and the opening of a vast market for the surplus Slave population of the United States.

Alas! Republican America, with all her wealth—her coffers overflowing—exhibits among the nations a very unenviable character, in her conduct on this great moral and political question. She refuses to Abolish Slavery, and her internal Slave-trade, winks at the schemes of her citizens, for their extension—proscribes her Coloured population, and persecutes those who seek to rid her of these evils, and their consequent sinfulness. From false pride, she refuses what all other maritime nations have granted, a reciprocal right of search for Slaves, on board of vessels carrying her flag;—hence her star-spangled banner, so much her boast, affords a protection to inhuman Slave-traders—and yet she assumes to herself the title of the *Freest Nation on Earth!!!*

We are told from very high authority, that "Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall." And we much fear, that such will be the fate of America, if she repent not and forsake her wickedness. Our only hope is, that there are in her borders a precious few—the salt of the earth—who are striving to show her the enormity of her transgressions; and these, by the blessing of God, are rapidly increasing, an their efforts proving successful.

The importance of the Colonies of Great Britain, and the United States of America, and their influence upon other Powers in regard to the Abolition question, have induced us to devote a large portion of this Report to examine the effects of *complete* Emancipation, and of the Apprenticeship in the former; and to state the progress of Abolition principles in the latter. For, were Slavery entirely abolished by these two Powers, their example would, we doubt not, soon prevail with the other Governments who hold Slaves, to effect its Universal Extinction.

Your Committee would rejoice could they say that there is a near prospect of France joining her influence with Great Britain, as an example to America;—but although there are two Anti-Slavery Societies in Paris, it does not appear that the French people, to any extent in Paris, or at all in the provinces, take any such interest in the question as the British did. We would be glad to hear of the formation of other Abolition Societies in France; and the holding of Anti-Slavery meetings; and of the presentation of petitions to their Legislature from the different districts.

The question of maintaining or suppressing Colonial Slavery came on in the Chamber of Deputies, on a demand of the sum of £270,000 being made for the military expenses of the French West India Islands.

M. Lamartine delivered an eloquent speech against Negro Slavery, and was ably supported by M. de Tracy, *an Honorary Member of the Glasgow Emancipation Society :—*

"'You may stigmatize my proposal as revolutionary, as tending to convulsion;' exclaimed Lamartine, 'but I insist that it is conservatism; for the most revolutionary of all things is an abuse left to subsist; and the strongest incentive to convulsion is an iniquity which might be amended, yet which is consecrated by law.'"

M. Lamartine proposed to indemnify the Slave proprietors gradually, by yearly payments.

M. de Tracy would allow *no price or compensation to be paid for property vested in man's labour and flesh.*

M. Isambert confined himself to showing how the natural course of things led to Emancipation, and obviated any evil results.

But we fear matters are in too unsettled a state in the French Government for them to enter heartily into this business.

We have received a letter from one of the Secretaries of one of the Paris Abolition Societies, of which the following is a translation:—

"FRENCH SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

"To Mr John Murray, Secretary of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, Bowling Bay, Glasgow.

"Paris, 13*th March*, 1837.

"Sir,—We have received the letter which you did us the honour of writing to us the 8th of the present month, to M. Le Comte de la Borde, and to myself, in your capacity of Secretary for the Emancipation Society of Glasgow, and by which you request some information upon the progress of the question of Abolition in the French Colonies.

"The Society has charged me with the honour of replying to you, that it is about to renew its efforts during the present Session of the French Chambers, to obtain, either from the Chambers, or from the Ministers, a pledge to proceed with the Emancipation in our Colonies. But it cannot conceal from itself the difficulties which it has to encounter.

"Although Slavery be repudiated by unanimous opinion, they differ upon the method of Abolition. Some would wish to proceed gradually, by the Emancipation of children, others by an Emancipation *en masse*. Others again wish to wait the result of the experiment which is proceeding in your Colonies.

"We are continually meeting with the objection, that the cultivation of the Sugar Cane is rapidly diminishing, and that, with the Apprenticeship, police regulations will be necessary—equivalent to a kind of Slavery, and resembling those of the Haitian order, to enforce the habit of labour amongst the black population. To give much money to obtain this object, appears to be a bad speculation.

"It will not have escaped your observation, that opinions in France are much divided upon the question of interior administration. The parliamentary struggles, and the different changes of Ministers, are proofs of it; circumstances are therefore not very favourable for taking into serious consideration the Emancipation of the Blacks.

"We do not lose courage, we reckon in our ranks honourable men of all political opinions, and we still expect, that after the ministerial crisis, a favourable moment will occur, when the government will honour itself in the eyes of its contemporaries and of posterity, by the adoption of the great measure of Emancipation, which we are striving for.

"We observe with pleasure that the citizens of Great Britain, after having voted and put into execution the bill of 1834, have not ceased to have a lively interest in the unfortunate population who still groan in the bonds of Slavery, under other governments.

"We shall receive with pleasure all the communications which you may have the goodness to make to us, upon this important question; and we pray you will receive the expression of our high esteem.

"ISAMBERT, *Sec.*"

Your Committee are sorry that they cannot report any progress made towards the Abolition of Slavery, by any of the other Powers who hold Slaves; but they are not without hope, that, to accommodate themselves to the wide-spread and daily-extending influence of public opinion in favour of Abolition, these Governments must all soon bestir themselves on this important question. Even in Rio de Janeiro, a place into which Slaves innumerable are constantly and openly imported—and where they are openly and by force carried off from the possession of the authorities who have legally seized them—even *there*, exists a Society under the title of Defenders of the National Liberty and Independence! So alive is this Society to the power of the *Press*, that it has already offered a premium of 400 milreis for the best treatise on the Slave-trade.

In Hayti also, an Abolition Society has lately been formed; and as a proof of the lively interest they take in the Emancipation of their fellow-men, they have sent to the Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society, two barrels of Haytian Sugar, and a copy of the Constitution of their Society, the preamble of which deserves a place here, viz.:—

"The unspeakable indignation which the Slavery of a great number of our brethren, in America and elsewhere, has excited in us, the citizens of Hayti; the great pleasure we have felt in the view of the Anti-Slavery Societies formed in different parts of the world, to bring about the enfranchisement of the Slaves; the high and sacred principles by which these Societies are commended to us; the persevering efforts of their leaders and editors; their inexhaustible industry and ever unceasing zeal; all these considerations ought to make them the object of our eternal gratitude, and to us it specially belongs, as a free and independent people, courageously to embrace the cause of *justice* and *liberty*, and to second these liberal men, who have exposed their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honours, in generously pleading for their unfortunate brethren.

"And to justify the morality of our object, we desire to be understood, that we disapprove of all forcible and violent means in favour of the Abolition of Slavery, and that the success which can be obtained by moral and religious persuasion, is that which harmonizes with our principles."

An Anti-Slavery Society has likewise recently been formed in Upper Canada, in the formation of which, if we mistake not, Mr James Johnston, our late esteemed Treasurer, took a part; and on which occasion some excellent resolutions were passed.

A great mass of information on the Foreign Slave-trade, has lately been laid before the public, in two pamphlets, one by the Rev. Thomas Roberts, Baptist Minister, Bristol; the other anonymous, but for which we are indebted to the pen of Robert Stokes, Esq., Secretary to the London Anti-Slavery Society.

It is really almost incredible, that *thirty years* after Great Britain and America have abolished the Slave-trade, after all the treaties made, and money expended for its Abolition, it should still be carried on to an undiminished extent, by, or under the protection of the flags of Powers calling themselves Christians; and especially that Republican America, after having formally abolished the traffic in human flesh, about the same time with Great Britain, should yet, notwithstanding her high profession of religion and liberty, stand most prominently disgraced by throwing around it the protection of her flag, and thus countenance and encourage her subjects in its prosecution. She has positively declared, that "under no condition, in no form, and with no restrictions, will the United States enter into any convention or treaty, or make any combined efforts, of any sort or kind, with other nations, for the suppression of a traffic," which she has denounced as piracy, and declared those engaged in it to be worthy of death.

The laws made by the several powers, ostensibly for the

suppression of this diabolical traffic, have only been productive of the invention of more hideous atrocity, to enable the savages carrying it on to avoid detection, and to pursue it with profit.

To detail the endless variety of cruelties thus inflicted upon innocent unoffending human beings, by their merciless tormentors, would be to detail every species of torture that it is possible for demons either to invent or to inflict.

The dealers in human flesh are far more indifferent to the agonies they inflict upon their victims, than are the dealers in pigs, cattle, or poultry, from our sister isle. These creatures are better accommodated in their transportation, than the poor unfortunate Africans.

For the information of those, and we fear they are not few, who are still ignorant of the sufferings of their fellow-men, from the prosecution of this abominable traffic, it may be necessary to add a few facts on the authority of the British Commissioners at the Havanna.

In *March*, 1835, the Minerva, Spanish Polacca barque, of 158 tons burden, with a crew of two officers, and 32 men, took 725 Slaves on board in the Calabar; making in all 759 souls, embarked in a vessel of 158 tons; being as many persons as would sufficiently crowd an English line of battle ship, of 2000 tons. In the British transport service, one ton and a-half is usually allowed for each man, and yet there are complaints of being crowded; but in this case of the Minerva, there is only a very small fraction more than one-fifth of a ton to each person. Of the 725 Slaves, 186 died on the passage from Calabar to Sierra Leone; two were in a dying state on her arrival, and 20 more died before adjudication.

February, 1835. The Formidable, Spanish brig, 200 tons, captured on 17th December previous, had 712 Slaves on board; subsequent to the seizure, 304 Slaves died; of these, six threw themselves overboard, and were drowned; 150, or thereabouts, died from the vessel having been struck by lightning; from the shock occasioned thereby, ten dying instantly; the remainder of the 304 Slaves died from bowel complaint.

November, 1835. The Argos, Spanish brig, 100 tons, 429 Slaves taken on board in the Bonny; 55 died in the passage up, and one was drowned; all in a bad state on arrival.

May, 1835. The Marte, Spanish brig, armed with eight guns, and a crew of 56 men, shipped upwards of 600 Slaves at Loango, on the 25th February, 1835, and was captured by the Skipjack on 8th April, with 442 Slaves on board. On the 19th April, 403—all that remained alive—were landed at the

Havanna; thus upwards of 200, one-third of their number, died in 47 days!!

December, 1835. The Diligencia, Spanish schooner, captured by his Majesty's ship, Champion, shipped 210 Slaves at Mayumba, 21st October, 1835; of these only 120 remained alive on 12th December, when she was brought into the Havanna, more than half the number shipped having died in 43 days!!!

Other cases are given by Naval officers.

The Destimida, under Portuguese colours, was detained by his Majesty's ship, Druid, in the first instance on suspicion only; and it was not until a Lieutenant and Carpenter were sent on board to search, that some time after, and with much difficulty, they discovered 50 male Negro Slaves concealed in the bottom of the vessel. Five young men were extricated from one water butt; but the greater part had been stowed or forced into the small or close spaces between the water-casks under the false decks.

In the La Pantica—and such cases are quite common—the height between the floor on which they sat, or lay in a crouching posture, and the ceiling above them, *was only* 22 *inches*—two feet between is very common. The agony of the position, especially of the men, whose heads and necks are bent down by the boarding above them, may be imagined. Once so fixed, relief by motion or change of posture is unattainable. The body frequently stiffens into a permanent curve; and in the streets of Freetown, Sierra Leone, captured Slaves are to be seen in every conceivable state of distortion.

It may be expected that such horrible scenes of misery and cruelty would produce the most dreadful mortality. In 17 vessels it amounts to 38 per cent—the Slaves taken on board being 7,057—*died before landing*, 2,683!

The profits arising from this barbarous and inhuman traffic are such, that the trade seems on the increase.

Lord Howard de Walden, in a despatch to the Duke of Wellington, dated Lisbon, 26th February, 1835, mentions a vessel, the Esperanca, fitted out there at great expense, and the profits expected from her voyage, are stated at £40,000.

The number of Spanish Slavers condemned at the Havanna in the year 1835, was nine; of Slaves 2,363, nearly double the number of some years previous.

But out of a mass of similar information on this painful and disgraceful subject, taken from Parliamentary papers, the above must suffice to show, that it is still carried on with undiminished vigour and cruelty—notwithstanding Great Britain has

paid to Spain and Portugal nearly *one and a half Millions of Pounds sterling*, to induce them to abandon this traffic in human flesh. It is estimated that not less than 100,000 Negroes are annually stolen from Africa, and that of these, 10,000 are yearly sacrificed in the vessels employed in this murderous trade. What satisfaction, it may well be asked, have the people of this country got for this immense expenditure of money? Or what advantage has it, or the Treaties entered into, obtained for the poor Negroes? Unhesitatingly we answer, NONE. The money is lost or thrown away—the Treaties are as waste paper. Nor will this cruel, and sinful "merchandise in Slaves and souls of men" cease, until Slavery itself is *universally abolished.*

From the facts shortly detailed above, Abolitionists will perceive, that although Great Britain abolished the Slave-trade thirty years ago, not in word only, but in deed; and *her* Colonies are not more out of that market—now that she has also abolished Slavery—than they have been all that time, during which it has been vigorously carried on by the other principal European Powers, and by America; yet that *last year* it has not been diminished in extent, or in the horrible cruelties inflicted on its wretched victims, but rather increased,—we are, therefore, called upon to increased exertion, to the use of every possible means, in order to prevail upon those Powers who have Slaves, to abolish Slavery, as the only sure and effectual method of abolishing the Slave-trade.

One other topic your Committee must shortly refer to, ere they conclude—viz., Slavery in India. A Bill was brought into Parliament about the same time with the West India Slavery Abolition Bill, to abolish Slavery in the British possessions in India, on or before the 12th April, 1837; but, by a piece of jugglery, the House of Lords (as usual with every good measure) threw out the Bill; wisely judging, that the East India Nabobs must have Slaves to wait upon their High Mightinesses.

Slavery in British India assumes the appearance of various degrees of rigour; but although reported to be seldom or never met with so severe as it was in the West Indies, still it is doubtless " a bitter draught," and equally demands that its unfortunate victims be released from their degrading servitude —degrading both to mind and body. The Slaves in India are not Africans, but in general natives; and it is computed that there are in the British territories in the East, nearly TEN MILLIONS of human beings, who are deprived of their natural right to dispose of their own labour. And there are, of

course, many in other parts of India, whose condition would be affected by the Emancipation of those in the British possessions.

Having now looked at the principal features of this subject, but not exhausted it; yet having, we presume, brought forward enough to show the progress which has been made in the great cause of Abolition, the present state of the question, and the immense work which yet lies before us; it will be seen, however strange it may appear, that comparatively little, in fact, has yet been done, as regards the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade. What *has* been accomplished, may be summed up in few words:—Great Britain, and she alone in reality, has, *bona fide*, abolished the Slave-trade. For, since America protects it by her flag, her Abolition must be regarded as merely nominal. Great Britain has also Emancipated her Slaves, 800,000 in number. But there are still Five Millions of Africans, or their descendants, held in Slavery by nations denominated Christian;—half of these by the United States of America; besides Half a Million there nominally free, but in political and social Slavery, because of a complexion proscribed by prejudice; while in India there are, as above stated, Ten Millions of Slaves in the British territories, and perhaps as many more throughout the other parts of that continent.

What a mass of human misery, wretchedness, and woe—what an amount of crime and wickedness—do we here contemplate! What griefs! what agonies! what heart-rendings!—what separations of the nearest and dearest ties of relationship and affection!—what stripes! what cruelties! what tortures! what murders!—What mind can contemplate the amount? And what Christian, contemplating such an immense accumulation of affliction and of sin, does not feel his sympathies enlisted on the side of suffering humanity, and his sense of duty urging him to exertion—to exertion at once for the elevation of his degraded and down-trodden brethren, and the rescue from an awful future retribution, of their inhuman and seemingly relentless oppressors?

On a review of the result of their past efforts, your Committee feel that they have abundant cause to "thank God and take courage." In particular, they rejoice in the response so readily and so generally given by the friends of Emancipation, to the call made upon them last year, to remonstrate with the Christians of America upon the sin of Slave-holding. The amount of pecuniary support remitted them from various quarters, demands the grateful thanks of the Committee;—the li-

berality of the lovers of Universal freedom during the past year, having nearly doubled the Society's revenue. The Committee have in consequence, been enabled, widely to diffuse information regarding the object of the Society, and the progress of the Abolition cause. This has, in almost every instance, prepared the way for the cordial reception of our untiring Agent, Mr Thompson, in the different towns he has visited. Your Committee intend to request that Gentleman to renew his engagement with them; and they have sincere pleasure in introducing here, *to the special notice of the friends of Emancipation*, the following selection of testimonies from societies, as well as from distinguished individuals in America, to the value of Mr Thompson's exertions in furthering the Abolition cause in the United States. In the arrangement of these, regard has been had to the order of time;—the latest date being the 10th January last.

The Fourth Annual Report of the *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society*, after noticing, in commendatory terms, the labours of various agents in the United States—in reference to Mr Thompson, says:—

"Though necessarily confined to the statistics of Massachusetts alone, we may not thus excuse ourselves from making special mention of the services of one, now we trust breathing again the air of his native land, whence he came to this country at the invitation of this Society, to raise his voice of strength, and exert his various and surpassing talents, for the relief of suffering men. Mr Thompson has been the chief speaker among many who have spoken well, and has laboured more abundantly than any of those, who have abounded most in this work of the Lord. He has laboured with us, and for us, in a manner and a measure that have given an impulse to the Anti-Slavery cause, which will be felt to the last. It flows and will keep flowing on. He poured himself out like water; and the wonder of all who heard him was, that his stream of facts and arguments, and illustrations, and appeals, seemed to be never diminished, but still gushed forth as from a fountain, ever full and overflowing. He performed, while here, an amount of service, as we have elsewhere said, the narrative of which would be regarded by many as an incredible tale. The remembrance of his energy, zeal, and alacrity, in the work he was sent to do, will never be effaced; and we hope it will incite us to constantly increasing diligence. He came to us as highly commended as he could be, by the Christian Philanthropists of England, and he returns to them with our united testimony, that he has amply redeemed the pledges they gave us. He has shown himself to be thoroughly furnished for his office. And he has *in no case compromised the Christian character of his mission.* We cannot find words to express our shame for the ineffable meanness of his opposers, who, unable to answer his arguments, or to withstand his appeals, were eager to drive the highly-gifted philanthropist from the country, by insult, calumny, and violent assaults upon his person. They have effected their purpose. But we weep rather for them than for him."

We give another extract from the same Report, p. 61. "The Rev. Orange Scott introduced the following Resolution, which was adopted unanimously:—

"*Resolved*,—That we mark with grateful reverence the example set before us by the Philanthropists of Britain, respecting the Abolition of Slavery, and report to them, with hearts deeply penetrated, the faithfulness and success of the noble spirits (George Thompson and Charles Stuart) they have sent to our aid;

and that in view of this entire awakened country, roused by George Thompson to a knowledge of its cherished enmity to Emancipation, we owe to him, and those who granted his aid to our request, to be more and more faithful to the cause to which he sacrificed all his personal interests at the hazard of his life."

From the SECOND ANNUAL REPORT of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, page 37 :—

"In this connection the Committee would not forget to mention the services of those noble-hearted and devoted men, Charles Stuart and George Thompson. The former has, during the year, given his time, and more than his time, gratuitously to this cause. The latter, while he remained with us, laboured most abundantly, and gained multitudes of converts. With the utmost fearlessness and good temper, he met a storm of mean and malignant opposition, such as few have encountered since the days of the Apostles, and such as nothing but the truth and faithfulness of an Apostle could have called forth. He counted not his life dear to him, in the cause of the oppressed, *nor would any peril have induced him to re-cross the Atlantic, but for the urgent advice of his friends*, who were unwilling that a martyr for American liberty, should be any other than an American citizen. They would fain spare their country the shame of staining her soil with the blood of the representative of her best friends in the old world—a man whom the noblest philanthropists of Europe delight to honour. If his traducers among us have any portion of self-respect remaining, they will be taught a lesson, by the enthusiasm with which George Thompson has been received by all whose favour is worth having, in his native land. They will have reason to repent the violence which interrupted Mr Thompson's labours here, for *his voice will be more terrible to oppressors than ever, when it comes across the Atlantic, backed by the loud acclaim of that noble army of philanthropists who knocked the fetters from eight hundred thousand British Slaves.*

"Our brothers, Stuart and Thompson, are accused of being foreigners, as if it was a crime for a foreigner, while submitting himself to our laws, openly to discuss with us, in our own halls and churches, the propriety of our institutions! Is our republicanism a thing that fears open discussion? Such, we at least, have never understood it to be—much less our sins against republicanism; and among the last rights we shall be disposed to yield to the spirit of Slavery, is the right to welcome and listen to such foreigners as George Thompson, *nor will we cease our efforts to overthrow the spirit that persecuted him, till he shall be welcomed back, to share with us the triumph of those principles which he nobly jeoparded life to promulgate.*"

From the Report of the *New York State Society* :—

"When George Thompson, the Lafayette of our bloodless and lawful revolution, was driven by persecution, about a year ago, from our shores, what Abolitionist was there who did not feel *that* providence a chastisement, and prostrate himself in the dust with the inquiry—'Lord! why is it thus with us?' The humiliation and the inquiry were appropriate and salutary. But who does not *now* see, that George Thompson has been doing more for us in Europe than he could have done for us in America? The Great Master Builder *knew in what part of his rising edifice his services were most needed.* False brethren were mining for our overthrow in the affections of our British fellow-labourers. False glosses upon American despotism and its apologists, were industriously exported by the interested traffickers in 'Slaves and souls of men.' George Thompson was needed in England: and yet what could he have done there, without a Breckinridge to accept his challenge, and to demonstrate by the gigantic but vain efforts of his splendid genius and talents, the righteousness of the cause that, in the eyes of all Europe, so signally *crushed* him?"

Extracts of Letters addressed to Mr Thompson :—

From the REV. H. WRIGHT.

"Your labours among us did much to bring these proud and most unjust and oppressive tyrannical republicans, to regard their coloured countryman as a man and a brother. * * * * Let the first question to a citizen of this free Republican nation of tyrants, as he lands on your shore, whether he be a minister of religion, or of State—whether merchant or yeoman,—be, are you an *Aboli-*

tionist? And if you find he is not, let every word you say to him, and every token of friendship or hospitality, be to him a reproof, and a call to repentance. We feel that you are aiding us in aiding by God's help to envelope your island in an atmosphere in which an American tyrant, and the abettors of tyrants, cannot breathe."

From William Lloyd Garrison.

"Thanks, a thousand thanks, to the Christians of Great Britain for what they have done, are doing, and mean to do, respecting American Slavery. They are putting their lips to the trump of God, and pouring upon the free winds a thunder-tone of remonstrance, which the strong voice of the stormy Atlantic cannot drown. It is breaking upon the ear of the American Church, like the voice of the Almighty; and O! may it not be heard in vain. * * * * *We shall need the combined efforts of Christians of all denominations, among you, —let them all move onward together*, for Slavery is preying upon the vitals of our religion—filling our Churches with innocent blood, and vindicating its divine authority and benevolence from our pulpits. * * * * The Christians of Great Britain cannot send over their remonstrances and entreaties to us *without producing a salutary effect.* We may chafe, and vituperate, and roar, for a time, but our pride and our self-esteem, must finally succumb to the popular sentiment of Christendom. Bad as we are, we *cannot afford to lose our character;* and if it be made clearly manifest to us, that we must either give up our Slavery, or lose our character as Christians, we shall ultimately abandon Slavery. Therefore, let the Christians among you, of all denominations, renew their expostulations with us. Oh, *let them be faithful!* Softness of speech will not answer; we are dead in trespasses and sins, and to whisper in our ears, is to waste breath. To us must be addressed the language of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, for we are more hardened in our iniquity than were the stubborn Jews."

From Lewis Tappan.

"The *ministers of the gospel* in Great Britain, of *all denominations*, must press the Anti-Slavery Cause on the consciences and hearts of Christians in this country, and continue to urge it until they feel that the religious community in Great Britain, consider Slave-holding an enormous wickedness, from which the Church of Jesus Christ must be purged. This great service the Christians in Great Britain *can under God perform*, on behalf of my guilty country. Let them do it *fearlessly*, and *boldly*, and *perseveringly*. Let them urge it upon Christians here, as our devoted Christians urge upon foreign heathen, the claims of the gospel. * * * * Let the ministers of Great Britain refuse distributing the sacred elements to ministers or laymen of the United States, who hold Slaves, let the boards of benevolent institutions refuse to invite Slave-holders to give addresses at anniversaries, and pour forth your remonstrances unsparingly to those who oppose Immediate Emancipation.

"Let your Poets, Reviewers, Sermonisers, Pamphleteers, Letter-writers, and Artists, one and all, pourtray the hideous vice of the sin of Slavery—of American Slavery; and tell the world their views of the system, until English literature is saturated with the principle of human rights.

"Great Britain has still a mighty work to perform in the moral regeneration of the world. Let your great nation be the moral Emancipator of the human race, soul, and body. I once hoped this great honour would, by the blessing of God, have devolved upon my own beloved land, but now past events admonish me that the hope of the Slave, and the friends of the Slave, is in Great Britain."

From David Lee Child—the husband of the celebrated Mrs Child.

"Do not regret your coming. I believe I said when we received you, that your arrival was equal to ten years' progress of the Cause. I have not altered that opinion."

From William Lloyd Garrison.

"O my beloved friend! my heart heaves like the ocean when I think of you and yours—of your labours here—of your timely and triumphant efforts in England and Scotland—of all that appertains to our glorious cause, in which you are so deeply interested.....All eyes here are watching your movements in your noble country, and a great multitude are daily giving thanks to God for your success."

From JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER—*the Quaker Poet.*

"Already we feel the strong tide of English sympathy bearing us onward. The enemies of Liberty feel and dread it. *Go on, and may God bless thee.*"

From DAVID LEE CHILD.

"Your labours at home are doing more good to America, and to man, than you could possibly do anywhere else. Our enemies did a good thing, and helped a good cause, in the only way in which bad men ever help such a cause, by using wicked and violent means to injure it. I thank them *for putting you into the position where your guns will bear upon them best.*"

We conclude these attestations to the efficiency of Mr Thompson's past and *present services* as our Agent, by the following brief quotation from the admirable and heart-stirring "*Appeal*"* of Miss Grimké:—

"I will now say a few words on George Thompson's mission to this country. This philanthropist was accused of being a foreign emissary. Were Lafayette, and Steuben, and De Kalb, foreign emissaries, when they came over to America to fight against the tories, who preferred submitting to what was termed 'the yoke of servitude,' rather than bursting the fetters which bound them to the mother country? *They* came with *carnal weapons*, to engage in *bloody* conflict against American citizens, and yet, where do their names stand on the page of History. Among the honourable, or the low? Thompson came here to war against the giant sin of Slavery, *not* with the sword and the pistol, but with the smooth stones of oratory, taken from the pure waters of the river of Truth. His splendid talents and commanding eloquence rendered him a powerful coadjutor in the Anti-Slavery cause, and in order to neutralize the effects of these upon his auditors, and rob the poor Slave of the benefits of his labours, his character was defamed, his life was sought, and he at last driven from our Republic, as a fugitive. But was *Thompson* disgraced by all this mean and contemptible and wicked chicanery and malice? No more than was Paul, when in consequence of a vision he had seen at Troas, he went over to Macedonia to help the Christians there, and was beaten and imprisoned, because he cast out a spirit of divination from a young damsel, which had brought much gain to her masters. Paul was as much a *foreign emissary* in the Roman colony of Philippi, as George Thompson was in America, and it was because he was a *Jew*, and taught customs it was not lawful for them to receive or observe, being Romans, that the Apostle was thus treated.

"What have the foes of freedom in this land gained by the expulsion of George Thompson from these shores? Look at him now pouring the thundering strains of his eloquence upon crowded audiences in Great Britain, and see in this a triumphant vindication of his character. The Slave-holder, and his obsequious apologist, have gained nothing by all their violence and falsehood. No! the stone which struck Goliath of Gath, had already been thrown from the sling. The giant of Slavery who had so proudly defied the armies of the living God, had received his death-blow before he left our shores. But what is George Thompson doing there? Is he not now labouring as effectually to abolish American Slavery as though he trod our own soil, and lectured to New York or Boston assemblies? What is he doing, but constructing a stupendous dam, which will turn the overwhelming tide of public opinion over the wheels of that machinery which Abolitionists are working here. He is now lecturing to *Britons* on *American Slavery*, to the *subjects* of a *King*, on the abject condition of the *Slaves* of a *Republic!* He is telling them of that mighty confederacy of petty tyrants, which extends over thirteen States of our Union. He is telling them of the munificent rewards offered by Slave-holders, for the heads of the most distinguished advocates for freedom in this country. He is moving the British Churches to send out to the Churches of America, the most solemn appeals, reproving, rebuking, and exhorting them, with all long-suffering and patience, to abandon the sin of Slavery immediately."

* This work should be in the hands of every Abolitionist. The introduction from the pen of Mr Thompson, is worth all the price of the pamphlet. But the "Appeal" itself is invaluable. Miss G. completely overthrows the argument attempted to be drawn from Scripture in defence or palliation of the sin of Slave-holding. *Five Hundred* copies of the "*Appeal*," have, we understand, been sold by the Ladies' Committee, within a few weeks.

Prompted, then, by the encouragement of success, stimulated by opposition, and impelled by an almost irresistible conviction of sacred duty—to obey which necessity is laid upon them; yea, woe is unto them if they obey it not—your Committee will, they *must* persevere, in the strength of God, in this cause of humanity and religion, until Slavery, the Slave-trade, and all their innumerable crimes and evils, and the sinful prejudice against men on account of the complexion God has given them, shall be swept from the face of the whole earth, as being opposed to the religion of Him who has said, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them."

In accomplishing this desirable end, we look for and invite the co-operation of Christians of every denomination, and of the lovers and admirers of liberty. We would regard it as superfluous to use any arguments with the followers of Christ —of Him who went about continually doing good to the bodies and souls of men—of Him, who, by the parable of the good Samaritan, and by many other excellent precepts, urged his disciples to acts of humanity and love—of Him who said, that even a cup of cold water given to one of these little ones, shall not lose its reward—to such who have imbibed His spirit, it is only necessary to point out the appropriate objects of sympathy, and their hearts will at once respond to the call of humanity and religion.

To men of the world we need not appeal; they are, in general, too much occupied with their own little world to care for Negro Slaves. But to Christians of every denomination, we do appeal, in behalf of the Slave, of whatsoever complexion, in the name of the God of the Slave, theirs and ours, and we do entreat them to co-operate with us in loosing the bands of the oppressed.

> "All men are born by nature—free,
> All rightful heirs to liberty!
> Where'er his home, he is our brother,
> In spite of *language, caste,* or *colour;*
> And should enjoy, unshackled—free,
> The grateful sweets of Liberty!"

The work may appear to be immense—and doubtless it is—so is the conversion of the heathen—but what Christian would regard that otherwise than as an additional stimulus to more strenuous and ceaseless exertion?

If we expect and pray for the universal spread of the gospel, we should also expect and pray for the universal extinction of Slavery; for the gospel of Christ cannot have free

course, and be glorified, in the hearts of those who continue to keep their fellow-men—their fellow-Christians, it may be, and often is the case—in cruel and soul-debasing bondage. Were they heathen who held their fellow-men in Slavery, the case would be somewhat different. We would have first to endeavour to Christianize the oppressors, ere we could hope to prevail on them to liberate their captives. But the Governments with whom we have to do in this matter profess to be Christians; and our main hope lies in this, that America, as a nation, stands high in Christian profession, although she holds in Slavery more than all the other powers put together. There may, indeed, be much hypocrisy in her profession, and many may be grossly blinded by their interests, and prejudices, and habits; but, judging from the number of her Bible, Missionary, and other religious Societies, there must, in her Churches, be much real Christianity—very many excellent men, and women too—and of this we are assured by their self-denying devotedness to the cause of the oppressed, through good and through bad report, through persecution and every obloquy.

These are as the "little leaven," which, by and by will, we trust, leaven the whole lump of American Society; and when the religious portion of the people of the United States combine to demand the Emancipation of the two and a half Millions of Slaves in their territories, not all the Jacksons and Van Burens among them, and all their adherents put together, will be able to stem the torrent of Abolition. Then will America be delivered from the danger which threatens her disunion and destruction—then will she rise to that high station of honour and power among the nations, to which, when purified from the foul stain of Slavery on her skirts, *but not until then*, she will be entitled,—and then will be fully realized, that glorious union anticipated in our title-page, "Britain and America United in the Cause of Universal Freedom." This *Union* will triumph over every opposition, and Slavery and the Slave-trade will be banished from the earth, never more to pollute the habitation of man.

APPENDIX.

Proceedings at the Third Annual Meeting of the GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, *held in the Rev. William Anderson's Chapel, John Street, on the evening of Monday, the 13th March, 1837; and on Wednesday evening, the 15th, by adjournment, in the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel, West George Street.*

THE Annual Meeting of this Society was held on Monday evening, in the Rev. William Anderson's Church, John Street.

A considerable number of clergymen, of various denominations, belonging to the City, and from Paisley, Greenock, Dumbarton, &c., were upon the platform with the Committee; and among the latter, was Mr George Thompson, whose entrance was loudly cheered.

Mr WALTER BUCHANAN moved, that in the absence of the venerable President of the Society—Robert Grahame, Esq., of Whitehill—the Rev. Dr. Heugh be called to the chair.—(Cheers.)

Dr. HEUGH, on taking the chair, said the meeting was already aware of the object contemplated by the Society. It was, in one word, the Universal and perpetual Abolition of Slavery.—(Great cheering.) Who could estimate the evil, physical and moral, which Slavery produced? And might it not be supposed that every freeman, above all, every Christian, would unite his efforts to banish it from the face of the earth. Some, no doubt, pretended that Slavery could be justified from Scripture; but not a greater stigma than this could be thrown upon Christianity. Christ and Belial were not more directly opposed to each other, than were Christianity and Slavery.—(Cheers.) Where Slavery prevails, Christianity recedes; where Christianity prevails, Slavery dies. Others attempted to damp the ardour of the friends of Emancipation, by representing their object as Utopian. How, it had been asked, was Slavery to be put down, when so many and such powerful interests were involved in its support? It surely was not too much to ask them to do all they could, to accomplish so desirable an end. It was surely much better to make the attempt, even at the risk of being worsted, than to do nothing at all.—(Cheers.) They would hear from an Abstract of the Report, which the Secretary would now read, that a great deal more had been done in furthering the cause, than, at the commencement of the Society's efforts, could have been reasonably anticipated. There was on that platform, one whom they all delighted to honour (Loud cheers); one who, not only by his eloquence, but by his moral courage, and his noble unquenchable zeal, advocated, with an energy never surpassed, the cause of the oppressed—who would that night give them tidings from a far country, from that land which might be called the land of his trials, his struggles, and also of his triumphs—and would tell them of what had been done, and was about to be done there, for the peaceful and everlasting destruction of Slavery.—(Great applause.)

Mr JOHN MURRAY, one of the Secretaries, then read an Abstract of the Third Annual Report. It congratulated the friends of Universal Emancipation on the success which had attended their efforts during the past year. Meetings had been held, and Socities formed, in many of the great towns of the Empire, through the indefatigable exertions of their agent, Mr Thompson.—(Applause.) Petitions, numerously signed, had been presented to Parliament, relative to the Apprenticeship system in the West Indies, and to the fraud practiced upon the people of Great Britain, by which the Planters of the Mauritius obtained a portion of the Compensation fund for unregistered Slaves; in other words, by which these parties were rewarded for the perpetration of Felony. The Report complained of the course pursued by the Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to investigate the working of the Apprenticeship system. While the evils attending it were urgent, that Committee had adopted a line of investigation which, it was feared, could lead to no conclusion till the term of Apprenticeship shall have expired. The progress making by the Abolitionists of

America, was adverted to in terms of congratulation. The brutal crisis which had disgraced that country was now passed away; mobs were rare; and Abolition Societies increasing in every direction. Eight hundred or a thousand of these had sprung into existence, employing not fewer than seventy agents, some of whom were enlisted "during the war;" others only for a limited period. The intelligence contained in the Report, gave rise to a pleasing sensation throughout the meeting.

Rev. Alexander Harvey, Calton, moved the adoption of the motion—that the Report, an abstract of which has now been read, be printed and circulated under the direction of the Committee. He spoke to the following effect:—

Mr Chairman,—I rise with much pleasure to propose the adoption of the motion which I have just read. The Report is clear, interesting, and contains a mass of important information. It consists chiefly of facts, which are the appropriate materials of such a document. Reasonings are here in a great measure out of place. It details not only the transactions of this Society, but of the great and glorious cause in which we have embarked—that of universal freedom. It is cheering to learn that this cause has advanced so rapidly during the past year, and is attracting so large a share of public attention. It is indeed melancholy to reflect on the extent to which Slavery and oppression still exist on the face of our globe; and that not only in Pagan and barbarous nations, but even among Christian communities. Having exerted ourselves with some success, though not to the extent we could have wished, to banish the demon of Slavery from the British dominions, we next turned our attention to the condition of the Slave in *Christian Republican* America. And why did we direct our efforts so early to that country, and use such means as a free and enlightened people may employ with another people equally free and enlightened, to wipe away the plague-spot which is sapping their strength, and staining their otherwise fair and honoured name? It is because we love America next to our native land; and wish to see her happy, glorious, and truly free. (Cheers.) We know there are thousands in that land of Bibles and Churches, who thank us most cordially for the interest we take in their welfare; and feel that we have only acted towards them a brotherly part, though there are, we regret to say, a still larger number who censure us for what they style our rash and insolent interference. We are conscious that our motives are pure, our intentions friendly, and our object philanthropic. And were the Americans generally aware that those who are exerting themselves in this country, to increase her fame and moral influence among the nations, and ameliorate the condition of millions of her degraded population, are those who hate tyranny in every form, who are struggling at home for equal religious and civil rights for all, and who would fondly point to America, as a glorious example of what universal and unrestricted freedom can achieve for a people, we are certain they would take our remonstrances in good part, and not spurn away our proffered aid. But in whatever light our efforts in the cause of humanity may be regarded by Americans, we are bound to proceed in the prosecution of the work which we have begun. (Cheers.) Oceans may separate one nation from another, and civil government may modify the laws and institutions of each, but still there are a community of interests and reciprocal duties which neither the power nor the legislation of man can annihilate. (Great cheering.) The different tribes of man form but one great family under the moral government of their common Father; and although He has made its members to differ in the complexion of their skin, the form of their features, and the texture of their hair, He has given them one spiritual and immortal nature by which they become equally allied to Himself, and responsible to Him for the manner in which they act towards each other. We are thus necessarily bound to use the influence we possess to promote the well-being of our race. But we are allied to Americans by peculiar affinities. They are bound to us by every tie that can bind man to man, but that of civil government. Our origin is the same:—our religion is identical;—nay, the very evil of which we complain was introduced into their country when they were our fellow-subjects. We feel ourselves bound by these and a variety of other considerations, to do all in our power to banish the curse of Slavery from their soil, that the banner of freedom may waive pure and unsullied over their magnificent and extensive territories. (Cheers.) We wish to see their star-bespangled flag floating on the breeze amid the joyous exultations of the free, without the incongruous and disgusting commingling of chains and whips, and the groans of the miserable captive. We should rejoice to be able to point exultingly to so large a portion of our globe, and to exclaim, "behold a happy population; for equal rights and

liberties are the common property of all." But this can never be so long as the withering curse of Slavery rests on any portion of the American soil. Every portion of it must become sacred to liberty before Britons can accord to Americans their full meed of praise. It matters not what may be the character of those institutions, in the enjoyments of which the *whites* have an equal share; they may be the freest on earth, and embody the collected wisdom of past and present times; but so long as these are made the instruments of oppressing and degrading any portion of the human family, they cannot command our admiration; nor can we recognize in those who support them, high-toned principle or a love of freedom, but a grasping selfishness. Sacred liberty is degraded into an avaricious despot, and instead of rising to our imagination as a fair lovely form, walking at large, dispensing blessings over a liberated world, it appears as a malignant demon loaded with chains, brandishing the cart whip, and trampling under its feet the dearest rights of humanity! (Great cheering.)

That Slavery is an evil of infinite magnitude, involving the severest miseries with which our species can be cursed, will be readily admitted by all. And are we not then bound by our regard to justice, to christianity, and to the well-being of those who hold their fellow-men in bondage, not to mention the wrongs of the oppressed, to have it instantly abolished if possible? So long as we merely declaim against Slavery, without taking any steps to exterminate it, we shall meet with no interruption from the Slave-holders themselves: they will even join our lamentations over the evil, and appear very soft and silken-hearted gentlemen till we proceed to apply the remedy, and then they will appear in their true character! It was thus among ourselves. So long as we merely agitated for the gradual emancipation of the Slaves in our own colonies, we excited no alarm among the interested supporters of the system. They were well aware that gradual emancipation was just a softer name for perpetual Slavery, and they felt perfectly secure. But no sooner did we abandon the untenable ground of expediency, and take the high and holy ground of justice, and demand that the oppressed should instantly be set free, than the deepest malignity, and the sternest denunciations of the selfish advocates of Slavery were called forth, and the loudest forebodings of disasters and massacre were every where heard. And thus has it happened in America. It was not till we demanded instant justice for the victims of despotism that we had any success; and therefore we rejoice that the friends of the Slave have taken the same position in America. They, under a strong sense of the righteousness of their cause, require that every yoke be instantly broken, and that the oppressed be set free. (Cheers.) And since they commenced on this principle their progress has been most cheering, and their triumph will be complete, we doubt not, at no very distant day. We have too high an opinion of the justice and christianity of Americans to doubt for one moment that they will long tolerate an evil so enormous in its magnitude, and so utterly incompatible with these principles. But even though principle were less strong than it is in America, the withering scorn of the civilized world would shame them into a compliance with the claims of so large a portion of suffering and degraded humanity. In that land, said to be consecrated to liberty, thousands and tens of thousands have already rallied around the standard of immediate emancipation. Slave-holders are becoming pale with fear at the progress the question is making. *Judge Lynch* himself is compelled to give up his trade, under the force of public opinion, now beginning to move in the right direction. (Cheers.) Interested partizans can no longer raise mobs in the free States, in defence of their infamous monopoly in the flesh and blood, souls and bodies, of their fellow-men. This cause is advancing gloriously, and must at no distant period be completely triumphant. (Renewed cheering.) It is the cause of humanity. Slavery cannot exist without reducing men to the lowest possible degradation. It strips the unhappy Slave of all the attributes of his nature, and reduces him to a level with the brutal tribes. It robs him of all his personal and social rights, and converts him into goods and chattels. It puts the enslaved beyond the pale of law, and subjects them to brutal violence, to be treated according to the whim or caprice of their taskmasters. The miserable bondsman may be bought, sold, exchanged, mortgaged, like any piece of furniture—lashed, tortured, imprisoned, murdered, and yet no adequate reckoning held with his tormentor. Can such a system much longer exist in a country calling itself free; and over which the heralds of salvation are proclaiming the religion of the cross? It is impossible. (Cheers.)

We join then with the friends of righteousness in America, who are banded together in this holy cause, and demand immediate emancipation for the Slave,

on the ground of justice. We ask it not on the ground of compassion for the wretched—of pity for the injured—or of benevolence for the helpless—but on the higher and loftier principle of Justice. Of justice to the Slave-holder. It is an irreversible law of the Creator, that no man can injure his fellow without still more deeply, in the end, injuring himself. He may escape the punishment of his crimes—nay, may be emboldened to commit them, and to glory in them, by the associated multitudes who have leagued with him in the perpetration of wickedness; but the retribution of the Almighty awaits him, and he shall not ultimately escape with impunity. We know it is said that the planters have a legal property in their Slaves; and that therefore it is wrong to deprive them of that which is legally theirs. But we ask, is that law just which gives them such a property? The law of might is one thing—the law of right is another. We read of "iniquity established by law;" and if ever there was a law entitled to be thus characterized, it is that which gives man a property in his fellow-man without his own consent—which strips him of personal liberty—loads him with chains—compels him to sweat and toil for the exclusive benefit of another—prevents him from enjoying the social endearments of domestic life—excludes him from the pale of society on earth, and does all in its power to keep him out of heaven at death. I blush when I hear it affirmed by ministers of the gospel, that Slavery is not a sin. We have never seen any attempt to establish this thesis upon the basis of justice—the rights of man or the principles of Christianity; for, by none of these can its truth ever be proved. It is true it is no sin for the unhappy man, who has been overpowered by superior might, to continue in a hopeless bondage, from which he cannot extricate himself. The Slave may occupy his unhappy condition without sin; but can his master reduce him to it, and keep him in it without sin? This is the question. And we fearlessly answer, No. (Cheers.) If a black man may be enslaved without sin, then why not also the white? If Americans may without guilt enslave Africans, why may not also Africans enslave Americans? In truth, Slavery is not only a sin, but an aggravated sin; and will be found sooner or later to drag down the nation that practices it to degradation and ruin. Already is America beginning to experience the truth of this: and if she do not speedily put away from her this crying evil, she is in danger of witnessing her soil dyed in the blood of her own citizens, by the intestine commotions to which this subject must inevitably give birth.

We likewise demand immediate Emancipation for the American Slave, by all that is sacred in our common Christianity. Infidelity never uttered a fouler slander against our Holy Faith, than that it sanctions Slavery. The great and universal maxim of social morality, promulgated by the Saviour, is, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Let this simple rule be adopted as the principle of relative duty, and it annihilates Slavery at once. How would the Slave-holder relish a change of condition with the Slave? Could the Slave compel it,—Would he pronounce it right? He would not. Then let him learn the meaning of the Saviour's maxim, and give the Slave his liberty. It is true the Apostles, when they went through the heathen world preaching the gospel, did not directly agitate for the immediate destruction of Slavery; but they laid down principles and inculcated duties, which, when practically recognized, lead most obviously and directly to this result. They taught masters to give to their Slaves that which is just and equal. Let the professed Christian Slave-holder comply with the injunction, and give to his Slave that which is *equal*---his liberty. Christianity is designed to secure equal rights and liberties to all, and consequently demands universal and immediate Emancipation. God is no respector of persons. The bondman and the free are by Christianity incorporated into one sacred community of brotherhood, and are enjoined to love each other as themselves. Is this consistent with Slavery? It will require more logic than either the Planters or the Slavery-advocating ministers of the gospel possess, to reconcile Slavery with these declarations. (Cheers.) Christianity holds every man as deeply guilty who oppresses or injures his brother; and if its sanctions are not regarded in this life, it summons him to the judgment-seat of Christ, where he shall receive according to the deeds done in the body.

Finally, we demand immediate Emancipation—because it is perfectly safe. This is no longer a speculative, but a practical question. Justice must always be safe, and when its eternal and immutable principles are acted upon, be the consequences what they may, we are not responsible for them. When we oppose our own notions of expediency to justice, we run fearful hazards, and the results must be chargeable on us. But we not only assert that im-

mediate Emancipation is safe, but we likewise affirm that it is the only method by which we can save a country, in which Slavery exists, from ultimate ruin. We were repeatedly told by the Slave-holders in our own country, that if we agitated for immediate Emancipation in our colonies, we would occasion a universal insurrection among the Slaves, and deluge the country with blood. We have agitated, and what has been the result? Has any thing occurred to justify these dismal forebodings? No. The very reverse has happened. When the Emancipation Bill passed, we found that it was not the complete measure we desired and advocated; and though insurrection and bloodshed had followed, we would not have been responsible, because we never sanctioned the plan which Government adopted. Those who devised and carried an imperfect and insulting measure incurred the responsibility. By the Emancipation Bill the Slaves were, with very little alleviation of their sufferings, merely converted into Apprentices. Apprentices for what purpose? To teach the old and hoary-headed man the mighty accomplishment of digging cane holes; a piece of drudgery in which he had spent the strength of his days. But even here where the meaning of the English language was perverted to degrade the negro, and the benevolent intentions of his friends were frustrated by the graspings of avarice, no pernicious consequences ensued. And in two of the islands, where the local legislatures acted with greater intelligence and regard to justice than that of the mother country, entire freedom was granted with the happiest results. These islands rejected the half measure of the home Legislature, and have been amply repaid for their principled policy. When the first of August came, instead of telling their Slaves that they were Apprentices, they were told that they were free. (Cheers.) In Antigua and Bermuda, the jubilee of their release was spent as a Sabbath. The churches were crowded, and thanksgivings to God mingled with gratitude to their benefactors; and on the ensuing day they retired to their labour with light and joyous hearts. In Bermuda the blacks were few when compared with the whites, and therefore it may be alleged that fear kept them quiet, and led them to submit peaceably to a power they could not possibly resist. But this objection is met and triumphantly refuted by the state of Antigua. In that island the whites were only two thousand, while the Slaves were thirty thousand, and the free blacks four thousand five hundred. Here the preponderance of negroes is immensely great; so much so as to have rendered any resistance to insurrectionary violence utterly hopeless, and yet nothing transpired to give alarm to the most nervous and sensitive individual. No alarm gun was fired throughout the island—the militia were soon disbanded, and a soldier was not required to maintain internal tranquillity. Property rose in value, and at the present day an estate will bring more money in the market than it would formerly with its full complement of Slaves. (Cheers.) Such are the consequences of immediate Emancipation. The same conclusion follows from the condition of those States in America in which Slavery has ceased. They are rising with surprising rapidity into wealth and power, while the Slave States are remaining stationary, and many of them going backwards.

I trust I have said enough to convince you that the cause in which you are engaged is entitled to your support, and that you will persevere in prosecuting it till there is not a spot on our globe cursed with Slavery. No philanthropist can excuse himself for not interfering, by the allegation, that the evil does not immediately effect us—it afflicts our brother man, and insults our species—it degrades and injures humanity—and if a heathen could say, "Nothing that belongs to man is foreign to me," shall we who profess the religion of Jesus, with cold-blooded indifference exclaim, "Am I my brother's keeper?" We can use a considerable amount of legitimate influence with our American brethren, to excite them to put away this great evil. We can affectionately tell them what we think of their conduct. As Christian brethren, we can entreat them by all the motives which our common Christianity presents. We can rouse them to reflection on this crying sin; and we can help to scatter the light of truth among the Slave-holders of the south. America is too free to allow her press to be gagged, or free discussion suppressed. And although in the first frenzy of excitement, her mobs had recourse to Lynch Law--brick bats--tar and feathers--she will yet listen to reason, and respond to the calls of justice and humanity. (Cheers.) Although she has once banished a Thompson from her shores because he told her inhabitants the truth, we have no doubt but in a short time she will be ready to welcome him again as America's truest friend, and give him a high place among that patriotic band of native heroes, who are nobly fighting the battles of truth and righteousness, with the spiritual weapons which are alone consistent with the rational and immortal

nature of man. I doubt not you will exert every energy to encourage those distinguished philanthropists, who are splendidly fighting the battle of liberty, and who, though they may fall in the high places of the field, are determined never to flee. (Cheers.) And although your own Thompson has retreated from the conflict, in compliance with the wishes of others, rather than the feelings of his own heart, it is only that he may plant more firmly his moral artillery on the British soil—a soil on which a Slave cannot breathe, and the enemies of freedom will feel to their cost, that his gun can carry its shot over the wide expanse of the great Atlantic. (Immense cheering.)

William P. Paton, Esq., seconded the motion.

Here an individual rose in the gallery, and, announcing himself as from America, commenced speaking. What he said was not distinctly heard below; it was, however, something about charity. (Cheers and hissing.)

Mr G. Thompson rose, and invited the stranger to take a place on the platform; where, Mr T. said, he would meet with a reception worthy of a British audience.

Dr Heugh also invited the stranger to come to the platform, to which he consented; and in order to save time while he was making his way thither, Mr Beith, the Treasurer, read to the Meeting a statement of the Society's Accounts for the last year, which seemed to give general satisfaction.

The stranger then rose, amid cheers and hisses, and said he had been in America as well as Mr Thompson. "I was at Fall River, and also at Lowell—you understand me?—when Mr Thompson was there lecturing—you understand me?—against Slavery." (The Speaker interlarded his remarks with the interrogation, "You understand me?" so repeatedly, that the audience were kept for some time in a roar of laughter.) "I was not sixty miles distant from Boston, when Mr Thompson was lecturing—you understand me?—in that city. Mr Thompson pretended to be a great friend to the Black Slaves; but I am for charity; charity for the White Slaves, as well as for the Black Slaves. You understand me? (Laughter.) I do not wish to be considered as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. You understand me? I wish to give him his character. You understand me? (Continued Laugher.) He should stick up for the White Slaves. You understand me? (Laughter.) When Mr Thompson lectured at Lowell, there was a brick thrown through the window at him, which was quite right. You understand me? (Laughter.) I was then the teacher of a school. Perhaps I required to be taught myself. You understand me? (Roars of Laughter.) But I had nine scholars. (Laughter.) I could give you their names, were it necessary, for I have them written on a piece of paper in my desk. You understand me? (Immense laughter.) When they came to the school on Sunday morning, I asked them about God, and about Christ, and about the Holy Spirit; but they did not understand me. (Laughter.) And they were the children of Baptists and Methodists. You understand me? (Laughter.) Mr Thompson would give liberty to the Black Slave—you understand me?—but not a word of the White Slave. I would ask Mr Thompson, if in Glasgow, Manchester, or Dublin—for I have been in all the three—(laughter)—there are not many thousands of White Slaves—you understand me?—(laughter)—more than ever he saw in Boston or New York—crying for bread, to keep themselves and their infants in life? I could not get up the streets of Dublin for White Slaves, with children asking for bread, and I had none to give them. You understand me?" (Disapprobation, mixed with laughter.)

Dr Heugh here called the speaker to order, and asked if he had any motion, or amendment to propose.

The Stranger said, "I would wish Mr Thompson to show the difference between the black and the white Slave—which was most to be pitied. That's all the motion I have to make.—You understand me?" (Great disapprobation.)

Mr Thompson said, it was always best to take up but one subject at a time. The regular business of the meeting should first be disposed of. A motion had been made and seconded for the printing of the Report; and it was not yet carried. After this had been done, he would take up the "charitable" gentleman from Fall River. He would assure the meeting that they would find that gentleman to be left in good hands. They would soon see what stuff he was made of—whether of "brass," of which he said he had none, or of a "tinkling cymbal." (Cheers and laughter.)

The motion proposed by the Rev. A. Harvey, and which had been seconded by W. P. Paton, Esq., was then put from the chair, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. William Anderson, on rising to propose the next resolution, was received with enthusiastic applause. When the cheering had subsided, the Rev. gentleman said he had arranged some thoughts on the subject, for the purpose of laying them before the meeting; but he must confess, he had been taken somewhat aback by the incident which had just occurred. When Mr Thompson rose, said Mr A., after the gentleman from Fall River, I had almost anticipated a Lecture on the Temperance Society—You understand me? (Great laughter, followed by cheering.)

Mr Anderson then proceeded and said,—Mr Chairman, the advocacy of the Resolution, with the moving of which I have been entrusted, places me, I conceive, in a more difficult position than that in which any of the other speakers will be placed this evening. I fear I may be considered as violating the rules of courtesy, by expressing sentiments which run counter to the political feelings of some of our best friends. But, since the meeting are not called upon to sanction my opinions any further than they are contained in the Resolution, I trust I shall be treated with a brother's indulgence, when I declare these opinions freely. Nevertheless, to remove apprehension, I state at the outset, that I believe I shall not be found at the conclusion to have greatly exceeded my commission, as given by the Committee.

The Resolution, Sir, contains matter in the last degree humiliating to ourselves. We had assumed the credit of having wrought out the liberty of our Colonial fellow-subjects. We felicitated ourselves on the manner in which we had roused the public mind with exhibitions of the Negro's wrongs, till its voice morally compelled our Legislature to declare him free. And on the first of August, 1834, we assembled in our churches, and rendered thanksgivings to the Almighty for the manner in which He had crowned our labours with success. Each of us, in his oration, summoned up the best of his oratory in magnifying the blessings of liberty, with which that day's sun was gladdening the heretofore dark and horrid Antilles. We weened of ourselves that our work *there* was done. And we began to look about for other enterprises for our benevolence; and ultimately commissioned our great champion to go and tell the Americans what we ourselves had achieved, and urge them to follow our noble example. How deluded we were! What objects of mockery we appear at this hour! Slavery continues to rage as wickedly as ever, with the aggravation of the insult of telling its victim that he is free: and the taunt of America is most deserved when they say, that we have enough of work of our own for Mr Thompson at home, without sending him away in quest of adventures abroad. When the Resolution contains matter so humiliating to ourselves, equally does it contain matter most condemnatory of our Government. My political sentiments are generally well known; and no person present can suppose that I take any pleasure in making exposures of the faults of the Reformed Administration. But the discussion of the Negro's wrongs will admit of no partiality. (Cheers.) His oppressors, and the abettors of his oppressors, and those who wink at and tolerate the enormities of his oppressors, whoever they are, and wherever they are, cannot escape condemnation. The Emancipation Act, as it is called, was from the beginning an unsatisfactory measure; and a Liberal as I am, I ever feel deeply mortified, when the friends of Reform instance that Act as an evidence of the superiority of the Reformed Government over their opponents. Do not mistake me, Sir, I have no intention of re-awakening the question about the enslaver having been entitled to compensation for the liberating of the Slave. Let it be admitted he was entitled. I hesitate not to express my opinion, that had the country informed the Duke of Wellington that they were willing to give him Twenty Millions of gold for this work, he would have given us a Bill at least as good as that which we obtained from the administration of Earl Grey.

The history of the Emancipation Bill may be given in a few sentences. Lord Stanley's Speech, at introducing it, was, on the general question, one of the most eloquent and righteous by which the Legislature of this country was ever sanctified. But when he proceeded to explain the details of his measure, the country met them with a universal burst of execration. They were to this effect, that the Negroes should be put under an apprenticeship law of twelve years, and that they themselves should refund the Fifteen Millions of a loan, with which it was proposed the Planters should be accommodated, to enable them to meet the inconveniences of the change. When it was found the country would not tolerate this, we were promptly furnished with an amended edition, in which the apprenticeship was reduced to six years, and the loan of Fifteen

Millions raised to a grant of Twenty. As I have already said, I have no design to re-awaken the question of the right to compensation; but we were unanimously of opinion, that the Twenty Millions were enough for securing full and immediate freedom. What, then, was the object of this apprenticeship? It could not be the qualification of the Negro for the trade of digging cane-holes, at which he had been labouring for thirty or forty years already. Lord Stanley, and the advocates of this measure, said, it was that they might learn to be free. Learn liberty under a planter, as the master and teacher of it! No! the chief design of that apprenticeship, however it might be disguised with other pretensions, was, that it should form an additional compensation to the Twenty Millions, forced from the stolen man himself, to pay the stealer for his liberty! When as yet the proposition was, that the planters should have Fifteen Millions, the term for the Negro's learning the art of freedom was twelve years; but so soon as the Compensation was raised to Twenty Millions, Lord Stanley found that the Negro mind had suddenly enlarged in its capacity, so as to be able to learn the art in *six* years! (A Laugh.) Such are the wisdom and honesty by which nations are governed!

Having taken these general objections to the measure, Mr A. proceeded to observe, that the Act, nevertheless, contained many excellent provisions, by which the oppression of the Slave would have been greatly mitigated, had they been carried into execution: but that in consequence of so much having been left to the arrangement of the Colonial legislatures, every hope had been frustrated. Mr A. then entered into a detail of the manner in which, at almost every point, the humane intentions of the British Parliament had been thwarted and evaded to such an extent, as to convince all who have turned their attention particularly to the subject, that the Apprenticeship system is one of as cruel Slavery as that which was formerly practised. Is it to be borne patiently, exclaimed Mr A., that we should be cheated of Twenty Millions, after such a fashion as this? He then proceeded to urge on the Meeting their duty of returning to Parliament with their complaints on behalf of the Slave—for Slave he affirmed the Negro to be, as abused and oppressed as ever. Let no one plead, he said, in defence of his slackness in this work, that when four years have elapsed, this Apprenticeship Slavery shall have come to an end. Who, he asked, would not shrink with horror from the idea of his being subjected to four years of *fever*, though he were assured of health at their termination? And can any fever be more burning, consuming, and prostrating, not to say mortal, than that of the infamous Apprenticeship Slavery. (Cheers.) Though it should be but one year of its affliction, let us endeavour to save the Negro from its horrors. Think of being saved of a year of fever! Mr A. concluded by reading the Resolution, (see page 4,) and sat down amidst shouts of applause.

Donald Macintyre, Esq. seconded the Resolution.

Mr George Thompson rose to support the motion, and was received with loud cheers:—

Sir,—I feel constrained to rise and support the motion now before you. I cannot withhold from this meeting a communication I have to-day received from one who has boldly fought the battles of the apprentices of Jamaica—one who, amidst the corrupting influence of Colonial Society, and the sneers and threats of Slave drivers, and their pliant tools, has nobly done his duty, and is now in this country preparing his materials for a full exposure of that hateful system which has already been so well denounced by my friend Mr Anderson; and which all present are burning to denounce, by the unanimous adoption of the resolution before the meeting. Were any additional evidence wanting, this letter would supply any deficiency. I put it in, however, as corroborative only of that, which by itself, would have been amply sufficient to warrant the opinions we are about to send forth to the world. Sir,—We have been deluded. A vile hoax has been practiced upon the community. The demand of the nation was for *immediate* and *entire* Emancipation; and the reply to that demand by the Government was,—"The measure shall be safe and satisfactory." It has however been demonstrated, that the measure is one of injustice and fraud—full of cruelty and all oppression. The nation, through three hundred and thirty-nine delegates, declared their determination to *reject* the measure if it left the Negro "half a Slave and half a freeman." *He is* altogether *a Slave.* Until the expiration of the apprenticeship, he will suffer all the horrors of Slavery. We are not therefore at liberty to let the system alone. Our principles, our pledges, our solemn vows before God and the world, call upon us to muster yet once again, and hurl the last remains of despotism to the dust. (Cheers.)

The letter from Demerara, read by Mr Anderson, was written by Mr Scoble, the Secretary of the British and Foreign Society for the Extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the world. That gentleman, in company with several friends, is making a tour through the West Indies, for the purpose of obtaining correct information upon the question before us, and to qualify himself to give evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons. I will read an extract from a Demerara paper, to show the spirit of the Planters. It will be seen that there is, in the West Indies, the same feeling towards any person suspected of an attachment to the interests of the Negro, as has shown itself in such dreadful forms in the United States—the land of Lowells (Laughter), and Fall Rivers (Laughter), and revivals, and Lynch Law, and Missionary operations, and heathen Slaves—the land of sounding brass—You understand me? (Great laughter, followed by a burst of cheering), and clanking chains. The *Guiana Chronicle* of December 16, contains a letter from a correspondent, who subscribed himself "*Anti-humbug*," in reference to the philanthropic labours of the friends just mentioned. Take the following specimen:—

"These individuals, it is believed, have been sent out here by that class of chains-and-negro politicians at home, who find that profits and power have dwindled away by the settlement of the Slave question, and who, to revive the old trade, have risked the expense of fitting out emissaries, whose commission is to collect as many terrors, groans, and fearful iniquities, as will enable them to renew a cry among the old women, to make the twice-laid dish racy enough for the palled palate of the English."

In addition to the letter, there is an editorial article, full of the old and murderous spirit of the Slave system. Speaking of our amiable friends, it says:—

"The laws of warfare condemn *the skulking spy to a* GIBBET,—those of peace consign him to a no less ignominious fate, that of *universal detestation* and *general contempt*. Let then, these men look well to their future proceedings in this Colony, for as we said before, we have *warned* them that the *vile objects* of their mission are known; and consequently, they will be watched with that suspicion which *avowed evil intentions* always arouse in honest minds."

Let us be thankful, Mr Chairman, that our friends are under the protection of British law, and that though there is in the minds of many, every disposition to do them injury, the power is wanting. Let us also commend the cause in which they are engaged to God, and pray that they may not suffer in any respect, but be returned in safety to their native land, with the means of serving greatly the oppressed thousands on whose behalf they have embarked in their mission of mercy.

The editor whose gibbeting article I have noticed, adds, what may be aptly quoted on the present occasion:—"Of the men themselves, we know nothing; but, *if a man allows himself to be employed on a dirty errand, we naturally judge that he is a dirty fellow.*"—You understand me? (Great laughter,) "and in this way has our estimate of these people been formed."

I will now, Sir, with your permission, read the contents of the letter which I received this morning. The writer has acted in the capacity of a Special Magistrate in the Island of Jamaica. I am truly sorry that his zeal and devotedness in the cause of humanity have been so ill-rewarded. After being displaced by the Marquis of Sligo, and re-instated by the Home Government, he has been again displaced by Sir Lionel Smith, whose conduct is, for the present, approved by the Government. I trust Dr. Palmer, (the gentleman to whom I refer,) will succeed in rousing both the Government and the country to a sense of their duty.

"2, QUEEN STREET PLACE, SOUTHWARK BRIDGE,
"*March 9th*, 1837.

"DEAR SIR,—Without the ceremony of a formal introduction I venture to address you; the identity of our pursuits and principles, on the question of Negro oppression, render any ceremony superfluous.

"I have arrived here from Jamaica, (where I held the office of Special Magistrate) as a sort of delegate—perhaps self-elected, to implore justice and protection for 240,000 poor creatures, who are still bearing all the degrading and brutalizing attributes of absolute Slavery. I am to show, and I have ample means to do so, that, notwithstanding the costly sacrifice made by the people of England, to strike off the galling fetters of the Slave, and raise him to his proper standard in the family of man; that Godlike object has been shamefully

defeated by the subtile craft of the Planters, and the wilful blindness or base connivance of the Government functionaries. That the system of Slavery has but changed its name; that its atrocities are now legalized; that the people of England are actually paying 60 or £70,000 per annum, to a set of persons whose daily business it is made to inflict fraud, injustice, and cruelty on the Negro, to such an extent as to render his situation, in many material respects, more unendurable than that from which he was to be relieved; that the Negro has now no protection,—that those of the Magistracy who dare to be honest, are persecuted by the Planters, and openly discountenanced by the Executive; that, in fact, Government have not carried out their own measure in the spirit of good faith; that the Planters, after receiving the price, undeservedly awarded, for the freedom of the Negro, have contrived to rivet his chains more firmly than ever; and finally, that the whole scheme has turned out a disgraceful failure,—a vile fraud on the British public,---a cruel mockery to the Negro, and a most dangerous example to other nations in framing their enactments for the destruction of Slavery in their own dominions.

"I have abundance of materials to prove all these points; all I require is, an impartial hearing. The friends of the cause here are beginning to be roused from that sluggish apathy into which they had merged after the excitment which attended the great struggle three years ago: they must finish the work they so nobly began,—one simultaneous effort, and the work will be done. The Commons' Committee is to be re-opened for the examination of Lord Sligo and myself; I have but little confidence in the integrity of the majority of the members, and despair of their doing any good, unless urged to it, by the expression of public opinion.

"The leading friends of our party, particularly '*The Friends*,' are quite alive to the necessity of action,—we wait awhile to concentrate our force. At this juncture, I deeply regret your absence from London. Your powerful advocacy would be invaluable—I am sure it will not be withheld, so soon as your other engagements will permit your joining us here. I would enter more fully into details with you, but I am just now very fully engaged in a sort of critical controversy with the Colonial Office, relative to some personal wrongs I have sustained through the efforts I was making in Jamaica; and at the same time arranging my materials for the coming crusade against Jamaica oppression. I hope, however, that we shall not be long before we see you here. I have been all along admiring your brilliant career in the cause of American freedom; but I trust you will now turn your attention to that which engaged your earliest energies; we have a prior claim to your benevolent services, and according to the quaint old distich:—

'It is well to be off with the old love,
Before you be on with the new.'

In common fairness you must see the end of the contest you began with. I have a letter of introduction to you from Mr Phillips of Jamaica; I hope to deliver it in person, at 2, Queen Street Place. The gentlemen who are now prosecuting the Inquiry into the actual state of the Negro population in the West Indies, are expected back in a few weeks. I am sure they will bring home a vast mass of information. I think the country should be roused before their arrival, so as to be prepared to act on their confirmatory evidence. We must break the last link in the chain of Slavery. I am not without hopes, that John Bull, when he finds how grossly he has been cheated by the rascally Planter, will indignantly insist on the immediate termination of the odious and disreputable system of Apprenticeship—this is my aim. I dislike all modifications of Slavery; I hate projected improvements, they are all decitful; there is but one remedy. You must have either pure Slavery or perfect freedom; there is no resting-place between the extremes.

"Your arrival here will be greeted with the most lively sentiments of pleasure by hundreds of your friends, and by none with more sincerity than, dear Sir, your very obedient servant,

"A. L. PALMER."

"George Thompson, Esq."

In addition to this letter, I have a vast quantity of evidence respecting Jamaica and the other Colonies, of precisely the same description. I will venture to read a few extracts from letters written by persons of thorough experience and unquestionable respectability. The originals are in the hands of the friends of the Negro.

"Yes, Sir, the (British) Parliament, it is true, passed a law, in which the flogging of females, under any circumstances, was prohibited. The Planters passed the same enactment, but with a rider attached to it in the shape of a proviso, that they shall be subject to any *police regulations equally affecting persons of free condition.* Now, free persons are seldom, if ever, sent to the workhouse; it is quite safe, therefore, to frame regulations *nominally* affecting all parties. In this way the Planters have secured the continuance of female flogging!---Sir, you may stop this gap, but rely upon it, for every gap you do stop, the Planter will contrive to open a dozen fresh ones. Therefore do I repeat the assertion, that nothing short of absolute freedom will cure the evils of Slavery. Yes, Sir, women are still flogged, and that too with a measure of atrocious cruelty, far outstripping the latter years of Slavery. Within the last month, two cases have come to my knowledge, both women with infants at the breast, sent to the workhouse by special magistrates; the flesh was literally torn from their backs; 'you could not stick a pin between the sores.' The infants of these poor women were brought to the verge of the grave by the dreadful condition to which the mothers were reduced." (Cries of Shame! Shame!)

The following facts are from a medical man who had an official situation in Jamaica, and resided there twenty years. They are addressed to a Member of the British Parliament:—

"In apportioning their punishments, few magistrates observe any discrimination as to age, sex, condition, or previous character. Women with sucking children, and pregnant women, are sentenced to the workhouse to work in chains and collars, and to walk the tread-mill; and by the way, it is a notorious fact, that women are frequently flogged on these tread-mills. Apprentices of the best character are ruthlessly degraded by being sent to the workhouse, to associate with the most depraved and worthless characters."

"Through great mercy we are all well, and matters are quiet, which would not be the case were not the Negroes the most patient people on earth! O this cursed Apprenticeship! Nothing but blood, murderous cells and chains! I think nearly forty young and old females pass my door in chains every morning. Not one school yet established, while most abominable cells and tread-mills are being erected all over the Island! This to prepare the poor Negroes for freedom."

"Several of the Slaves have said to me in the bitterness of their sorrow, 'that they wished things had remained as they were before.' For this I always check them, and call to their minds the fact, that at the end of six years they will be free. They reply, 'but if our owners are so hard upon us, we shall not live till then.'"

This Sir, is the Slavery we oppose: and he who would thrust himself into a meeting to thwart those who are honestly engaged in seeking the destruction of such a system, is either grossly ignorant of the facts of the case, and, therefore, guilty of a presumptuous and impudent interference, or he is the enemy of all freedom, and the Slave of his own vile and malignant passions. (Loud cheers.) Sir, I have visited most of the places in which it is said our white Slaves are found, and am here to testify that, themselves being judges, they are foully and falsely libelled. They have been amongst the foremost to sustain the cause of Negro Emancipation. They know the difference between what is termed white Slavery, and the Slavery of Jamaica, and Demerara, and the Carolinas, and Georgia, and Louisiana. They know that no man can claim them as his *property.* (Cheers.) If humble, and poor, and pennyless, they are still free. (Cheers.) No brutal master can with impunity scourge the body of the wife, or violate the chastity of the daughter. No father amongst them, returning at night to his hovel, dreads lest the child of his affections should have been carried to the flesh market. Let the individual who talks of White Slavery, point to one such Slave in Britain, and I will answer for my country—the gathered lightning of British indignation shall shiver his chains in an instant. (During this burst of Mr T.'s characteristic eloquence, the "Fall River" gentleman slunk off the platform, amid the mingled cheers and hisses of the large assembly.) We call upon the nation to abolish the Apprenticeship. We say to the people of Britain, the Slaves are yours. You have bought them. You were promised they should be free. You were told that if you would pay twenty millions, women should be saved from the lash,—the Negro should be free to worship God,—the power of the Planter to tease and torture should cease; in a word, that the Slave should become a man, "and enjoy every right and every privilege of a freeman." You have paid your money. The greedy tyrant has

received the bribe, but has forgotten his part of the contract. Will you be content to be deluded and robbed? Is it not the duty of Government to see the bargain fulfilled? Say not, "It is but till 1840, let us not trouble ourselves to remove so *temporary* an evil." I ask you to place your wives, your children, your honoured parents, yourselves, in such a case, and say what your decision would be. Are we not responsible for the scourgings, and exactions, and murders, done during this period? Are we willing to take the responsibility, and abide the verdict of God? Why slumbers the nation's energies! Do you say, "We have other great measures in hand." I reply, here is one to relieve bodily and mental suffering of the most intense description. Surely you will not allow your efforts to obtain the removal of any grievance affecting yourselves, to prevent you from sympathising with your fellow-subjects who are utterly deprived of every civil and social right; nay more, robbed of themselves, and those most dear to them, and in their suffering and destitution imploring *instant* aid. Up then, and rescue them at once and for ever from the grasp of their tormentors. So shall you secure their blessing, and heaven will abundantly reward you, by succeeding every holy effort for the enlargement of your own liberties. (Rapturous applause.)

Mr Thompson concluded by introducing Dr. Prince, a gentleman who had but lately returned from the Island of Jamaica.

Dr. Prince was not accustomed to public speaking. He did not come before them as an orator; yet he trusted if he ventured upon a few remarks, they would "understand" him. (Laughter and cheers.) And he knew this, that in order to obtain the assistance of the people of Britain, it was only necessary to have the truth on his side. Dr. Prince then proceeded to corroborate, by his personal testimony, the statements which had been read respecting the Apprenticeship system. He had lived in Jamaica since 1823, and would briefly state some of the facts which had come within his own experience. At the time when he left this country his opinions respecting Slavery were similar to those which prevailed in the Island to which he went. He had never inquired into the subject, and he expected to find a people there full of enmity to his white brethren. He soon found, however, who were the oppressed and who were the oppressors, and the opinions he had taken on trust were in consequence abandoned. He had good opportunities for becoming intimately acquainted with the character of the Negroes, having had at one time, not fewer than 4000 under his care. He had seen them in sickness and in other circumstances of trial and suffering. His sympathies had been awakened. He had, of course, come to be distinguished as the friend of the black man, and thus a great degree of odium was brought down upon him. Still he had not abandoned the principles he had imbibed as to the institution of Slavery; though he felt that, as a master, he could not be cruel to his Slaves. But in 1829, his mind became awakened to the wickedness of the system; and he felt it his duty to Emancipate the two Slaves of whom he had become possessed. (Cheers.) This increased the odium under which he laboured: his friends took from him the practice with which he had before been favoured, and he was allowed to fall to the ground. Dr. P. proceeded to state his opinion—an opinion founded upon what he had seen of the Negro character, that the Negro was fitted for immediate Emancipation. (Cheers.) The system of Apprenticeship, he said, did not encourage industry. The Negro found himself still oppressed; his energies were cramped, and he did not improve himself, as in other circumstances it was probable he would do. In Antigua, where immediate Emancipation was given, the state of affairs was much better than in Jamaica. There was one circumstance which served to damp the industry of the apprentices. There was the want of mutual confidence between the white and the black population. The Negro was disinclined to work for hire; because, the old spirit of oppression being kept up by the whites, he felt no security that terms would be kept with him. The work of religious instruction went but slowly on. Jails and tread-mills were resorted to in every quarter, while places of public worship were but thinly scattered. The children of Negroes were now also placed in a very bad position. As to medical attendance, for instance, they were now left quite destitute, in so far as the planters were concerned, the latter having no pecuniary interest in their health and comfort.

Dr. Prince was listened to with great interest, and sat down amidst general applause.

Mr Thompson then came forward to propose the third Resolution, (see page 5,) and said:—

Sir,—I have too much regard for good hours to detain this meeting long. I have often before advocated the various propositions embraced in the resolution which I hold in my hand. It speaks of the grand object of this Society—the overthrow of Slavery in every part of the world. It calls upon the Christian world to keep in view the various high interests which directly or indirectly are connected with our great plan. It brings before us the six millions of Slaves, groaning under the yoke imposed upon them by nominally Christian masters; and reminds us, that it is this system which perpetuates the diabolical trade by which two hundred and fifty thousand of the children of Africa are annually murdered in war, or carried into captivity. It has been my business to illustrate these topics in preceding addresses, and I shall therefore not attempt to dwell upon them to-night. The resolution refers in a parenthesis to the Slaves of British India. This subject is worthy of deep consideration. There are many millions of Slaves in India claiming the benefit of British legislation. They must not be forgotten. I am aware that the forms of servitude in India are almost endless—that Slavery is principally if not exclusively administered by the natives—that it has come down to the present rulers of India through many generations and centuries, and that it is deeply interwoven with the religious feelings and prejudices of the people; but notwithstanding these circumstances, we are bound, as a Christian nation, to give the many millions who have been brought under our influence and control, the full benefit of their connection with our nation and government. In the work of abolishing Slavery in India, we must look to the energy of the people at large. The directors of the East India Company in 1833, successfully opposed the plan of His Majesty's ministers. The latter introduced a bill into the House of Commons for the immediate and absolute extinction of Slavery throughout British India. The House modified the Bill, and fixed the 12th of April, 1837, for the emancipation of the Slaves. In the House of Lords the Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough undertook the work of special pleaders for the East India Company, who appear to be opposed to all liberal or humane proceedings. Their Lordships listened to the suggestions of expediency and interest, and delivered over the wretched Slaves to the tender mercies of Leadenhall Street legislation. We must go again to the House of Commons. That House must again decree the extinction of Slavery in India, and should the House of Lords again defeat the friends of humanity, we must appeal again to the country, and through the country to the Commons; and if again their Lordships should love Slavery better than justice and humanity, they must be ——— I need not say what. You understand me? (Laughter and loud cheers.)

Mr Thompson next referred to the African Slave-trade, and to the necessity of seeking the abolition of Slavery as an essential means of putting down the extensive commerce in the human species. He then went on to describe the progress of the cause in America—the diffusion of light—the employment of agents—the victories which had been achieved over prejudice—the multiplication of converts—the process of purification in the churches, and the evident signs of a general change in the views, feelings, and practices of the nation on the subject of Slavery. Here Mr T. read the following extract of a letter just received from William Lloyd Garrison:—

"The Anti-Slavery cause is marching onward with astonishing celerity; and it is now the all-pervading impression, both at the north and the south, that that cause is ere long to be completely victorious. Mobs are now quite rare—the *brutal* crisis seems to have passed away—and though we meet with sturdy opposition in various quarters, yet we always keep the mastery. The number of our societies increases too fast for me to keep an accurate reckoning. It cannot be less than 800, and may amount to 1000, and still it continues to augment. But the strongest proof of our growth—the most sublime manifestation of our whole-hearted determination to conquer by one decisive effort—is seen in the fact, that we have commissioned no less than SEVENTY agents to go forth and give battle to a corrupt public sentiment, all good men and true, all more or less able and successful lecturers; a large portion enlisted during the war, and others for a limited period. I believe the world has seen nothing like this since the seventy disciples were sent forth by our Lord. Only think of it—seventy men, official agents, pleading with the people night and day! If, in a cause like this, the promise is, that 'one shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight,' what under God may not this sacramental host achieve? As a specimen of their manner of working, I will simply add, that our stout coadjutor, Henry B. Stanton, has given no less than thirty-six long addresses to crowded public

audiences, in less than three weeks, in the heart of this Commonwealth, *i. e.* Worcester county. Among the agents is Amos Dresser, who was so cruelly treated by a Christian (?) Lynch Committee at Nashville. Wherever he goes his wounds cry like the voice of blood, and shock and quicken all beholders. The story of his sufferings will do more to make abolitionists than a thousand argumentative lectures. And why? Simply because he is a white man! if his skin had been coloured, few would have heard of his ill-treatment, and fewer still would have sympathised with him. Surely this is a signal proof that God can make the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain."

"I learn by your last, dated at Manchester, that your heart is still here—would that your body were here also! and yet I hardly know what to say on that subject. We all long to see you, with a longing words cannot express—but we dread to see you put in peril here, especially as you are achieving so much good in England. *Tell the Christians of Great Britain, who have sent over their remonstrances against our accursed Slave system, that they are helping us mightily.* Their united voices fill American oppressors with dismay. May God bless them abundantly."

By whom (Mr Thompson continued) has this great work been accomplished? By plain, humble, praying men. No transcendant genius has presided in their councils: no exalted patronage has paved their way to public countenance and support: they have fought their way through fierce opposition and universal contempt, relying upon the goodness of their cause, the purity of their motives, and the blessing of their God. Their Patron has been the Lord of Hosts: their chief weapon the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. Their example should animate us to attempt great things. We should never wait for the titled and the wealthy to lead the way—they will come in when we have weathered the storm. I would call upon my friends around me to renew their pledge to-night. I would implore every individual whom I now address, to estimate aright his influence in the world of mind. There is a law of mutual influence, by which the conduct of one man may affect his fellow-men, to the extremities of the world, and the end of time. Every individual may be considered as the centre of a moral circle, which is connected by links of more or less power, and includes the whole of mankind. Do any ask, "Who is my neighbour?" I answer, every human being. "What do I owe him?" Love. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." "What is my duty to him?" To relieve his wants; to pity his woes; to increase his happiness; to promote his present and eternal welfare. "What is the measure of my duty?" My *ability*. Hence the question is not, *Ought* I to sympathize with my suffering fellow-creatures? *ought* I to help them?—but *can* I help them? Can I by sympathy mitigate their sorrows? Can I by remonstrance with their oppressors, lighten or remove their yoke? Can I by assurance of esteem and identity of feeling, encourage the hearts and lift up the hands of their friends and defenders? Can I by my prayers, the expression of my opinion, or in any other way, lessen the force of prejudice, weaken the power of despotism, extend the principles of benevolence, frown down the dogmas of ignorance and interest, uphold the rights of man, assert the claims of God? These are the questions we should propose to ourselves. The answer to one and all is,—*yes*. God has given us the power to do it; *the measure of our duty* is the *extent of our ability*. We should seek to unite against this system the opinions of the enlightened world, and the prayers and energies of the Christian church; and the fervour of our love, and the lightning of our indignation would soon dissolve the fetters of the Slave.

In conclusion, Mr Thompson expressed his earnest hope that the day would soon arrive, when the American citizen, standing on his own loved native soil, would be able to vindicate with truth and consistency, the cause of liberty, from his country's example and laws, and say, "I speak in the spirit of our constitution, which makes liberty commensurate with, and inseparable from our soil; which proclaims even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon our native earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the genius of universal Emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced;—no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him;—no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down;—no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted on the altar of Slavery: the first moment he touches our sacred soil, the altar and the God sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his body swells beyond

the measure of his chains, that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the irresistible genuis of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION." (Great cheering.)

It was now eleven o'clock, and a great number of names remained on the list of speakers.—Thanks were given, on the motion of the Rev. James M'Tear, to the Rev. William Anderson and the managers, for the use of the church; after which, Dr. Heugh intimated that the meeting was adjourned till Wednesday evening, in Dr. Wardlaw's chapel. (Applause.)

ADJOURNED MEETING.

The adjourned meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society took place, according to appointment, on Wednesday evening, March 15th.

P. Lethem, Esq., moved, that in the absence of the Rev. Dr. Heugh, W. P. Paton, Esq., be called to the chair. The chairman having briefly thanked the audience for the honour done him in placing him in the chair, Mr W. Smeal, one of the Secretaries, read the resolutions passed at the previous meeting.

The Rev. John Boyd, one of the Secretaries of the Paisley Emancipation Society, in proposing the fourth resolution, (see p. 5,) said,—It was, I assure you Sir, with unmingled delight and satisfaction, that I listened to the Committee's admirable Report of a preceding evening; and especially to that portion of it, which referred to the rapid and triumphant diffusion of the principles of freedom, in the United States of America. We have but to look back for only three short years, to see and be convinced of the almost unexampled progress of the Emancipation cause in that great and rising country. At the commencement of that period, there were, it is true, Abolitionists in America, many of whom had devoted their time and their talents, their property and their all, to the vindication of the claims of the injured and degraded Coloured population. But noble and resolute as those friends of humanity were, they were in the aggregate but few in number, and their influence was both feeble and circumscribed. They sent, as this society well knows, to this country for aid, and they received it: for our amiable and eloquent friend, Mr Thompson, responded to their invitation; he went over to America, joined them in their arduous and honourable exertions, and what have been the results? (Cheering.) The Report of your Committee informed us. It told us that that Scripture saying has again been fulfilled,—"The little one had become a thousand, and the small one a strong nation." That the seed which your agent sowed has taken root, and has produced a most abundant and magnificent harvest. Already, nearly *a thousand* Abolition Societies have been organized. (Cheers.) The pulpit and the press have both lent their mighty aid, and many of the best and noblest spirits of the land have uprisen at the calls of religion and humanity, and come boldly and honestly forward to aid the cause of freedom, and to rescue their native country, and the various Churches of God in it, from the guilt of enslaving and trafficking in the bodies of their fellow-men. (Great applause.)

And there is one circumstance that I may mention, which, to my mind at least, has been a most satisfactory indication of the extent to which the people of America have become leavened by right views upon the question of entire and immediate abolition. Two years ago, the then President of the United States, in his message to the Senate, denounced (not certainly in the most measured terms,) the worthy and able agent of this Society, as a foreigner, a stranger, who had dared to intermeddle with the civil and domestic regulations of the States; and his object in thus denouncing Mr Thompson, was, if possible, to proscribe and frown down the progressing cause of abolition. The discussion of that question had certainly, by that time, excited public attention; but President Jackson did not think it had done so to an extent beyond his magisterial ability to allay. Well, twelve months passed away, during which time the excitement, instead of quiescing, only increased; and the friends of Emancipation instead of becoming fewer, had grown and multiplied a thousand-fold. The Senate again met. President Jackson again addressed its members; but, marvellous to relate, there was not one sentence in his message of reference to the grand question, which at that moment was agitating and convulsing the country. And why, it may be asked, this silence? The answer is obvious. Andrew Jackson denounced abolition in the presence of Mr Thompson, as long as he found it safe to do so—as long as the majority were on the *pro-Slavery* side. But whenever he saw the principles of Abolition becoming general—whenever he saw them adopted and avowed by some of the best and choicest of his country.

men—whenever he saw that he could not again refer to the same topic without arraying against him more talent, more learning, more truth, and more piety, than he was willing to encounter, then only he left the cause of abolition alone without complaint and without rebuke, to make its sure way into the hearts and consciences of the American population. (Applause.) Reflecting, Sir, on these things, and knowing how astonishingly our principles have triumphed, even in the United States, this meeting, I am sure, will readily agree to the first half of the resolution which I have the honour of proposing, viz., "That we cordially congratulate our Abolition brethren in the United States of America, upon the mighty progress, and auspicious aspect of the cause of freedom in their land." (Cheers.)

The remaining half, however, of the resolution, I cannot put to this meeting for adoption, without some little previous explanation and defence. In a late public discussion in this place, between my respected friend, Mr Thompson, and a reverend visitor from America—the latter gentleman laughed at, and scouted both the numbers and the character of the American abolitionists. He represented them as few in number, as feeble and inefficient in influence, and as not deserving, in many instances, the confidence of the religious public of this country. But, Sir, we know the American abolitionists better now than we did when this calumny was spoken against them. We know that there have been, and still are among them, men and women of the very highest attainments in literature. There was a Channing, and there are now a Sigourney and a Child, with many others, not less gifted and equally devoted to the cause of injured and suffering humanity. (Cheers.) We are well aware that many of these estimable women would never have obtruded themselves beyond the privacy of their respective domestic circles, had they not been compelled to do so by a high sense of the clemency of that religion, and of those principles of eternal justice which Slavery in every form outrages and violates; and I appeal to you, my fair country-women, if these, our American sisters, have done, or are doing any thing inconsistent either with their sex or with their station. (Cheers.) Woman I know is always an object of attraction and of interest, when discharging, as she should do, the duties of her station. But never is she so interesting—never so attractive, as when, like some pitying angel, she is seen bending over the afflicted and the miserable, pouring into the wounded bosom the balm of consolation; binding up the broken heart; alleviating the sorrows of the captive, or pleading in her warmest accents with the enslaver for his freedom. (Applause.) But in addition to the female abolitionists of America, there are in that country a host of Christian ministers and professors, and judges, and senators, among whom are a Beman and a Cox, a Jay and an Adams, all engaged, and that actively and zealously, in behalf of the enslaved. There are also private Christians, distinguished alike for their personal worth, their enlarged benevolence, and their Christian philanthropy; and if such be the individuals who are now engaged on the farther side of the Atlantic, in advocating the cause of their oppressed countrymen, where is the man who shall dare, after this, to rise up and tell a British public that such persons are unworthy of their confidence? They are persons with whom it is an honour to be associated in any cause, and especially in the cause of human freedom. They have shown a spirit of zeal and self-denial, and devotion to the cause of righteousness, which we would gladly imitate. And I trust that there is not a single individual in this assembly who knows what freedom is, and loves it, whose heart has not been warmed, and whose zeal has not been stimulated by hearing of the exertions of his transatlantic brethren, who are fighting so nobly the battle of liberty in their distant native land. Mr Boyd then read the remainder of the resolution—"And our hearts being warmed, and our zeal stimulated by their noble and praise-worthy exertions, we cheerfully respond to their call for continued co-operation, and would assure them of our entire confidence, our fervent sympathy, and increasing prayers." Let us therefore, in the language of this resolution, cheer them on by our sympathy and our prayers. Let us tell them that we shall give them our confidence and co-operation, until our principles are universally triumphant—until that happy time arrive, when Britain and America shall arise up, united in all the majesty of freedom, and break every yoke, and emancipate every Slave; and when, to use the language of the American poet,

> "The mother and the daughter joined:
> The wide, wide world is free!" (Great cheering.)

The Rev. Alexander Fraser of Alloa, then spoke as follows:—

Mr Chairman,—I most cordially second the motion which has now been made. You, Sir, are my friend, and these are my friends, and this is my home; nevertheless, I am this night a stranger at home, and in the midst of friends. More particularly do I regret that I am a stranger to the business of the present meeting. I did not enjoy the delightful spectacle, nor listen to the soul-stirring statements which Monday evening afforded. I cannot, therefore, as the preceding speaker has so ably done, enter into the particulars of the motion which is now before the meeting. But it would be a shame to any man who has trod classic ground, the native soil of freedom, (Hear, hear,) and who professes to labour as a benefactor of mankind, in the service of that gospel which at once proclaims liberty to the captive soul, and gives this rule of action to its votaries, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them,"—it would be a shame, Sir, to any such man to be either unwilling or unprepared to support this motion. (Cheers.)

I beg leave therefore, Sir, to observe *three things*, concerning Slavery in general, the bearing of which upon our trans-atlantic brethren will be evident to all considerate men.

First, Slavery is injurious to the enslaver. I do not here refer to the cruelties which are concomitant with Slavery—to the galling chain or the torturing whip. I do not even refer to that extensive genus of miseries produced by the disruption of the most endearing domestic ties, although it will be allowed that even the breast of a Slave may harbour that "only bliss of Paradise which has survived the fall," but I refer more particularly to the intellectual and moral experience of the individual. Let us ask, then, Is Slavery favourable to knowledge? Who, in modern times, would give knowledge to a Slave! Let him work. The more ignorant the man, the better Slave. Knowledge is power. Give power to a Slave? No: that would be dangerous. They would then be a match for their masters—perhaps superior to some of them! In sober earnest, the means of education are withheld—the Slave is brought up in ignorance, and then, his capacities are affirmed to be of a lower grade. If it could be shown that Slaves, in general, are deficient in any part of their mental constitution, I would undertake to show that Slavery is the cause. (Cheers.)

Look again at the effects of Slavery on the morals of the enslaved. Has it not a tendency to produce cowardice and meanness; and do not these lead, in their turn, to falsehood and studied deceit? I by no means affirm that these vices exceedingly prevail among Slaves—that may or may not be, according to circumstances; but I am confident, from the very structure of our mind, and the laws of its operations, that Slavery has a tendency to produce them. Now, in all the cases in which they are produced, Who is accountable for the moral degradation—the Slave or the master? Who, at the great day of judgment, shall answer for the lies and thefts, and other immoralities committed through ignorance and constraint—the stolen captive and tool of dire necessity, or the free-born free-acting Christian owner who holds and rivets his chain? (Cheers.)

My second observation is, that Slavery is inexpedient and hurtful to the proprietors of Slaves.

Accustomed from their earliest years to behold injustice and oppression, they cannot sympathize with the generous benevolence of those who are wont to look upon all men as their fellows, and who rejoice in equal rights and impartial legislation. Possessed of power over their Slaves before they can command themselves, tyranny is interwoven in their very constitution; and they may one day display upon their children, or their fellow-citizens, or the inhabitants of other lands, those principles of arrogance and injustice which Slavery taught them. Used to silence the remonstrances of conscience, when mercy, or equity, or honour, might plead in behalf of a Slave, they may acquire a fatal proficiency in resisting the admonitions of the same monitor, when it pleads in behalf of God and religion—through the wondrous working of God's retributive justice, their own souls may be demanded for the souls of their Slaves! In a word, whether I consider the understanding, or the moral feeling, or the religious state of the owner of Slaves—whether I view him as a private citizen, or filling a public office—whether I pitch upon his childhood, or his manhood, or old age—whether I meet him in time or eternity; I see written in legible characters upon his character and his state, THE EVIL OF HOLDING SLAVES! (Cheers.)

I now come to my third observation, which is, that Slavery is an insult to the God who made both master and Slave.

All the works of God speak of their author. The heavens declare his glory, and the firmament showeth his handy-work.

"The meanest pin in nature's frame,
Marks out some letter of his name;
Across the earth, around the sky,
There's not a spot, or deep, or high,
Where the Creator hath not trod
And left the footsteps of a God." (Cheers.)

Now if minerals, and shells, and plants, are worthy our consideration, and demand admiration and reverence for their Maker, much more must animated nature. Animated nature, to all the wonders of organized matter, superadds the mysterious principle of life. But of all the inhabitants of this terrestrial world, Where is the living creature that can be compared with man? Man is "at once the head, and heart, and tongue, of all." Man is himself the greatest wonder to himself. When studying his own mind, he is at once the examiner, the object examined, and the instrument by which the examination is carried on? Look for a moment at the result of this examination. What store of memory replete with every thing remarkable in the history of the world! What power of discrimination and analysis, reducing the huge heaps of natural objects under their proper heads and classes; comparing, separating and combining them, until confusion and ignorance are banished, and order, beauty, and science, established in their stead. (Cheers.)

The powers of the understanding are surpassed only by those of the imagination. Science travels from world to world—measures their respective distances—calculates their superficial extent—weighs their bulky mass in her balance. Science lays the foundation on which analogy may build her theories of new worlds and systems. But whithersoever science may reach, imagination shall out-strip her. Away! away! is her motto; away, beyond the dull world of reality, into regions

"Where active fancy travels beyond sense,
And pictures things unseen."

There she has worlds of her own creation—regulated after her own plan—adorned according to her own designing—peopled with her own children. There a thousand years are as a moment, and a moment as a thousand years. Boundless periods are held within the compass of a thought. But to return; the mind possessed of these noble capabilities—capabilities whose family name is Divinity—is the work of God; and his noblest work with which we come in contact. But Slavery spoils this glorious work. Slavery debases the mind of the Slave; Slavery corrupts the mind of the master; Slavery, therefore, is AN INSULT TO GOD. (Cheers.)

But, again, God is a holy Being, and jealous of his own prerogative. He loves to see in man the image of his holiness. But Slavery is fertile in crime. Only fix your eyes upon a puny mortal, ascending the steps of the throne of God, and, with his arm of flesh, seizing the sceptre of the Divinity, that he may lord it over his fellow-man! No thunders roll! No lightnings flash! The Omnipotent permits him, for a time, to usurp the unseemly power. The tyrant binds his brother man with the chain of the Slave; he binds his body, and in many respects he binds his mind. The mind appeals to nature, to the winds and warring waves, the elements and seasons, all which declare for what the Almighty Maker has ordained the powers of man—*but in vain;* the iron does enter into his soul; but the groan of his agony enters into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. In the person of humanity, IT IS AN INSULT TO GOD.

I have now shown that Slavery is necessarily injurious to the Slave, inefficient for the master, and insulting to God. It may now be asked, what have we to do with Slavery *in America?* I shall answer this question, Scotsman-like, by asking another, Who is my neighbour? (Cheers.)

Who is my neighbour? God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the face of the whole earth. God hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. God hath appointed us to be born in this age; therefore we have the duties of this age to perform. God hath caused us to be born here, heirs of knowledge, religion and liberty; and the very circumstances of our birth bind us to guard the blessings we enjoy. The same Providence which allotted us so much good, has mingled the bitter cup of Slavery to the Slave. Then what have we to do with it? Every thing. God has given us the means of his freedom. We possess the strongest of all influence—moral influence; the most potent of all power—knowledge of the question. Let no man say, then, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Thou art thy brother's keeper.

If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and them that are ready to be slain, shall not He that pondereth the heart consider it; and He that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it, and shall He not render to every man according to his work? Remember them that are in bonds as bound also with them. Yes, God might have made the Slave free, and you the Slave. How would you have felt then? Would you have deemed it *very kind, and very Christian*, if persons professing to love their neighbours as themselves, both enjoyed their comforts with easy minds, and abandoned you to your fate?

If any are still selfish and indifferent, I have only one other argument to set before them. It is thus expressed by a heathen poet, "Your own interest is concerned when your neighbour's house is on fire." In plain language, if you do not attack Slavery, Slavery will attack you. Can tyranny possess any other spirit than that of encroachment? Will selfishness, and injustice, and cruelty, ever say, "We have gotten enough?" Would not the men who hold Slaves at home, have Slaves abroad too if they were able? Or if you answer, They shall never be able to enslave us, still, may not their example have a mischievous effect upon others? The truth is, that Slavery, even in its wide and distant influence, is detrimental to the best interests of man. Its poisonous breath blasts the fair blossoms of knowledge, and piety, and freedom, and at the same time fans into a flame those proud, malevolent, and tyrannical principles, which have been, alas! too long the bane of mankind. (Applause.)

Mr Chairman, I detain you and the meeting no longer; but conclude by repeating, that the motion has my cordial support.

The Rev. Patrick Brewster of Paisley, moved the next resolution:—

"That the labours of Mr George Thompson, our devoted, and faithful, and indefatigable agent, during the past year, are entitled to, and do now receive, our unqualified approbation. That, believing it of the highest importance that he should continue his services in the cause of Emancipation, we earnestly request him to renew his engagement to the Committee; pledging ourselves, in the event of his compliance, to sustain him in the prosecution of his arduous and philanthropic career; it being our determination, never to give up the work of peaceful agitation and moral interference on behalf of the victims of oppression, until every unrighteous yoke is broken, and slavery ceases from the face of the earth."

I assure you, Sir, that it is with very great reluctance that I have taken charge of the important and interesting resolution which I have just read. It is only because the gentleman to whom it was at first entrusted,* has been prevented by circumstances from appearing among us this evening; and from the deep interest which I feel in the good cause which we are met here to promote, that I now venture to address a few words to you in its support. Your excellent Secretaries, who seem to be adepts in the Socratic method, have so skilfully framed their resolutions, as to make it a very easy task to recommend them to your approbation. You have already given your cordial assent to the previous resolution, which binds you to continued co-operation with our friends in America; and you cannot, with any consistency, refuse the pledge which I now claim from you—that you will continue to employ the most effective instrument of such co-operation, by again electing, sustaining, and encouraging your admired and talented agent, Mr George Thompson. (On the mention of Mr

* The Rev. Dr. Burns, who had consented to propose this resolution; and who, had the adjournment been to Tuesday evening, as he anticipated, instead of Wednesday, would have been present. A previous engagement also preventing the Dr. from taking part in the proceedings at the Ladies' meeting, on the following Friday; we think it right to insert here a letter addressed by Dr. B., on that occasion, to one of the Secretaries.

"Paisley, *Thursday.*

"Dear Sir,—On my return from Glasgow a little ago, I found your letter lying for me. I regret that a *very special* meeting of our Jail and Bridewell Committee, to-morrow evening, at half-past Eight, will prevent me from attending the Ladies' Emancipation Society at Glasgow. For ten years I have had the charge (as Convener) of supplying the pulpit of our Jail and Bridewell, and I cannot possibly be absent from the meeting to-morrow, especially as the object of it is to devise a scheme of regular visitation of the inmates. I hope to have it in my power to attend the General Meeting of your important Society at some future time. In the meantime, I am anxious to hear from Mr Thompson, when I may expect him here to plead the cause of *Negro Education*, as he promised to do.—I am, dear Sir, respectfully yours,

ROBERT BURNS."

"*William Smeal, Esq., Secretary to Emancipation Society, Glasgow.*"

Thompson's name, the assembly burst simultaneously into a tremendous shout of applause, which continued for some minutes.) When Mr Brewster was allowed to proceed, he said, it was unnecessary to inform such an audience as the one now before him, who Mr Thompson was, or what he had done in the service of the oppressed. (Cheering.) Mr Thompson was the ablest, the most eloquent, the most devoted advocate that had ever appeared for any cause. (Immense cheering, and cries of, "He is.") He was the friend of Tappan and of Garrison, of that host of noble spirits in America, who were now actively and earnestly endeavouring to free their country from the sin and the curse of Slavery. (Great cheering.) The resolution he had read, expressed confidence in Mr Thompson, and to this they had most heartily responded—(cheers)—but it expressed more, it contained a pledge that they would sustain him in his arduous labour. (Great cheering, and cries of, "We will.") He had anticipated a hearty response to this resolution, and he had not been disappointed. (Renewed cheers.) Having, therefore, adopted the pledge, it would be their duty to act up to it faithfully. He had now another, and, he hoped, not a more difficult task to perform—to procure the assent of Mr Thompson. He felt confident that Mr Thompson would not desert the glorious cause in which he had been so long, so honourably, and so successfully engaged. (Cheers.) It might be said to be his own cause. (Great cheering.) In his advocacy of it he obtained so many triumphs, he had pursued such a career of true glory to himself, and of benefit to others, that it could not be supposed he would ever leave it, so long as he was able to lift a voice in its support. (Tremendous applause.) There was one other reason why Mr Thompson ought to persevere. He had already roused America; he had stimulated many noble minds there to engage in the good work; but much still remained to be done—much that Mr Thompson alone could do. The influence possessed by Mr Thompson among the abolitionists was great, as it was desired; and that influence, it was to be hoped, would still be exercised, as it had been, to further the cause of freedom and humanity. (Cheers.)

The farther pledge, on our part, for Mr Thompson's encouragement, is "our determination never to give up the work of peaceful agitation and moral interference, on behalf of the victims of oppression, until every unrighteous yoke is broken, and Slavery ceases from the face of the earth." Oh! how many victims of oppression are still suffering under the weight of unrighteous yokes; and how many unrighteous yokes are still bending down the neck of injured humanity; and how noble and animating is the sentiment, that you will never cease your exertions till every unrighteous yoke is broken. (Cheers.) The heart that responds not to this sentiment, should not have a place in the human breast. The intellect that approves not of this sentiment, has more in it of the demon than of the man. (Cheers.) It is not the Negro only then, whose Emancipation demands our aid. There are other yokes, not less unrighteous than the yoke of Negro Slavery, cruel and degrading as it is. Though every Negro were at this moment set free, there would still be work enough for the friends of the Slave. We have Slaves nearer home—White Slaves. Look at Russia, that wilderness of crushed spirits, over which the Imperial Slave-master of the north holds his hated dominion, and keeps in bondage, not the Negro or the stranger, but his own subjects—his own countrymen, those whom it is his highest duty to cherish and protect. (Cheers.) Look at unhappy Poland, whose brave sons are made to fight the battles of their oppressor, against the cause which they love. No less than 800 of these gallant men dragged into the ranks of the Russian despot, and fighting reluctantly against the independence of Circassia, have been made prisoners by its unconquered inhabitants and sold into Slavery, and are at this moment bondsmen to the barbarous Turk. Here is more work for the friends of freedom. (Cheers.) But the day of deliverance may not be far distant. Liberty has thrown a spark of her living fire on the bleak mountains of Caucasus; and if you foster that spark into a flame—not the flame of war but of love, the love of freedom and the love of man—it may yet spread itself with irresistible sway over the wide waste around it, regenerating, elevating, and emancipating both the tyrant and the Slave. Mr Brewster concluded amid great cheering.

Mr James M'Cune Smith, M.D., on seconding the motion, said,—It is with great pleasure that I second the resolution so ably moved by the distinguished clergyman of the Church of Scotland who has just addressed you. And the audience will, I am sure, sympathise with me, when informed that I do so at a very short notice, in consequence of the absence of another ornament of the same church, whose name would have given the resolution additional currency among a body of Christians whom I am most anxious to see more generally engaged in

the cause of Emancipation; and whose eloquence would have claimed for the motion that respectful attention which no words of mine can command. (Cheers.) For I am unable, under present circumstances—and had months of preparation been allowed me—would still have been unable—to find expression for the feelings of gratitude which I entertain for the past exertions of Mr Thompson; or the eager anxiety with which I look for a continuance of those exertions which have been fraught with so much good to my native land; and which, I trust, will continue to be of eminent service, not only there, but to every country wherein men are enslaved by their fellow-men. (Cheers.)

Sir, there are two parties more immediately concerned in this Resolution—Mr Thompson, and the Emancipation Society of this city.—An offer is made, or rather renewed, to Mr T., which he will frankly and gladly accept. For with bleeding humanity soliciting him on the one hand, and the enlightened Christians of this free and enlightened country urging him on the other, he cannot refuse to continue these efforts—laborious indeed—for which he is so pre-eminently fitted, and which are so congenial to his mind. (Cheers.)

And with regard to the Emancipation Society here assembled, you will gladly renew your engagment with Mr Thompson; and with that hearty acclamation, which can be given by freemen only, and in a free country, cheering on a gifted and zealous philanthropist in his endeavours to achieve the liberties of their kind, by the physically harmless, but morally omnipotent, weapons of truth and righteousness. Were other means resorted to, were physical force made use of, I would be among the first to resist them. And be assured, Sir, that if at this moment any warlike armament were to invade the United States, even for the purpose of liberating the victims of prejudice and of Slavery, the men who would strike first, and would struggle longest in defence of the American coast, would be the 800,000 free people of colour, who are Americans by birth, Americans in principle, and have proved themselves in many a field of fight, as well as by present sufferings, which I cannot recount,—the most ardent lovers of the American soil. But, Sir, there is no need of physical force. The weapons used by this Society are more powerful, and will prevail. The American people know this, indeed have admitted it. They have admitted it in the person of one of the most gifted among them, and on this very platform, which is consecrated to the cause of civil and religious liberty. (Loud cheers.) For in that brilliant encounter—in which truth so signally triumphed through the lips of your agent—America, by appearing before such a tribunal, admitted not only its right to make this moral invasion, but also by her attempt to maintain the justice of her present conduct, admits the irresistible power which you can wield over her destinies. Let me entreat you, therefore, never to forget these circumstances: forget not the agent who has placed such priceless influence in your hands: forget not incessantly to exercise that influence for the benefit of the helpless Slave. And then, Sir, I will go back to the land whence I came, happy in the thought that at a day not very distant, it may be my privilege once more to appear before you,—no longer an outcast from the land of the free—no longer the victim of a cruel prejudice—no longer debarred from seats of learning, for a physical accident, no fault of mine—no longer deprived of any of the privileges of an American citizen—but that it will be my lot to tell you that AMERICA IS FREE! (Cheers.) And who knows, Sir, but that there may come with me an American Slave, whose chains shall have been broken; an American Slave-holder, whose whip shall have been destroyed; and an American Christian, whose prejudices shall have been annihilated by the means you are now using to attain these ends. (Tremendous cheering.) And we will come, not only to thank you for what you have done, but to entreat you to re-engage your eloquent and devoted agent in those labours, which, I trust, will never cease until Slavery be banished from the face of the earth. (Cheers.)

Mr THOMPSON came forward, and was received with shouts of applause from all parts of the house. He said there were some occasions in which it could scarcely be affirmed that he was a man of few words; but when he had to speak of himself, such might be said with great truth. Occasions like the present completely unmanned him; it was impossible for him to speak to such a resolution. He could only say, that all his soul, and mind, and strength—every feeling of his heart, and all his power of judgment, would continue to be employed in the holy, the glorious, the inspiring cause, to which he had so long been attached. (Great cheering.) But he had another and a better topic on which to speak. Thank God, we lived in a time, when instead of idly looking back to the deeds of their ancestors, men are eagerly engaged in providing for the future—in ad-

vancing freedom and civilization. For his part, he was not one of those who wished to have nothing to do; he was no fresh water sailor. (Cheers.) He was glad when he found something with which to contend. He did not rejoice in the existence of Slavery; but he rejoiced in being actively engaged in its suppression. Mr Thompson then congratulated the meeting on the progress which Abolition principles were making in America. The Abolition Societies had increased from 300 to near 1000; the Churches had begun to rise in their strength, and the public mind of America was awaking from slumber. On looking around, there was much to inspirit, and they might joyfully buckle on their armour for another campaign. In his usual animated and forcible manner, he exhorted the meeting to persevere in the work they had taken in hand; he thanked them for the suffrages they had that night bestowed upon him, and said that, with the assurance of their continued favour, he would go onwards in the course he had already pursued. Mr Thompson sat down amid the cheers of the meeting. But on the chairman intimating that the Rev. Dr Kidston, who was to move the next resolution, had found it impossible, from the pressure of other public business, as yet to get forward,

Mr T. continued,—Mr Chairman; Ladies and gentlemen, I rise to submit a series of resolutions on the subject of Texas. These resolutions are conceived in a spirit of deep indignation at what I deem a murderous blow at the cause of human rights, and they are expressed in language correspondingly strong. It is necessary I should solicit some indulgence while I state such facts as will justify the views embodied in these resolutions, and dispose this Society to adopt them with unanimity. (Loud cheering.)

No movement of the present day has a more important bearing upon the objects of this Society than the present struggle in Texas. The issues of this question, whatever they may be, will affect the liberties and happiness of many millions of the human family. Should the Texian arms be victorious, the Slavery of the United States will be perpetuated to an indefinite extent, and the Slave-trade, with all its horrid features, be revived.

Texas is that portion of the North American Continent comprised between the mouths and the sources of the Sabine and Rio del Norte rivers; between the 27th and 35th degrees of North latitude, and the 94th and 104th parallels of West longitude. It is a beautiful and fertile country, covering nearly two hundred millions of English acres.* Though lying immediately contiguous to the State of Louisiana, Texas is almost entirely free from the malaria, so fatal to the Anglo-Saxon and his descendants on the Eastern bank of the Mississippi. Texas has been termed the Italy of the West—the garden of North America. The whole of this country belongs to Mexico. At present it is the scene of an important struggle—the government of Mexico seeking to subdue to order and allegiance a revolted province, and Texas aiming to become, first, an independent republic, and next, one of the United States of America. I have no time to dwell upon the position, natural advantages, and almost boundless capacity for improvement, of this country, and shall satisfy myself with reading a short extract from the *North American Review*, of July, 1836:—

"Texas possesses great natural beauty and fertility. It is intersected by the Trinity, the Brazos, the Colerado, the Guadaloupe, and some smaller streams, which rise in the springs of the rocky mountains, forming a ridge generally called the Sievia Morena, and after a comparatively short course, fall into the gulf of Mexico. The country is very open, being principally composed of extensive prairies; but the alluvian upon the water courses, covered with wood or cane, is admirably adapted to the culture of Cotton and Sugar, and the open plains to the raising of cattle to an unlimited extent. During the existence of the Spanish Government, the natural resources of this beautiful country appear to have been wholly unknown, or never appreciated. * * * * At the period we speak of, these extensive and woodless plains were the haunts of innumerable droves of horses, 'desert-born;' and nothing can be imagined more grand than their movements in squadrons of thousands, when frightened by the approach of the solitary traveller.

* For a very interesting account of this country, the reader is referred to a series of articles in *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal.*

"A thousand horse, and none to ride,
With flowing tail and flying mane;
Wide nostrils never stretched with pain;
Mouths bloodless by the bit or rein;
And feet that iron never shod;
And flanks unscarr'd by spear or rod.
A thousand horse, the wild, the free,
Like waves that follow o'er the sea,
Come thickly thundering on."

Texas is an interesting portion of the globe, in whatever aspect it is viewed.

Politically, as affecting the value and security of many of our Colonial possessions, and the observance of treaties which have been solemnly signed and ratified both on this side of the Atlantic and the other. As connected also with a country to which we have advanced 70,000,000 of dollars, the reimbursement of which depends upon the prosperity of the nation at large. As unfolding the policy of the United States' people and government, and their ultimate designs upon the various territories adjacent to their own. As shaping the destiny and moulding the political character of the United States. These, however, are not the considerations which render the question one of importance to this Society, or induce me to stand forth as the mover of the resolutions I hold in my hand. While the merchant and the statesman may look into this question with interest, it is for the philanthropist to appreciate its peculiar and paramount importance. (Great cheering.)

My design to-night is to demonstrate, that there is an unholy league between the rebel Texians and the Slave-holders of the United States, aided by grasping land speculators in the free States, to dismember the Mexican territory; to establish domestic Slavery; to re-open an immense Slave-market; to set up the shambles for human flesh; and then annex the whole to the United States; that thereby the Slave-holding portion of the 'Union' may wield a preponderating influence, and the conquest of Texas be the first of a series of aggressive movements, which shall at no distant day bring the entire Mexican territory under the dominion of the Anglo-Saxon Slave-holder, and the cart-whip be the symbol of supremacy from the banks of the Potomac, to the Isthmus of Panama.

The history of the present unholy attempt to rob Mexico of Texas, presents in striking colours the tendency of that accursed system which reduces to the condition of animated machines, put in motion by the scourge, the immortal offspring of God. It shows that those who have so far trampled on the divine law, as to make merchandise of men,

"Are fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils."

The United States furnish at the present moment the instructive, though humiliating example, of a civilized, republican, and nominally Christian nation, in the middle of the 19th century, turning away from the claims of humanity, and the dictates of religion, and the teachings of the times, and rushing with mad and guilty delirium into a strife, in which nothing can be gained but an increase of blood-stained territory, and an extended revenue of deep dishonour.

In the year 1819, the United States became possessed of Florida, a peninsular of nearly 600 miles in length, and 90 in breadth; stretching out into the Atlantic Ocean, commanding the Gulf of Mexico and the Carribbean Sea. Prior to 1819, Florida belonged to Spain. The United States desired to possess it on account of its commanding position—its value as a cotton growing country—and because it was a refuge for run-away Slaves from Georgia. England reluctantly consented to the purchase, with the understanding that the United States' territory should never extend westward of the Sabine river. All the maps subsequently published have made the Sabine the boundary line between Mexico and the United States. The question was finally settled in 1832, by negociation between the two countries. The following is an extract from the 2d article in the Treaty:—

"The boundary line between the two countries, west of the Mississippi, shall begin on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea, continuing north along the western bank of that river, to the 32d degree of latitude; thence by a line due north to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River; then, following the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude 100 west from London, and 23 from Washington;

then crossing the said Red River, and running thence by a line due north, to the River Arkansas, to its source, in latitude 42 north; and thence, by that parallel of latitude, to the South Sea; the whole being as laid down in Mellish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, improved to the 1st of January, 1818."

Prior to 1820, Texas was comparatively unknown to the land-speculators of the United States. A few persons from the United States had established themselves in the eastern part of the province, as Indian traders and unauthorized adventurers. Besides these, the tenants of the vast and beautiful district were the Aboriginal *red men of the country*, and the Mexican inhabitants of a few scattered towns: Texas and the whole of Mexico were in possession of Spain.

The first regular plan for colonization was a privilege granted to a person of the name of Moses Austin, a native of Missouri; who, after surveying the land, obtained from the Spanish authorities a large tract, on condition that he introduced 300 families of industrious orderly settlers, within a given time. Then commenced the colonization of Texas. Moses Austin returned to Missouri: before his arrangements were completed, he *died*. He was succeeded by his son S. F. Austin, who determined to follow out the plan of his father, and ultimately repaired to Texas with a considerable number of families from the States of Tennessee, Missouri, and Louisiana.

Prior, however, to his obtaining legal settlement for himself and the families who accompanied him, the Revolution of Mexico took place, which annulled the authority of Spain, and resulted in the separation of all the Mexican provinces from the Spanish crown. These circumstances rendered it necessary for Austin to apply to the new government for a confirmation of his father's grant; this was obtained with little difficulty, in a modified form. The Mexican government pursued the most liberal and generous policy towards the contractor and settlers; exempting them from all duties on articles imported for their own consumption, and all taxes for the support of government, for the term of ten years from their settlement. The settlers on their part promised obedience to the laws of Mexico, and were legally subject to all the regulations of the Mexican government.

The Mexicans having in 1822 succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Spain, became an independent nation, and established a government similar in its general principles and features to that of the United States. The constitution was formed and adopted in 1824; and the first Congress convened in January, 1825. The republic, besides five territories, were divided into nineteen states, Texas with Coahuila forming one of them. The population of Mexico, estimated at eight millions, was composed, with the exception of Texas, of European Indians, a mixed race of Whites and Indians, Whites and Negroes, and Negroes and Indians.—I proceed to notice another feature in the history of Texas.

As soon as Mr Adams came into office, (1825,) Mr Poinsett of South Carolina, was appointed Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico. Mr Poinsett was in Mexico five years, and during that time did his utmost to effect the annexation of Texas to the territory of the United States. What share Mr Adams had in the design does not appear. It is quite certain, however, that Mr Poinsett acted as the representative of a large and powerful party in the United States.

There are no official documents in existence to throw light on the proceedings of that skilful diplomatist in this matter. The United States' government have kept them a profound secret. Some facts, however, are known. Mr Poinsett found that the constitution of Mexico had *fixed* the national domain, and that no administration could, without a violation of the constitution, cede one foot of it. He soon learned that the Mexicans were sensitive on the subject. In fact, the general murmur was so great that he was obliged to substitute secret machination for open negociation. He sought to avail himself of the intestine divisions, and political animosities, with which Mexico was unhappily distracted. It was at his house, and under the sanction of the American flag, that the conspirators for expelling the President, *Pedraza*, held their consultations. He identified himself with a faction in that country, and was the master-spirit of one of the great political parties!

After General Jackson came into power, Mr Poinsett's diplomacy assumed an unwonted activity. This was not more the result of fresh instructions than of a political event which made much noise in the New World. In the summer of 1829 an expedition sailed from Cuba, conveyed chiefly by *American* vessels, for the purpose of re-conquering Mexico. At this juncture, Mr Poinsett offered

the government the loan of 10,000,000 dollars, *to be secured by mortgage of Texas* Had Mexico acceded to the insidious proposal, she would never have seen Texas more. Mr Ward, British Minister, in his work on Mexico, significantly observes that he "was never informed what security the United States proposed for the restoration of the territory, in the event of the money being repaid." In 1829 Mr Poinsett was recalled, and left Mexico amidst the general execrations of the people and government. But to return.

By an article in the constitution of 1824, it was provided, that no one should thereafter be born or brought a Slave within the limits of Mexico; and by another it was provided that Slavery should be entirely abolished in 1829. The first of these articles the Texian emigrants contrived to evade, by taking their Slaves with them, held as apprentices, some of them for the term of *ninety-nine* years. (A laugh.) The year 1829 arrived, and Gen. Guerrero, the President, in conformity to the latter article, issued a decree abolishing Slavery throughout Mexico. A change in the administration of the government took place soon after, and representations were made to the General Congress of Mexico, setting forth that many of the Slaves introduced by the Texian colonists, were so extremely ignorant as to be unfit for freedom; and a dispensation of the aforesaid decree was granted, so far only as related to Texas. To remedy the abuses of the apprenticeship system, (a system which differed from absolute and perpetual Slavery only in name,) a law was enacted, making void all indentures, or contracts for labour, in ten years from their date. To get rid of these restrictions, and for the purpose of attaining other objects, the Texians, in 1833, called a convention to draft a State Constitution for Texas. Such was the haste of the Anglo-Saxon Slave-holders and office seekers of Texas, that the convention was assembled without having been legally authorized to enter upon the performance of the duties which it assumed. A draft of a constitution was prepared by that body, and Stephen F. Austin was deputed as the bearer of it to the capital of the Republic, to apply for its ratification by the General Congress. The constitution, principally because it contained no prohibition of Slavery, was promptly *rejected* by the Congress. Many of the colonists, and even some of the members of the convention, openly admitted, in conversation with the citizens of the United States, that it was the special *design* of the framers of that instrument, to leave it open for the re-establishment of Slavery, under the sovereign authority of the contemplated State Government. Nay more, even while the convention was in session, a Slave-trader boldly landed a cargo of Slaves in Texas, from Africa, *via* Cuba. This was such a bare-faced violation of the laws of Mexico, and the treaties with other nations, that the convention felt the necessity of passing a *formal* censure upon the conduct of the Slaver. Yet some of the members warmly opposed it! and nothing was done to punish the "pirate," although it was publicly known that he was for some length of time in the country, making sale of his Slaves, not far distant from the place where the convention met. A short time after, a similar cargo was introduced, and disposed of with like impunity.

"On learning the fate of their proposition at the seat of Government, the clamours and complaints of the *movement* party in Texas were loud and general. To preserve his popularity with that party, Austin was said to have acted very insolently toward the federal authorities. A little difficulty, at least, occurred between them; which, however, was soon adjusted. But finding that he could not then obtain the sanction of Congress, to the measure of establishing a State Government for Texas, separate from Coahuila, he wrote to the Ayuntamiento (Council) of the municipality of San Antonio de Bexar, recommending an immediate organization for the purpose. It is also believed that he recommended the same thing to the other municipalities in Texas. A majority of the Ayuntamiento of Bexar were native Mexicans, and indisposed to second the rash proposition of Austin, and the reckless proceedings of some of the other colonists. Instead thereof, that body passed resolutions severely censuring this act of Austin, and sent an official statement of the whole proceedings to the Governor of Coahuila and Texas. He immediately communicated the same to the Federal Executive; and orders were issued for Austin's apprehension. The latter had been informed of the measures adopted by the Ayuntamiento of San Antonio de Bexar, and quitted the capital before the Executive had received the documents. A force was instantly despatched in pursuit of him, and he was overtaken at Saltillo, having merely crossed the boundary line and entered the State of Coahuila and Texas. He was forthwith remanded to the seat of Government, and committed to prison, to await his trial upon

a charge of treasonable conspiracy, or insubordination to the laws of the republic."*

Austin remained in confinement upwards of eighteen months, and was finally liberated through the clemency of the federal authorities, and he again left the capital—having pledged himself, it was stated, to use his influence in preserving the political tranquility of Texas.

"Previous to the arrival of Austin in Texas, a small number of troops reached its southern borders, under General Cos. The Government had not contemplated an open resistance on the part of the Colonists to the re-establishment of the Custom-Houses, the enforcement of the laws, &c., and did not send an adequate number to compel their obedience. But, true to their long-settled determination, they proceeded to arrest the march of the Mexican troops into that part of the country. Austin had visited New Orleans on his way home. There the future plans of operation were concocted. He was accompanied to Texas by some daring adventurers. An army was immediately organized. Mexican revenue cutters were seized, under the charge of pirating upon the commerce of the United States, in the Gulf of Mexico. The troops under General Cos were driven into the fort at San Antonio de Bexar. Expeditions were fitted out in various parts of the United States, and auxiliary forces proceeded to the assistance of the Colonists, under the guise of emigrant settlers. An agent of the Texas land speculators in New York was stationed at New Orleans, for the express purpose of forwarding these 'emigrants,' &c. Austin took the command of the colonial army, but he soon thereafter relinquished the office, leaving the Mexican troops besieged at San Antonio. He never was popular with the turbulent spirits in Texas; and they now got him out of their way, by giving him the appointment of Commissioner to procure further aid, both physical and pecuniary, from the United States."† No sooner were the rebel Texians fairly in arms against the Mexican Government, upon the hypocritical pretext of attachment to the constitution of 1824,—a constitution they had evaded and violated, than the press of the United States sounded the note of preparation for a grand attempt to effect the overthrow of the Mexican authority in Texas, and annex that fertile region to the United States. The most glowing appeals were made to the citizens for supplies of arms and ammunition, loans of money, and the raising of volunteer corps; and such descriptions were given of the country to be conquered, as were likely to tempt the cupidity of all classes. The appeal was not made in vain. A wide sympathy with the Anglo-Saxon Texians was every where created, and liberal supplies of money and men were obtained. Commissioners from Texas travelled through the United States holding meetings, attending dinners, and organizing Committees, every where denouncing the tyranny of the Mexicans, and imploring the sympathy and aid of the United States' people. The giddy, the adventurous, the avaricious, and the warlike, eagerly embarked in the guilty crusade. Large offers of land were made to such as volunteered in the revolutionary army, and the land speculators, in all directions, did their utmost to fan the flame, knowing, that upon the issue of the contest depended the value of their assumed title to the broad acres of which they had become, many of them, the fraudulent claimants.

All this was permitted by the United States' Government, notwithstanding the explicit language of treaties and laws. The following may be cited. In the first article of a treaty, concluded April 5th, 1831, it is provided:—

"There shall be firm, inviolable, universal peace, and true and sincere friendship between the United States of America, and the United Mexican States, in all the extent of their possessions and territories, and *between their people and citizens respectively, without distinction of persons or places.*"

The thirty-fourth article of this treaty farther declares:—

"If any one, or more, of the citizens of either party, shall infringe any of the articles of this treaty, such citizens shall be held personally responsible for the same."

Again, the following sections are taken from an act of Congress, of April 20th, 1818:—

Sec. 48. "If any citizen of the United States shall, within the territory or

* For the above extract, and much besides that is contained in this speech, I am indebted to a pamphlet by Mr Benjamin Lundy of Philadelphia, a gentleman thoroughly acquainted with the subject.

† Mr Lundy's pamphlet on Texas.

jurisdiction thereof, accept or exercise a commission to serve a people, &c., in war, against a people, &c., with whom the United States are at peace, such person shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor," &c.

Sec. 49. "If any person, &c., shall enlist, &c., or hire, or retain another person, &c., to go beyond the limits, &c., of the United States, with intent to be enlisted or entered in the service of any foreign people, &c., every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor."

Sec. 53. "If any person shall, within the territory, &c., of the United States, begin, or set on foot, or provide or prepare the means for any military expedition or enterprise to be carried on from thence, against the territory, &c., of a people with whom the United States are at peace, any person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor," &c.

In the enthusiasm excited in behalf of the rebel Texians, even the *females* of the United States shared, and Committees of ladies in the Slave-holding States were appointed for the purpose of equipping regiments, styling themselves "The Ladies' Cavalry,"—"The Ladies' Legion," &c.

On the 1st of April, 1833, an army headed by Santa Anna, in person, entered Texas; the President was at first successful, but on the 21st of the month, the rising of the river Brazos, cutting off his retreat to the main body of his army, he was taken prisoner, and the victory was gained by the Texians.

Let me here notice the conduct exhibited by the United States' Government. We have seen that treaties were violated, and laws set at naught with impunity, by the permission given to "commissioners," "agents," demagogues, and other pliant tools of the designing Slave-holders, to traverse the country and raise supplies of every kind for men who were enacting treason against a Government they were bound, by every tie of duty and gratitude, to respect and obey. General Jackson winked at these things, and professed to think them inevitable and unavoidable, and stoutly maintained that the intentions of the Government were pacific. While the Abolitionists were every where denounced and exposed to the most eminent peril for pleading in behalf of the liberty of two millions and a half of American born citizens, the tyrants and traitors of Texas were every where welcomed and caressed. The laws were doubly violated by extremes of conduct. With reference to the Abolitionists, it was violated by the passage of GAG LAWS and the felonious interception of their publications, and in the case of the Texians by permitting their agents and friends to make the United States the theatre of their preparations for the dismemberment of a country with which the United States were at peace. The celebrated Aaron Burr, once Vice-President of the United States, was tried for high treason for an alleged offence of a character precisely similar to the acts which have been committed every day for the last year, by distinguished citizens of the United States, and even members of the Government. Let us see how general Jackson proved the sincerity of his professions. No sooner were the Texians in arms, than under pretence of defending the frontier from the effects of an Indian war, General Gaines was despatched with an army to the bank of the Sabine river, and a million of dollars placed at the disposal of the President in case of an emergency. General Gaines having safely reached the eastern bank of the boundary river, soon received orders to cross with his men and station himself at Nacogdoches, a town seventy miles within the Mexican territory. A more bare-faced invasion of a foreign country was never committed. No sooner had General Gaines reached Nacogdoches, than large numbers of his men, in full uniform, and well stocked with arms and ammunition, all paid for by the United States; *deserted to the Texian army*, commanded by General Houston, a bosom friend of General Jackson's! In vain did the Mexican minister at Washington, remonstrate against such flagrant conduct. He was from time to time put off by plausible excuses; until, filled with disgust, he asked permission to depart, leaving behind him a protest against the conduct of the United States' Government, calculated to raise a blush of shame upon the cheek of every citizen of that country, not lost to every feeling of honour and consistency. I shall here read a few passages from the brilliant and high-toned speech of John Quincy Adams, the ex-President of the United States, delivered in Congress in May last. Let me first observe, that the United States' Government has recently shown a fixed determination to go to war with Mexico, and by the overwhelming force of the war-like power of the United States, crush the Mexican nation, rather than see the Texians overcome by the Government from which they have revolted.

"You have been, if you are not now, at the very point of a war with Mexico—

a war, I am sorry to say, so far as public rumour may be credited, stimulated by provocations on our part from the very commencement of this administration, down to the recent authority given to General Gaines to invade the Mexican territory. It is said that one of the earliest acts of this administration was a proposal, made at a time when there was already much ill-humour in Mexico against the United States, that she should cede to the United States a very large portion of her territory—large enough to constitute nine States equal in extent to Kentucky. It must be confessed that a device better calculated to produce jealousy, suspicion, ill-will, and hatred, could not have been contrived. It is further affirmed that this overture, offensive in itself, was made precisely at the time when a swarm of colonists from these United States were covering the Mexican border with land-jobbing, and with Slaves, introduced in defiance of the Mexican laws, by which Slavery had been abolished throughout that Republic.

"The war now raging in Texas is a Mexican civil war, and a war for the re-establishment of Slavery where it was abolished. It is not a servile war, but a war between Slavery and Emancipation, and every possible effort has been made to drive us into the war, on the side of Slavery.

* * * * * *

"It has struck me as no inconsiderable evidence of the spirit which is spurring us into this war of aggression, of conquest, and of Slave-making, that all the fires of ancient, hereditary national hatred are to be kindled, to familiarize us with the ferocious spirit of rejoicing at the massacre of prisoners in cold blood. Sir, is there not yet hatred enough between the races which compose your Southern population and the population of Mexico, their next neighbour, but you must go back eight hundred or a thousand years, and to another hemisphere, for the fountains of bitterness between you and them? What is the temper of feeling between the component parts of your own Southern population, between your Anglo-Saxon, Norman French, and Moorish Spanish inhabitants of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Missouri?—between them all and the Indian savage, the original possessor of the land from which you are scourging him already, back to the foot of the Rocky Mountains? What between them all and the native American negro, of African origin, whom they are holding in cruel bondage? Are these elements of harmony, concord, and patriotism between the component parts of a nation starting upon a crusade of conquest? And what are the feelings of all this motley compound of your Southern population towards the compound equally heterogeneous of the Mexican population? Do not you, an Anglo-Saxon, Slave-holding exterminator of Indians, from the bottom of your soul, hate the Mexican-Spaniard-Indian, emancipator of Slaves and abolisher of Slavery? And do you think that your hatred is not with equal cordiality returned? Go to the city of Mexico, ask any of your fellow-citizens who have been there for the last three or four years, whether they scarcely dare show their faces, as Anglo-Americans, in the streets. Be assured, Sir, that however heartily you detest the Mexican, his bosom burns with an equally deep seated detestation of you.

"And this is the nation with which, at the instigation of your Executive Government, you are now rushing into war—into a war of conquest; commenced by aggression on your part, and for the re-establishment of Slavery, where it has been abolished, throughout the Mexican Republic.

* * * * * *

"In that war, Sir, the banners of *freedom* will be the banners of Mexico; and your banners, I blush to speak the word, will be the banners of Slavery. But will your foreign war for this be with Mexico alone? No, Sir. As the weaker party, Mexico, when the contest shall have once begun, will look abroad, as well as among your Negroes and your Indians, for assistance. Neither Great Britain nor France will suffer you to make such a conquest from Mexico; no, nor even to annex the independent State of Texas to your confederation, without their interposition. You will have an Anglo-Saxon intertwined with a Mexican war to wage. Great Britain may have no serious objection to the independence of Texas, and may be willing enough to take her under her protection, as a barrier both against Mexico and against you. But, as aggrandisement to you, she will not readily suffer it; and, above all, she will not suffer you to acquire it by conquest and the re-establishment of Slavery. Urged on by the irresistible, overwhelming torrent of public opinion, Great Britain has recently, at a cost of one hundred millions of dollars, which her people have joyfully paid, abolished Slavery throughout all her Colonies in the West Indies.

After setting such an example, she will not—it is impossible that she should—stand by and witness a war for the re-establishment of Slavery where it had been for years abolished, and situated thus in the immediate neighbourhood of her islands. She will tell you, that if you must have Texas as a member of your confederacy, it must be without the taint or the trammels of Slavery; and if you will wage a war to handcuff and fetter your fellow-man, she will wage the war against you to break his chains. Sir, what a figure in the eyes of mankind, would you make, in deadly conflict with Great Britain: she, fighting the battles of Emancipation, and you the battles of Slavery; she, the benefactress, and you the oppressor, of human kind! In such a war, the enthusiasm of Emancipation, too, would unite vast numbers of her people in aid of the national rivalry, and all her natural jealousy against our aggrandisement. No war was ever so popular in England as that war would be against Slavery, the Slave-trade, and the Anglo-Saxon descendant from her own loins.

"At this time circumstances have changed, popular revolutions, both in France and Great Britain, have, perhaps, curbed the spirit of conquest in Great Britain, and France may have enough to do to govern her kingdom of Algiers. But Spain is again convulsed with a civil war for the succession to her crown; she has irretrievably lost all her colonies in both continents of America. It is impossible that she should hold much longer a shadow of dominion over the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico; nor can those islands, in their present condition, form independent nations, capable of protecting themselves. They must for ages remain at the mercy of Great Britain, or of these United States, or of both. Great Britain is even now about to interfere in this war for the Spanish succession. If, by the utter imbecility of the Mexican confederacy, this revolt of Texas should lead immediately to its separation from that Republic, and its annexation to the United States, I believe it impossible that Great Britain should look on with indifference while this operation is performing. She will see that it must shake her whole colonial power on this continent, in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the Carribean Seas, like an earthquake; she will see too that it endangers her own abolition of Slavery in her own colonies. A war for the restoration of Slavery where it has been abolished, if successful in Texas, must extend over all Mexico; and the example will threaten her with imminent danger of a war of colours in her own islands. She will take possession of Cuba and of Porto Rico, by cession from Spain, or by the batteries from her wooden walls; and if you ask her by what authority she has done it, she will ask you in return, by what authority you have extended your sea coast from the Sabine to the Rio Bravo. She will ask you a question more perplexing, namely, by what authority you, with freedom, independence, and democracy upon your lips, are waging a war of extermination to forge new manacles and fetters, instead of those which are falling from the hands and feet of men. She will carry Emancipation and Abolition with her in every fold of her flag; while your stars, as they increase in numbers, will be overcast with the murky vapours of oppression; and the only portion of your banners visible to the eye, will be the blood-stained stripes of the task-master." (Loud cheers.)

In proof of the truth of Mr Adams's statement of the object of the war in Texas, as well as in support of the resolutions, I shall presently read,—I shall cite an authority of the highest kind,—I shall make the Texians themselves declare their ultimate intentions. Let me crave special attention to an extract from the Constitution adopted by the Texians a few months ago. I shall not here attempt to characterize it as it deserves, but leave it without note or comment, to be considered by every freeman and lover of the species, without respect of colour.

"SECTION IX.—All persons of *colour* who were Slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are now held in bondage, SHALL REMAIN *in the like state of servitude*, provided the said Slave shall be the *bona fide* PROPERTY of the person so holding said Slave as aforesaid. Congress *shall pass no laws* to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their Slaves into the Republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which such Slaves were held in the United States; NOR SHALL CONGRESS HAVE POWER TO EMANCIPATE SLAVES; *nor shall any Slave-holder be allowed to Emancipate his or her Slave or Slaves*, WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF CONGRESS, unless he or she shall send his or her Slave or Slaves without the limits of the Republic. *No free person of African descent, either in whole or part*, SHALL BE PERMITTED TO RESIDE *permanently in the Republic, with the consent of the Congress;* and the importation or admission of Africans or Negroes into the Republic, EXCEPTING FROM

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, is for ever prohibited, and declared to be piracy."

Let me also put on record the deliberate opinions of the Abolitionists of America on this subject.

At the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, New York, May, 1836:—

"On the motion of GERRIT SMITH, ESQ.,—*Resolved*, That it is evident that the present struggle in Texas against the Government of Mexico is mainly for the extension and perpetuity of Slavery, and therefore deserves the strongest reprobation of the friends of liberty and humanity; and that we fully believe that the independence of Texas, or its requisition by our Government under these circumstances, would be mournfully disastrous to the cause of the coloured race,—of Liberty, Republicanism, and Christianity."

The following was passed at the Anniversary of the New York State Anti-Slavery Society, October, 1836:—

"*Resolved*, That we recognize in the Texian rebellion a scheme for robbing Mexico of her territory, for the purpose of re-establishing Slavery upon it; and that we regard the exclusive privilege of supplying the Slave-market of Texas, recently granted to this country, as an insult to the moral sense of the nation, and also as a bribe to facilitate the admission into the American Union of a loathsome republic, which, while pretending attachment to liberty, is seeking to establish and perpetuate the most horrible and abominable despotism."

The following are resolutions and a memorial adopted at a large and important Anti-Slavery Convention, held in Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, in February, 1837, and attended by upwards of 160 delegates from all parts of the State. The Convention was called to form a State Anti-Slavery Society:—

"*Resolved*, That all Anti-Slavery Societies, and friends of the cause throughout the United States, be requested to use proper exertions for the dissemination of correct information upon the subject of the contemplated re-establishment of Slavery in Texas, &c., and also that they endeavour to impress on the minds of the people generally a sense of the danger which menaces our free institutions from that source.

"*Resolved*, That the following memorial and remonstrance be presented to the Congress of the United States, at as early a period as may be practicable, during the present session of that body:—

MEMORIAL.

"To the Senate and House of Representatives, of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,

"The memorial of the Convention for the formation of an Anti-Slavery Society for the State of Pennsylvania, assembled at Harrisburg, respectfully showeth:

"That your memorialists have learned with sorrow and alarm, that a proposition is at this time before your honourable body, to recognize the independence of the Government assumed to be established by the insurgents of Texas. Against this measure, your memorialists in behalf of themselves, of the thousands whom they represent, and of the principles long cherished by the people of Pennsylvania; in the name of liberty, justice, and humanity, enter their SOLEMN AND UNITED PROTEST.

"Facts incontrovertible, which have come to the knowledge of your memorialists, warrant the belief that the insurrection in Texas, has been aided by citizens of the United States, that its main object, the grand cause of the movement, as evinced by the sentiments and conduct of its advocates, and by the very constitution of their assumed Government, is the establishment of domestic Slavery, the re-opening of an immense Slave-market—to set up anew the shambles for human flesh, where the abhorrent traffic had been arrested and abolished by the legitimate authorities of Mexico—and finally, to annex the territory to the United States. From a regard to the national honour; for the character of the age in which we live; by their obligations to posterity; and above all, to the God of justice, your memorialists feel themselves called upon as Pennsylvanians, the representatives of freemen and Christians, to offer their strong remonstrance against any act on the part of the country of which they are citizens, which shall sanction or recognize a Government which owes its origin to the base and unhallowed purpose of re-establishing Slavery upon the soil of liberty.

"Your memorialists, therefore, respectfully but earnestly entreat your honourable body, to reject the proposition for the recognition of the Government assumed to be established by the insurgents of Texas, as well as all attempts that may be made to connect it with the United States, and as in duty bound we will ever pray, &c.

"Signed in behalf of the Convention,

"F. JULIUS LE MOYNE, PRESIDENT."

The following is from the *Boston Courier* of May 23d, 1836. This paper is opposed to the Abolitionists :—

"SLAVERY IN TEXAS.—Some people are, or affect to be, much surprised that the southern and south-western members of Congress are so unanimous in their wish that Texas may become an independent State. The problem, if it be one, is of easy solution. If it can be severed from the Mexican government, it will be a vast Slave-market—we had almost said, *a menagerie* for the production of BLACK cattle. If it can be united to our Republic, it would be, ere the lapse of many years, cut up into several new States, with constitutions like those of Arkansas and Missouri, entailing upon the coloured population eternal Slavery. The north and the west ought to raise its voice against such a project, which, if successful, would subject them for ever to the domination of the Slave-holding States."

The *Buffalo Spectator* says,—"We regard the conduct of the Texians in the light of a rebellion, and believe their object is to ESTABLISH AND PERPETUATE SLAVERY AND EXTEND THE SLAVE-TRADE. This is our deliberate conviction, and we express it without hesitation, believing that the friends of humanity and true liberty are called upon to expose the iniquitous schemes that are carried on in that country, under a pretence of 'a struggle for liberty against cruel oppression.'"

The *Boston Atlas*,—another paper opposed to the abolitionists, enquires,—"And who are the leaders in this 'heroic struggle?' General Houston, once governor of Tennessee, but since that, a chief of the Cherokees, a miserable vagabond and brawler, lately enacting Lynch's Law at Washington, now the apostle of Texian freedom. Robert Potter, once a member of Congress, but infamous throughout the union for his bloody brutality, and universal scoundrelism—lately the tenant of a state prison—expelled with scorn and contempt from the legislature of North Carolina—'now a great character' in Texas. Add to these, all the murderers, swindlers, and horse thieves, who have fled the Southern States for the last ten years, and the list of Texian heroes will be complete.

"These people may be, in the opinion of North Americans, fit to instruct the poor benighted Mexicans, in the science of liberty and good government; but the only discoveries they have yet offered to introduce among them, are Slavery and Lynch's Law—two grand republican panaceas, of which if Mexicans cannot yet apprehend the sublime merits, the extreme darkness of their ignorance must be their excuse."

Yet in such a cause the following language is employed in an address to the Texian army, composed of the filth and offscouring of the United States :—

"Let then every patriot and soldier, every worthy citizen who abhors the name of traitor, and contemns the vile epithet of coward, rally to the call promptly around the unfurled banner of freedom: let him repair with impatient zeal to the theatre of his nation's glory, and there snatch, upon the brink of danger, fame for himself and safety for his country. The dastard who lingers behind may live to fatten upon the fruits of his recreancy, but when he dies he rots in infamy to the joy of all: whilst the noble hero, who makes his bosom the bulwark of a people's liberty, will find a rich reward for toil and valour, in the thanks of a grateful land, and the smiles of its high-toned beauty. If he fall in the holy cause, he will still survive in the affections of his comrades, and his name will gather glory with the flight of ages.

'Each little rill, each mountain river,
Rolls mingled with his fame for ever.'

"Citizens of the Red Lands! You are looked to for aid in this second struggle for independence. Your contributions, heretofore, have not been proportionate to your population. Few of you have participated in the toils and glory of the

strife. Your homes have been exempt from the calamities of war; for that exemption you are indebted to the gallantry of your more exposed and suffering countrymen. Whatever circumstances may have restrained you before, there can remain no reasons to withhold you now. We know your courage. Your skill in arms is familiar to us all. Your country requires the immediate exhibition of both; let both be displayed when the great and decisive battle which is pending shall be fought; and Texas is free, sovereign, and independent! Hold not back, I adjure you, by every principle of honour, of gratitude, and of patriotism. If any man amongst you prove a recreant now, let him be stigmatized, treat him as an outcast, and let a nation's contempt rest like a black cloud upon his name. The call *en masse* let all obey, and all will be well.

Referring to some who had fallen in battle he says,—"Their glorified spirits, still hovering round the home of their patriotic devotion, call upon you to sustain the independence which they have consecrated by their martyrdom, and to recompense with merited vengeance the wrongs they have endured from a perfidious and dastard enemy."

Such falsehood and impiety fill the mind with horror and disgust, and we turn from the scene to weep over the wickedness and inconsistency of man. Who can read the following song of Slave-drivers, fighting for the privilege of buying and selling human flesh, without a feeling of irrepressible indignation. Such conduct brings republicanism into contempt, and curls with scorn the lip of every European despot:—

TEXAS WAR SONG.

Wake! ye sons of Texas wake!
  God and freedom call you now,
Life and honour are at stake,
  Will ye to a tyrant bow?
Will ye kiss the cruel chain,
  Will ye raise a fettered hand,
Will ye bend and cringe again,
  Offspring of a favoured land?

Grasp the sword, unsheath the blade,
  For your altars and your fires,
God your struggling arms will aid,
  Strike as sons of valiant sires!
Let each blow for victory tell;
  Curs'd be him who turns to fly,
Raise the war-cry loud and shrill,
  Spread it—"Death or Liberty!"

Tell the tyrants that ye scorn
  Life without its dearest tie:
Tell them, Slaves ye were not born,
  Tell them, Slaves ye will not die!
Tell them how your fathers fought,
  How they conquered—how they fell,
Point to them each honoured spot—
  Where was sung a tyrant's knell!

Tell them ye can strike as sure,
  Ye have hearts as bold as they,
Ye have homes and altars pure,
  Rights which none shall wrest away;
Arm to arm, and side to side,
  Dare as men to live or die;
Spread the watch-word, spread it wide,
  Shout it—"Death or Liberty!"

Such are the history and principal features of the Texan revolution. It was concerted by planters and Slave speculators in the Southern States, ever since the first permission given to Moses Austin, in the year 1820, to introduce 300 families as colonists of a grant of land obtained from the Spanish government. From that time to the present moment the aggressions have been on the part of the colonists, under the sanction of the southern speculators; and not until their purpose of getting a physical force into the province, which should detach it from Mexico, and make it a Slave-holding state, became flagrant and undisguised, had the settlers ever received aught but protection, encouragement, toleration and kindness from the Mexican government. They paid no taxes, had their own laws and tribunals; were allowed to profess and exercise all the

religions they chose, though contrary to the Mexican constitution; enjoyed all the fruits of a beautiful and bounteous soil, without return or tribute to the government to which it belonged, and were, without exception, the freest civilized people on the face of the earth. But the object of the colonizing land agents of the South, was to make this prolific province their own, and the field of a new and lucrative Negro Slavery. They have so far succeeded, and there is reason to fear, that Texas will be soon incorporated with the United States, and rapidly settled by Slave-holders from all the middle and Southern States of the Union. The Mexicans labour under every possible disadvantage in the struggle. There is much internal derangement and conflict of parties—their army is comparatively ill-disciplined—their exchequer is exhausted. They have opposed to them the Anglo-American Texan settler, who hates the Mexican on account of his *colour* and his *opposition to Slavery*, and who is determined to become a citizen of that part of the Continent with which he stands connected by birth, blood, political connections, and Slave-holding. In the United States, the Slave breeder, the Slave trader, the land speculator, and the Southern statesman, are all desirous of possessing Texas, and determined to resort to every means of obtaining it, not excepting a war of aggression against the whole Mexican territory.

An interesting debate on this subject took place in the House of Commons on the 5th of August last, occasioned by a motion made by Mr Barlow Hoy, for an address to the Crown, to take such measures as might be proper for the fulfilment of the existing treaty, by which this country was bound to co-operate with Mexico. He was of opinion that England ought not only to remonstrate with America, but have a naval force on the coast to support Mexico against American aggressions. Unless Mexico was assisted as she ought to be by this country, she would fall an easy victim to the ambition of the United States of America.

Mr Ward (formerly minister to Mexico) seconded the motion. To Texas the United States had long turned covetous eyes, and to obtain possession of that province had been the first object of its policy.

During his residence in Mexico, America contrived to have a proposal made to the Mexican Government, offering 10,000,000 dollars, for certain privileges in Texas, and that proposition having been refused, America then proceeded to encourage the settlement in Texas of the refuse of her own Southern States, who took possession of the land without title, or pretension to any title, and thus drew into it a population exclusively Slave and American. A declaration of independence next followed.—That declaration issued from men recognizing no law, and signed by only one Mexican, the President of the province, a man of talent, it was true, but who had dealt most largely in Texian lands, and sought his own advantage. He was supposed to have formed a connexion with some influential men of the American Cabinet, and amongst them with Mr Forsyth. What then had followed? America having created a population in Texas in the way he had stated, and having given to it every possible assistance, a committee of foreign relations in the Senate made a Report signed by Mr Clay, for whom he entertained a high respect, discussing the necessity of recognizing the declaration of the independence of Texas.

Lord Palmerston assured the House of the earnest desire of the Government to put down the Slave-trade.

His Majesty's Government had no agent in the province of Texas, and they had only lately received information from the British Minister at Mexico bearing on an illicit trade in Slaves, supposed to be carried on in Texas. It would be a great evil, much to be deplored, if the course of the civil war were to lead to the extension or re-establishment of Slavery. That was a matter deserving the attention of the House. Mr Hoy's motion was finally withdrawn. A second debate took place on the 9th of the present month, (March), when Mr Hoy moved for copies of all correspondence between the Government of Mexico and his Majesty's Government, on the subject of Texas, from the 1st of March 1836, to the present date; also, of all correspondence between the Government of the United States of America and his Majesty's Government, on the same subject, for a like period.

An animated debate followed, and the House evinced a feeling of just indignation against the conduct of the Texians, and the party in the United States now aiding them in their unrighteous struggle. On one of the speakers observing that it would be the duty of the House to remonstrate with the Government of the United States, he was loudly cheered.

In conclusion. It is the solemn duty of the friends of freedom in this country, to lift up their voice and boldly denounce the measures of the United States in reference to Texas. It is the duty of the Government to enforce the treaties for the suppression of the Slave traffic, and it is the duty of every Abolition Society to record its strong disapprobation of a scheme for perpetuating the horrors of Slavery and the Slave-trade.

This speech, in which is incorporated so much important historical information, was listened to with the deepest attention; and the frequent impassioned appeals of Mr Thompson on behalf of the Slave, were responded to by the meeting in repeated bursts of applause.

Mr Thompson then moved the following Resolutions:—

Resolved,—"That it appears fully evident to this Society, that the struggle to achieve the Independence of Texas, is not a struggle for the acquirement or maintenance of Civil and Religious Liberty, but for the privilege of *holding Slaves*, and carrying on the *Slave-trade;* and that the triumph of the Texian arms would, therefore, be calamitous to the Cause of Universal Freedom:

"That the 9th Section of the Constitution adopted by the revolted Texians, demonstrates the inconsistency and falsehood of their profession of attachment to the principles of righteous liberty,—is an infamous and wicked document, reflecting the deepest disgrace upon its framers, and deserving the unmitigated execration of mankind:

"That the offer made by the Texians to the United States, of an exclusive monopoly of the Trade in Slaves, should have been resented as a gross insult to the moral sense of the nation; and that its acceptance is a melancholy proof of the deadening and demoralizing influence of the Slave system:

"That we regard with the highest admiration and respect, the exalted and independent conduct of the Honourable John Quincy Adams, in the United States' Congress, in pleading for the Emancipation of the Slave, and in exposing the very suspicious conduct of the United States' Government, in regard to Mexico and Texas."

Dr. Kidston having now come forward, moved the resolution assigned him—and said,

Mr Chairman, and my friends whom I now address,—I consented to take part in the proceedings of this meeting somewhat reluctantly, in compliance with the solicitation of friends whom I highly esteem, and whose exertions in behalf of the injured, the enslaved, the oppressed, are approved of by all who have been taught of God to love their neighbours as themselves; and which is of infinitely greater importance, "of the High and Holy One, who inhabiteth eternity; who hath looked down from the height of His Sanctuary to hear the groaning of the prisoner," who hath proclaimed His compassion, saying, "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise. I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him."

It was, Sir, with reluctance that I engaged to address this assembly on the present occasion. It is not that I am indifferent to the benevolent object which you contemplate and prosecute,—THE TOTAL AND FINAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE EXTENT OF THIS LITTLE WORLD; or that I do not approve of the measures which you have adopted and propose to adopt for this purpose. I am a decided friend of unqualified abolition; and in common with you, and all the members of this Society, I feel and acknowledge myself bound by the law of eternal righteousness, to do what I can to break the unholy bonds in which our sable brethren are held, that the oppressed may go free; and to rescue our brethren, by whom they are held in bondage, (whose skin like ours is white,) to rescue them from the heaven-daring and heaven-provoking iniquity with which they are chargeable. I will not say that there are none who more earnestly desire that your labours shall speedily be crowned with success. I must know the hearts of all the friends of the Slave who surround me; and of the millions with whom, not the British empire only, but many other lands, are replenished; and their hearts I must compare with my own, before I can be prepared to make such a sweeping statement, and I must have ascertained my superiority to all others before I can have any title to pay myself such a high compliment. I regret that in the cause of suffering and degraded humanity, humanity degraded and suffering in body and in soul, I regret that I do not feel an interest warmer by much. But this I do say in truth, that from the heart I bid you God speed; and may "they who go by say, The blessing of the Lord be upon you; we have blessed you in the name of the Lord. Let them shout for joy and be glad that favour our righteous cause, and let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon

us; and establish thou the work of our hands upon us, yea, the work of hands, O Lord, establish thou it."

My aversion to take a prominent part in the proceedings of this Society must be traced to a very different source. I was not trained in my early days to exhibitions of this kind; and I say nothing but what I feel, when I state, that my younger brethren are much better qualified to address such an assembly as this, and on such an occasion as the present. I am not good at making platform speeches, and I do not like the employment; and I cannot divest myself of the impression, that I now stand in the place which might be occupied more efficiently by another, on whom, by my feeble voice, silence is, for the present, imposed. In spite of all my aversion, I resolved to comply with the request of your Committee; and I am confident, that in spite of all the homeliness and plainness of my speech, I shall be favoured with an indulgent and an attentive hearing; I do not say with a patient hearing, for of your patience I do not intend to make any severe trial.

The Resolution which I hold in my hand, and which I shall have the honour to propose, is the following;—"That in conformity with the Resolutions," &c., we shall remonstrate "with the people of the United States of America, especially with Christian professors there."*—That we shall remonstrate with them on the Slavery which continues to pollute that land of liberty,—on this foul blot, which darkens and disgraces her escutcheons. When you adopt this Remonstrance, and send it across the Atlantic, you carry into effect the Resolution unanimously and solemnly adopted at the last Public Meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society. The Remonstrance now submitted for your approval, appears perfectly to accord with the spirit and the design of your previous Resolution. The expediency of this measure on our part, and the benefit likely to be derived from it by our brethren in America, were stated and illustrated on that occasion, and on this subject we were all of one mind; on these topics, therefore, I shall not enlarge.

There are two questions which I shall propose and answer. The first is this, Is it our duty to take an interest in the condition of the two millions and a half of our brethren in the United States of America, who wear the unrighteous, the galling yoke of Slavery, and to do what we can for their Emancipation? Every one of those whom I address has already answered this question to himself. It can admit of no answer but one,—that as men, and as Christians, we are bound by the law of heaven's Eternal King, to do what we can for the purpose of rescuing our brethren from Slavery; of raising them to the dignity of men, by making them free; of rescuing their proprietors from the crime and the guilt of holding in bondage men and women and children, whom God has made of the same blood as themselves; whose souls are immortal, and equally precious as their own; who with themselves are heirs of eternal misery or of eternal blessedness, is, I think, a self-evident truth, and must universally be acknowledged. Would to God that on this subject the conduct of mankind were in full accordance with the principles which they must, which they do acknowledge. While our attention was not directed to the condition of the enslaved millions in the States of America, ignorance pleads for us, and to a great extent is an apology for our apathy and indolence. This excuse can no longer be urged. From the eastern shores of the broad Atlantic, the cry of the enslaved, the oppressed, the miserable, has been wafted to the British Isles. It is loud, piercing, bitter melancholy. This doleful voice is accompanied by the sighs and entreaties of many thousands of our brethren in America, (that their number is rapidly increasing, we have heard with unmingled satisfaction,) who weep over the miseries of their enslaved brethren, and the wickedness of their country, the laws of which sanction this flagrant violation of the law of God, and the rights of man, and the charter of American independence, and who will be encouraged, comforted, and strengthened, by our sympathy and co-operation. Shall we stop our ears and shut our bowels against the cry of our degraded and suffering brethren? Can this be our duty to our God or to them? Shall our compassion evaporate in a passing sigh? This sigh the winds of heaven will not carry to America; and though they were to waft it over the ocean, what would it avail the wretched sufferers? We must be verily guilty concerning our brethren, in that if when we hear of the anguish of their souls and the sufferings of their flesh, we refuse to do what we can for their Emancipation. "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn into death, and those that are ready to

* For Remonstrance, see page 100.

be slain: If thou sayest, We knew it not; doth not He that pondereth the heart consider? and He that keepeth thy soul doth not He know? and shall not He render to every man according to his works?"

The second question to which I refer is this, What can we do for our enslaved brethren in America? This question you have answered practically to a certain extent. That something may be done, is proved by the most satisfactory evidence, the evidence of fact and deed. You have declared your resolution to continue united, and to agitate until Slavery shall cease throughout the world. You have said of this monstrous evil as Rome decreed concerning Carthage—*Slavery must be blotted out;* and you have resolved to persevere, until it shall be said of Slavery, as it was of Carthage—*Slavery has been*, but now it exists not; it has been wiped from the face of the earth, and is not known but in the page of history. You have invited other societies to take part with you in this noble enterprize, and the invitation has been cheerfully accepted. In conjunction with other affiliated societies, you sent an agent to America that your sentiments and feelings might, by the living voice, be sounded in living ears, and conveyed to living hearts. Unappalled by threatenings and dangers; unsubdued by labour and fatigue, he has faithfully performed the difficult, the hazardous work assigned to him; he has returned unscathed from the land of liberty and of Slavery; we have received him safe and sound; he has given an account of his stewardship; we have unanimously approved of his diligence and fidelity, and we rejoice in the success of his mission. Shall we congratulate ourselves that we have done all that we can—that so far as we are concerned, the work is completed? Shall we fold our arms and quietly sit still, and "look on the day of our brother, in the day that he became a stranger? shall we look on their calamity in the day of their affliction?" and shall our bowels not be moved? No, no. This work of mercy has indeed had a beginning, and little more can be said. Shall we sound the tocsin of war and commence a crusade against the Slave-holders in America, or against the United States, because Slavery is there permitted to sway a sceptre of war over millions of rational beings, our brethren according to the flesh? The thought be far from us and our coadjutors. We have proclaimed war, and we are engaged in a warfare, not against the persons of our brethren in America, (greatly to blame in this matter though we hold them to be,) we love them as brethren, and we give a decided proof of our love, when we seek their welfare in this world and in the world to come; when we beseech them by the mercies of God, and the kindness of humanity, that they "shall break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free." The warfare in which we are engaged is against sin and crime, and guilt and wretchedness; and this warfare we prosecute after the example, and in the spirit of Him who "came not to destroy men's lives, but to save. The weapons of our warfare are not carnal. They are not swords and spears, and muskets, and cannon. They are reason and benevolence, and justice, and truth, and religion. We address ourselves to the understanding, the conscience, and the hearts of our brethren. It is a bloodless, a peaceful, and a peacemaking victory which we labour to achieve. It is in our heart to win our erring brethren to ourselves and to righteousness, "by converting them from the error of their way," that the blessing of many who are ready to perish, of the oppressed set free, may come upon them; and the blessing of that God who is "a refuge for the oppressed; a refuge in time of trouble." We wish to crown them with the laurels of victory, when in their hearts and in their land, the knowledge and the acknowledgment of their duty and Christian love, shall triumph over deep-rooted prejudice, sordid selfishness, and other perverse principles, to which Slavery in these States owes its origin, and by which it has been so long perpetuated. This is the object which your Remonstrance contemplates; and with this object its spirit and its language happily corresponds. Reproof is administered, not in enmity, but in love. When you reprove your brethren with whom you remonstrate, you obey the law of the universal Lord, which speaketh expressly on this subject, "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart;—thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy brother, and not suffer sin upon him." All who with us "name the name of Christ," all at least "who have received the love of the truth, that they may be saved," know the voice of Him who hath spoken, saying, "Faithful are the wounds of a friend; but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful," and their souls must ascend to Him who heareth prayer, in the words which his Spirit hath dictated for direction in prayer to them and to us. "Incline not my heart to any evil thing, to practice wicked works with men that work iniquity, and let me not eat of their dainties. Let the righteous smite me, it

shall be a kindness, and let him reprove me, it shall be an excellent oil, which shall not break my head."

Although I have occupied more of your time than I anticipated, I must add, that I do sympathize with our Christian friends in the States of America, office-bearers and members of the churches. When, Mr Chairman, I take into account the prejudices which they must have imbibed with their mothers' milk, which have grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength—their familiarity with the evil against which we remonstrate—with scenes of suffering, which to us would be repulsive in the extreme,—their connexion with many whose good opinion they must desire to retain for the purpose of doing them good—the laws by which even the enlightened and the benevolent must find themselves fettered, so that they are not able to perform what their hearts approve and purpose—when I take into consideration these and many other particulars in their condition, I do pity them, I do sympathize with them, and I make very considerable allowances for what I cannot fail to reprobate. I will imitate Michael the archangel, and I will not dare "to bring against them a railing accusation," but I will pray for them; and I request, on their behalf, the prayers of this assembly, that in the thing wherein they sin they may obtain forgiveness; and that God will "grant them repentance to the acknowledgment" and the practice "of the truth," in reference to this matter.

Of all that I have read or heard on the subject of Slavery, there is nothing which filled me with deeper abhorrence of its atrocities, and with more tender sympathy for brethren, whose moral sensibility must have been deadened, or at least strangely blunted, by long-continued familiarity with such scenes, than *The short account of a Six Weeks' Residence in Jamaica.* The writer left his native country, the enemy of Slavery and the friend of the enslaved. His sentiments and feelings could not be concealed in that Island. He was at once *a marked man.* He soon found that his personal safety imposed on him the necessity of living in retirement. His friend who afforded him an asylum, had the charge of a numerous gang of Negroes. His soul was harrowed up by what he could not avoid seeing or knowing; and yet he confesses, that the short term of Six Weeks' Residence in Jamaica, diminished the horror with which he regarded the sufferings of men and of women also, tortured by the cart-whip, and subjected to cruelty in other forms; and that, before he made his escape from that land where, according to the common saying, reported and confirmed by the venerable John Newton, whites become blacks, (not in body but in soul,) and that his feelings, at first painful in the extreme, were not a little blunted. What then must be the effect on those in whom natural benevolence and sensibility are not extinguished, to whom such scenes have been familiar from their infancy?

I am far, very far from despairing of a favourable change in the sentiments, and feelings, and conduct, of our American brethren, who at present are unfriendly to the Emancipation of the Slaves. Not a few who zealously opposed our righteous cause, are now its warm advocates. Others will follow their example. I am old enough to recollect the progress of opinion in this land, in reference to the legalized system of robbery and murder, by a strange perversion of language, called *the African Slave-trade.* I have heard this abomination vindicated by men professing godliness, and even by some of whose piety no doubt could be entertained.—Great is the truth, and shall prevail. Never was this adage more delightfully verified, than in reference to what once was called trade; but now, by the law of the British Empire, by every true-hearted Briton, is denounced as felony of the blackest character. The continuance of Slavery in our Colonies found many advocates, as you all know; and against *immediate Abolition*, we have seen in this city a formidable array of wealth and influence. Talent was not there until the battle was fought and the victory gained. Again, truth prevailed, and Slavery is abolished, though many of its evils still remain to be swept away. The progress of opinion in favour of Emancipation, is more rapid than our most sanguine hopes anticipated. The spirit of Abolition has been awakened in America, it has gained many proselytes,—it has disturbed the selfish repose of others; and from the North to the South, from the East to the West, the cry I trust will soon be heard, Let the soil of America, like that of the British Isles, bless with freedom every man, and woman, and child, by the soles of whose feet it is touched. The present irritation is to me the foreboding of a better spirit and better times. The forming of healthy matter, which heals the sore, must be preceded by pain and in-

flammation. The rapid increase of Emancipation Societies in the United States, is the dawning of the morning of liberty to the Slave, which shall shine more and more unto the perfect day—when America shall bless her sable sons with complete Emancipation—Emancipation without purchase and without apprenticeship, and when two millions and a half of her population shall bless her for restoring their long-usurped rights, and making compensation, as far as is possible, for the wrongs and injuries inflicted on them and their progenitors.

After all that has been said, I must, Mr Chairman, with your permission, have a few "more last words." I have been, to a certain extent, the apologist of the United States of America. I shall now be their advocate, for the purpose of repelling the basest, the foulest calumny that ever was cast on them. Of this I am confident, that none worthy to be compared with it has reached my ears. And what is this calumny, and by whom preferred? Is it any secret adversary of liberty and religion, who has whispered in my ear what was never heard by any other man? what the most bigotted enemy of popular rights never dared to utter in public, or to publish on paper? Was it any hired emissary of the Abolitionists in America? Was it a Garrison, or a Tappan, or a Cox, or a Jay, or a *Dresser;* or was it by George Thompson that they have been so grossly slandered? No. It was no enemy that reproached all that is benevolent, enlightened, religious, in that mighty, that rapidly-extending empire. It was not in a whisper, not in a private room, that the slander was uttered. It was stated and repeated in public, in the hearing of many hundreds; it was in this house, and nearly on the spot where I now stand. It was in the progress of a discussion which we cannot soon forget. Was George Thompson the author of the calumny to which I refer? No. It was his antagonist, the Rev. R. J. Breckenridge, the accredited agent of the United States, who volunteered his services as their advocate and defender. And what did he advance to calumniate his beloved country? He told us that the cause of Emancipation had made rapid progress in America for several years—that much had been done, and much was in progress for the attainment of this most desirable object. In all this we rejoiced; but he added, that by your agent whom you sent to America, immense injury had been done to the cause of Emancipation—that he and you together *had thrown back the Emancipation of the Slaves in the United States for a whole century—for one hundred years.* This is the calumny to which I refer, and which, in the name of the Christians in America, I do repel. Alas! alas! he who uttered the calumny and all who heard him, must be in the house of silence before any farther progress shall be made in this good cause, if his statement be worthy of credit. George Thompson, we were told, is a man of no consideration in America. And yet it seems he has had the power to inflict on them such mighty damage! Has he arrested in their onward, their zealous progress in the path of justice, of honour, of benevolence, of mercy, of pure and undefiled religion? Are Americans—are American Christians made of such perverse materials, that for a century they shall cease to do well; because, as they say, as their accredited agent at least said for them, we have acted unwisely in the method which we have adopted, to forward the cause in which they have long laboured zealously. Tell it not in New York; publish it not in the streets of Boston; tell it not in Baltimore, lest the Slave-holders and the Colonizationists rejoice.

We bear our united testimony against this slanderous report, and we are confident, that before a century of months shall have elapsed, our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic will present a full refutation by fact and deed. George Thompson, must, in America, possess importance immensely beyond his own estimate, and far beyond our estimate, if the statement of his antagonist deserves credit. You sent him to that land on a visit of mercy, and if his mission shall, to them, produce an offence, an occasion of sin, which, God forbid, the cause in which you are engaged, and the agent whom you employed, will more nearly resemble the Apostles of our Lord, and the Gospel of the grace of God, "For they preached Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block;" an offence over which they stumbled and fell to their ruin. Let America wipe away the calumny cast on her by her own accredited agent. She cannot be so infatuated as to punish herself in resentment against George Thompson and this country. Let her prove that her agent does not know the elements of which she is composed; that she is made of sterner and better stuff than that she shall be arrested for a hundred years, in her benevolent career for the liberation of her enslaved population, by the means which were

most certainly intended, which we thought, and still do think, were happily calculated to accelerate her progress in the path of justice, and consistency, and benevolence, and which, to a great extent, have contributed to this desirable object.

The Rev. Mr Somerville of Dumbarton, in seconding the resolution, said :—

Sir, I approve highly of this plan of national remonstrance. It seems to me to be founded on just, enlightened, and benevolent views; and to be calculated, if properly managed, to effect great good. The principle on which it rests is, that we are to love all men, and according to our influence and opportunities, are bound to promote their welfare. It is opposed to those injurious prejudices and feelings, which induced nations to consider each other as hereditary foes, and which raised up between them a partition wall of fierce and vindictive hatred. This international enmity produced incessant wars,—imposed restrictions on trade,—retarded social improvement, and poured over the surrounding countries desolation and misery. It may be charged also with promoting the cause and feeding the markets of Slavery. It scarcely ever happened that any nation sold its own subjects into perpetual servitude. These were regarded as brethren, and could not be thus degraded; but captives taken in war, persons who belonged to another nation, were considered objects of lawful sale, and formed the great supply of the Slave-markets of the old world. The wide spread Slavery that defiled the earth, was thus, in a great degree, the result of the barbarous feeling, that men were hereditary and national foes.

But, Sir, the tendency of the expanding knowledge of the age, is to cast down the walls of national hatred, to assimilate different communities, and to bind all men in the links of a near and common brotherhood. A state of things more accordant with the great laws of humanity, the principles of the Bible, and the best interests of our race, is beginning to arise. And why should we not seek the happiness of other nations as well as of our own? Why should we not extend to all men sympathy, relief, and love, and labour to promote their good? (Cheers.) Science is universal in its range. It appropriates the inventions and the discoveries of every clime. With keen and steady eye it contemplates the whole world; and wherever it sees any thing that is valuable, it instantly adopts it, whoever was the man or whatever his colour, that found it out. Trade too is universal in its operation. It traverses every sea, and penetrates into every region. It takes equally the offered goods of the black and the white man—the savage and the civilized. Why, then, should not philanthropy answer to its name, and be universal in its range? (Cheers.) Why should it be confined to mere sentiments and feelings, and not put on a practical shape? True benevolence, like true faith, is a practical principle, and must be shown to be genuine by its fruits. Now this method of remonstrating with the citizens of other lands, is nothing else than the great principles of benevolence and philanthropy embodied in practice. We do not assume a superiority over the Americans. Ours is not the language either of pride or of national prejudice. We address them as friends, and tell them that, linked to them by the bonds of a common nature, we are degraded in their shame and elevated in their honour, and that we desire them for their own sake and for ours, to respect the rights of man, and to cast away Slavery from among them. (Cheers.)

The great character of the benevolence of the present age is, that it is disinterested and universal. It is disinterested, as it seeks not the territorial extension or the pecuniary advantage of the country whence it emanates. There were missions in former times—even in the dark and despotic periods of European history, there were missions to heathen nations. But generally speaking, these were but the extended arm of the parent state, and were designed to widen its power and secure its advantage. They were associated with armies and fleets, and wrought along with them in subjecting mankind to the controul of the country that deputed them. But this is not the form of the benevolence which has been developed in our Bible and Missionary Societies. It is truly Christian and generous. It seeks the good of those for whom it labours, and the only benefit it asks for those that employ it, is the blessing of heaven. This benevolence also is wide as the globe. It looks on the world and watches for every opening through which it may pour the stream of its healing and enriching influence. It cares not what be the people, where they dwell, or from whom they are descended. It views alone their miseries, and it seeks to relieve them. This benevolence has sent forth Bibles,—it has sent forth Missionaries, and it has done many other great and noble deeds. This method of remonstrating is

just another of its works. Let us recognize and love it in this as in its other forms. Let nations enter into this contest of benevolence. Let them declare that the dominion of physical force has ceased, and that the intellectual and the moral powers are now to hold the chief place in the conduct and intercourse of mankind. Let them, laying aside their prejudices, animosities and hostile feelings, excite and provoke each other to better and more exalted deeds. Let them live not for themselves merely, but for all men—lights and benefactors of the world. (Cheers.)

This moral interference of one people with the sentiments of another, seems to many timid and cautious persons a new thing, and they shrink from it as if it were attended with danger. Now the precise shape which it has assumed may be new, but the practice itself may be defended by example as well as by argument. It is not without precedents. There are instances of individual and national interference which historians have been accustomed to applaud. It may be known to many here, that one of the best works of Witsius, a celebrated foreign divine, is an appeal to the Theologians of Great Britain, on certain controversial points, by which they were at that time unhappily divided; and that John Knox, the great Scottish Reformer, wrote and addressed "a faithful admonition to the true professors of the Gospel of Christ within the kingdom of England." It would not be thought wrong in any subject of Britain, to address the inhabitants of England, Scotland, and Ireland, on any great and important question. Who will declare it right to address our fellow-subjects, and wrong to address those of other nations? Do not our obligations to seek the good of all men bind us, and the common rights of humanity warrant us, to do the one as well as the other? None will approve the one line of conduct and condemn the other, except the person who holds the bigoted opinion, that the limits of kingdoms, which are a mere human arrangement, restrict the operation of the divine law of love to our neighbour. (Cheers.) One of the brightest spots of English history—a spot on which the eye loves to repose, is the interference of Cromwell in behalf of the persecuted Waldenses. When these meek and faithful followers of Christ were plundered, banished, and murdered, by the soldiers of the Duke of Savoy—led on by the cruel emissaries of Rome, Cromwell, by the hands of the immortal Milton, interfered in their cause, and arrested the arm of the destroyer. Yes, Milton, whose name is the rich inheritance of England, exerted his seraphic genius in exhorting the Protestant Princes of the Continent, to remonstrate with the fierce and bloody persecutors of that harmless and loyal people. There is another part of the history of England which records a deed with which the Protestants of Scotland will not quarrel. When the cause of truth and liberty was in danger,—when the infant reformation was like to be crushed by the armies of France, and when the lords of the congregation were unable to resist this foreign enemy—Elizabeth interfered, and was instrumental in saving the liberties of this land. These are instances of interference which persons have been wont to praise. Why laud these, and find fault with this peaceful, moral, and argumentative mode? (Cheers.) We do not plead for an interference like that of Elizabeth. We do not even want our Government to meddle in this matter; for in this respect the present mode is new, that it is an interference by the people: the subjects of one nation corresponding with the subjects of another, on the laws, and rights, and duties of their common humanity. But what we demand is, Why extol the conduct of Cromwell and Elizabeth—why record their deeds in bright and glowing panegyric, and condemn our conduct? No reason can be assigned for this contradictory judgment, except one, and that one must be, a lurking feeling that black men, that the enslaved sons of Africa, are not worthy of our care. Do you disown this feeling? (Cheers.) Do you acknowledge that they have as strong claims upon your sympathy and love as white men have? (Cheers.) Then remonstrate—lift up your voices with ours in calling upon their masters to give them immediate liberty. Act upon the generous principles of the Gospel. Imitate the conduct of Christ and his apostles, in seeking to heal the diseases, dry up the sorrows, and remove the burdens of all classes and kindreds of men. (Cheers.)

This conduct is necessary for the sake of the Americans. It will cheer the friends of Emancipation, and it will have an influence upon the Slave-holders. Slavery has many attendant evils, besides those which it inflicts on its actual victims. It blinds, perverts, and debases the Society where it exists. It is scarcely possible for Slave-holders to have just views of human rights and the principles of social justice. They do not see and feel in the same manner as others do; and they need to be enlightened. Better views must be obtained

from others, and it is kindness to give them such information. Now the state of feeling on this subject in America—especially among the Slave-holders, shows that they are in a condition for profiting by our remonstrances. The uneasy, fretful, and agitated state of their feelings, their furious indignation, and the cruel laws which in some places they have recently passed against the Slaves, show that truth has began to work among them. They see that the progress of events in all nations is towards liberty. Light is peering into their minds, their consciences are touched, and the conviction has sprung up, that their Slaves must soon be set free. Shall we, as some advise, leave them to themselves—shall we allow this light to be extinguished, their consciences again to fall asleep, and their convictions of duty to subside? No: let us remonstrate with them—let us send reproofs, exhortations, and warnings, till the light shall become effulgent and overpowering, the agitations of conscience irresistible, and the convictions of duty so all-subduing, as to make them strike the fetters from those they have made fast in the stocks, bring them from the prison, wash their stripes, and embrace them as brethren. (Great cheering.)

And why not cherish the hope that it will soon be so? God assures us that all classes of men will yet be free and happy. The heart is saddened while we look on the nations and behold the millions of our fellow-creatures bending under Slavery, despotism, superstition, and vice. But the Bible gives us relief. The page of prophecy describes a brighter scene. Onwards, a little only onwards, in the history of our race, a light streams from heaven upon our condition. God comes forth in his glory and his love, to renovate and to bless all the kindreds of the earth. The Gospel is preached in all lands,—the light of divine truth shines, and the influences of the Spirit fall. The chains are broken, superstitions disappear, the thrones of tyrants are cast down, and the enlightened and emancipated nations lift themselves up from the bondage of four thousand years, and praise Him who bought their liberty with his blood. Who does not rejoice in this prospect? Who does not desire that it may soon be realized? Who would not exert himself to bring about this state of predicted happiness and glory? Then listen to the groans of the oppressed, labour to free from servitude your fellow-men; and when Christians have done this act of justice, they may then lift their eyes to heaven and say, Lord, pity, liberate, and save, the degraded Slaves and captives of sin, Satan, and death. (Loud cheers.)

Permit me in conclusion to advert to the progress of this cause in that district which I have this evening the honour to represent. Your distinguished agent, Mr Thompson, about a month ago, delivered in Dumbarton and Bonhill, two most eloquent and impressive lectures, which produced uncommon excitement. A remonstrance on the subject of American Slavery was prepared and adopted at a public meeting. Four thousand two hundred persons of both sexes have signed this document, and have sent their names in their own hand-writing across the Atlantic, to give if possible greater weight to the sentiments which it contains. (Cheers.) The utmost enthusiasm has prevailed; persons of all classes and sects, Churchmen and Dissenters, have come forward; and I do not believe that there are fifty adults in the whole of Dumbarton and the Vale of Leven, that have refused to sign it. Ladies and gentlemen, permit me to hold up this example, and to say, go ye and do likewise. (Cheers.)

Bailie Wm. Craig moved thanks to the Ladies' Auxiliary, and to the Societies &c., which had remitted contributions in aid of the funds, and said,

Mr Chairman,—I am no advocate, generally speaking, for females engaging in the strife and contention of public and political life. But where there is human wretchedness to relieve, and the burning tear of sorrow to wipe away, and the heart-breaking amidst the manifold sufferings of oppression, to be sustained and fortified, there is the field for the exercise of the virtues of womanly sympathy and kindness. And wherever human woe abounds, it is to the credit of woman, that hers is the readiest and the gentlest hand, in assuaging human sorrows. All ages, and all countries, and all conditions of life, afford evidences in support of this truth. Amidst the persecutions of the church, how often have the ministers of religion been indebted to woman for concealment from their blood-thirsty pursuers, for succour in their flight, and for the most generous and devoted sacrifices in support of their cause. And in the history of our Saviour's sufferings on the theatre of this earth, in the stead of the guilty; in devotedness to his person and his cause, there are related, to the honour of woman, in the volume of inspiration, some of the finest memorials of human sympathy and attachment that are to be found upon record.

Yes, Sir, and in the great struggle in which we have been engaged, for the

Emancipation of the Negro, the sufferings of our Colonial Slaves found ready sympathy in the hearts of many of the ladies of our own city. When they thought of the happy condition to which civilization, but above all, to which Christianity had raised them, they could not think of the flogging of females in the West Indies, of their intense sufferings in all the various forms which cruelty and ingenuity could devise, without the deepest commiseration and the most active benevolence. Nor as mothers, could they look upon their own well-cared-for children, without thinking with a mother's anguish, upon the hapless lot, and degraded and merciless doom that awaited the outcast children of our Colonial Slaves. And in this cause, Sir, they have done well, and deserve our thanks for having come to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty. To the other Societies who have contributed along with the Ladies' Auxiliary to our funds, we also owe our warmest thanks. I now therefore move, —"That we present our warmest acknowledgments to the 'Ladies' Auxiliary' of this city, for their exertions in aid of our Funds, and earnestly request them to continue their valuable co-operation: and that we also tender our cordial thanks to those friends of Universal Freedom, who, as Societies or otherwise, have, during the past year, remitted contributions to this Society."

David Smith, Esq. seconded the resolution, which was carried amid great applause.

The Committee for next year was then nominated, and thanks given to Dr. Wardlaw and the Trustees, for the use of the Chapel.

Mr George Thompson, in moving thanks to the Rev. Dr. Heugh and Mr Paton, for their conduct as Chairmen, also noticed the highly valuable exertions of the Secretaries, Mr John Murray and Mr William Smeal, as worthy of the approbation of the Meeting. The motion was carried with loud acclamations.

The Chairman having acknowledged the vote of thanks, the Meeting broke up about half-past eleven o'clock.

REMONSTRANCES.

Remonstrance of the Members of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and the Friends of Universal Freedom, with the Citizens of the United States; especially the Members of Christian Churches, on the subject of Slavery, as upheld in Thirteen of the Twenty-five States of America, and at the Seat of Government.

Friends and Fellow-Christians!—Linked to you by the ties of our common nature, and warranted by the principles of humanity, and the doctrines of the gospel, we address you on the subject of Slavery; and call upon you by the highest and most solemn considerations, to remove, as speedily as possible, this corrupting evil from your domestic institutions. In doing this we do not arrogate superiority over you, nor are we actuated by feelings of national prejudice, or with the slightest wish to disturb your social harmony. We are constrained by a sense of duty, arising from the obligations of that law to whose sanctions we are all amenable, which commands us in matters relating to our neighbours, to disregard the boundaries of nations, and to seek the welfare of all classes of men. Part of the great human family, and participating in your shame and in your honour; united to many among you by the close bonds of kindred and friendship; feeling towards you as a great, enlightened, and Christian people, whose exertions for the diffusion of the gospel have been magnificent, warm sentiments of esteem and affection; and sincerely desirous that your splendid example and efforts may, in conjunction with those of other free nations, be more successfully employed for the renovation and happiness of the world, we fervently implore you to consider the guilt, pollution, and danger, that are connected with social Slavery; and to comply with those appeals which the lovers of freedom, in your own and in other lands, are making to you on this subject. Bleeding humanity and insulted liberty cry aloud for redress; and the patriot and the Christian cannot be deaf to their voice.

We do not feel it necessary to enter into a minute detail of the nature, extent, and working of American Slavery. Its foul abominations and awful horrors are well known to yourselves. It was but recently that the people in Britain were generally aware of the fact, that Slavery existed in the American republic; and when it was told, on unquestionable authority, that thirteen States recognised domestic Slavery; that two millions and a half of our black fellow-men were held in cruel bondage; and that the internal traffic in human beings was encouraged by the federal constitution, it is impossible to describe the feelings of astonishment and sorrow which pervaded all classes. Authentic information has shown, that this iniquitous system has been attended by its usual base and terrible results; with the aggravating circumstance that in your case it is the inconsistent and unnatural deed of freemen. How incongruous is it, that in a free nation, whose soil was the sacred asylum of the persecuted, and whose institutions were ostensibly framed on the benevolent principle of giving entire liberty to the bodies and the souls of all persons, without reference to those oppressive distinctions which prevailed in the old world, two millions and a half of immortal men should exist in a state of Slavery, reduced by the will and power of the people to the most abject condition; deprived of the rights of marriage; and generally of the means of education, and of all those influences by which they can improve their moral character, and perform the duties which they owe to God, to their own souls, and to their fellow-creatures. This fact, when viewed as the deliberate and justified deed of a nation, the rule of whose government is the will of the majority of the citizens, will stand on the history of our world as the blackest and most infamous act that ever disgraced any people.

Contemplate the evils of Slavery, as it degrades man, provokes God, and defiles the land. It is that thing which is hated and shunned by all men, as the greatest calamity that can befal a human being. It annihilates natural rights, and reduces its wretched victims below the brutes; for while these know no other state, the soul of the Slave, writhing under its degradation, pants for liberty and justice. War slays its thousands and is satiated. The fields which it had trodden down resume their beauty, and man goes forth cheerfully to his labour. The pestilence covers the land with mourning and woe; but its poisonous breath is soon exhausted. The dead are buried out of sight; and the living renew their scenes of enjoyment and mirth. The elements, touched by the anger of God, desolate whole regions; but these cease their rage, and again peacefully smile on man. But Slavery, with sure and untiring energy, ever tortures, wastes, and kills. It is never glutted with its cruelties. It flows on from generation to generation, a stream composed of blood and tears. Even despotism, abhorred by mankind, makes havoc but of general and political rights, and arrays against it the sympathies and feelings of the people; but Slavery descends to the homes and the hearts of men; rends asunder the dearest ties, and holds up its victims to scorn and disgust. The worst tyranny is the sword of state, that, with some show of justice, destroys public interests; but Slavery is the knife of the assassin, who traces man through all his domestic scenes, and stabs him at his own hearth. It is the concentrated essence of cruelty and malice, that, with the fell spirit of pagan and priestly fury, offers up the sweetest and tenderest feelings, men's quivering affections, upon the blood-stained altar of avarice and mammon.

Difficulties may lie in the way of the removal of this great evil, just as obstacles are felt by all who proceed to redress grievances that have long existed, and that have spread their roots and fibres through all the departments of the state. But there is an essential difference between the acknowledgment of difficulties, and the urging of arguments for the justification of Slavery. Those who sincerely plead the former, are entitled to our sympathy and aid, while those who avow themselves the advocates of Slavery, in any form, deserve to be expelled from the ranks of freemen, and treated as the enemies of human rights. Difficulties may, in the present matter, spring from social customs and habits—from pecuniary considerations—and from a view of the federal union. Without entering into the full discussion of these points, we may remark, that the customs of a state may be displaced by an opposite course of conduct; and that should these be radically evil, as in this case they are, the strongest obligations bind us to begin immediately the work of transformation. As the importation of Slaves is prohibited, the claim which the masters have to property in those human beings whom they possess, must be traced to the heart-chilling doctrine, that the children of Slaves are born in chains; but while we give no opinion on the subject of property, the settling of this matter being a question that belongs

to yourselves, we express our decided conviction, deduced from innumerable facts, that the immediate and unconditional Emancipation of the Negroes, would raise the value of estates, benefit the owners, and be followed by the happiest consequences to all parties. But the most curious and striking objection of which we have heard, is that which is said to arise from that constitution, the fame of which has filled the world. The federal government, it would appear, is merely a band of iron thrown around "the distinct sovereignties" and the "domestic institutions," of which the confederacy is made up, designed to hold these together, and to present them to other nations as a compact body, while it leaves to each state "the sovereign power unimpaired" in all matters of internal government; and therefore as Slavery is a "domestic institution," it cannot be abolished by the representatives of the whole community.

These difficulties are not insuperable. Human governments are the work of men; and it is imperative upon the people to reform them whenever they are wrong, and to adapt them to the principles of justice, and to the demands of advancing civilization. The deeds of our fathers cannot bind us, unless they are based on immutable justice, and are confirmed by the dictates of conscience and sound reason. It is enough for our argument, that the particular States, or the "distinct sovereignties," have the power of abolishing Slavery; and to hasten this result, let all in America insist upon the free, ample, and public discussion of the subject, that light may be diffused, and the freedom of the Negro achieved. But let the difficulties which surround this question be great, let them be admitted in all their magnitude and force, it is manifest that these form an invincible argument, proving the urgent duty of immediately adopting measures to liberate the enslaved. The longer the system continues, the difficulties will increase; their ramifications will extend through the whole body; and they will ultimately bind you in the fetters of political bondage. The putrid mass of Slavery will corrupt the living body of liberty, and render your state a weak, worthless, and loathsome thing. It is not, we are persuaded, these difficulties which oppose the freedom of the Negro, but the want of a deep and impressive sense of the guilt and peril of the system. Were the public mind embued with just convictions of the enormous sin of Slavery, these difficulties would instantly melt away, and leave a broad and open path by which your degraded bondmen might walk into liberty, happiness, and honour. Whatever be "the limits around the action of the federal union," Slavery is the sin of the whole people, and invokes on their heads fearful judgments. We are aware of the attempts which have been made, to show that the acknowledged guilt of this system lies only with the Slaveholders, and that the hands and the consciences of the nation are clean; but these attempts disgrace the man who makes them. Have not your best divines held the doctrine of national responsibility? Does not the Bible teach it in the clearest manner? On what principle do you, of all the nations that ever existed, plead exemption from it? Why were judgments threatened by the prophets against those pagan kingdoms that surrounded Judea? The doom with which they were menaced, went upon the ground, that, as nations, they were responsible for their public sins. These nations have long since been blotted from the map of the earth; and their destruction proves, that national sins provoke national punishment. The mode of government in those states was autocratical or despotic, in which the rights of the people were trampled under foot, or but feebly exercised; and yet, because they submitted to such governments, and acquiesced in their public acts, they shared in their ruin. If such was the case with nations whose governments were despotic, much more do public evils entail guilt upon that nation, whose rule of government is the will of the majority of the people. We beseech you to ponder this reflection, and to admit the truth that the existence of Slavery among you, covers every American citizen with deep and fearful guilt. The facts which support this point cannot be demolished. Does not your Slave population, though held as property, form an element in your national representation? Is there not a considerable number of the members of Congress whose claim to their seats depends upon the existence of Slavery? These do not represent the rights and the interests of the Slaves, for the vote of Congress denying to these miserable men the right of petition, and thus trampling upon the attribute of mercy, shows that they are not considered as human beings. Every act of Congress then is tainted with the guilt and pollution of Slavery. Does not your federal union oblige the northern states to restore runaway Slaves? Do not all the states profit politically by the labours of the Slaves, and the prosperity and wealth of their masters? Are not the gains which come from their forced and unrequited toils shared in by the whole republic?

Do not the free support the Slave-holding states, and throw over them the shield of their power, and the influence of their liberties and moral excellence, and thus protect them on the one hand from the physical assaults of the oppressed, and on the other from the unmitigated abhorrence and execration of the civilized world? These are facts which no sophistry can remove. Slavery lies at the foundation of your political structure, and affects all its parts. It insinuates itself into all the acts and details of public government, and loads them all with guilt and infamy. It violates the moral relations which the members of the state sustain to each other; corrupts the whole body; and holds up the entire nation to the lightning of Almighty wrath.

We entreat you as freemen, and as patriots, to weigh, seriously, the circumstances of your country, and to consider the bearing of the present conflict of opinions upon the future liberties and destinies of America. Many of your public acts show that you have enlarged views of the rights of white men, and we wish that you would lay aside those prejudices which are founded upon the colour of the skin, and extend these views to your African brethren. The basis of free government is the recognition of the principle that all men, being equal in the sight of God, are entitled to equal liberty, protection, and encouragement, and that the only differences which society acknowledges, are those which arise from superior wisdom, industry, and moral worth. The government in which this principle is not fully adopted and applied to all the members of the state, is partial and unjust, and should not be acquiesced in by those who have the legitimate power of reforming it. Arrogated privileges degrade the favoured class more than the want of them does the injured, as it is on their part the willing and deliberate violation of just and equal rights. The genuine patriot labours for the good of all ranks. He does not wait till the ignorant and debased ask their rights; but actuated by the broad principles of justice, he extends to them the civil advantages to which they have a claim, and employs all his energies to raise them to the same standard with himself. This is the conduct which becomes a benevolent and patriotic government. Now, the conclusion which unbiassed conscience and judgment approve, is, that it is the immediate right of the Slave to be set free, and the immediate duty of the master to grant him his liberty. Any other view of the matter is unjust and nefarious; and those plans for uprooting Slavery, out of which the colonization scheme arose, merely go to remove the most disgusting excrescences, while they strengthen the sinful prejudices against the black race, and leave the great evil itself to fester and to spread. But we ask you particularly to reflect upon the aspects of the present discussion, as they affect the constitutional liberties of America. All human institutions tend to corruption. However excellent they may be when founded, the contact of sinful passions speedily defiles them. The nations of the old world have, by severe experience, been taught this truth; and hence the efforts of all long established governments are now put forth in removing those evils which time has gathered. The contest in all kingdoms, where information is allowed to circulate, is between truth and error, despotism and freedom, corruption and purity. The symptoms which the agitation of the question of Slavery has developed in your land, prove that the process of depravation has begun, and is operating to a considerable extent; and unless it be quickly arrested, you may, at no very distant period, have to mourn over your buried liberties. Look at the arguments and the conduct of those who are hostile to immediate Emancipation, and you will see that they lead to a melancholy result. The Congress has denied the right of petition to two millions and a half of their citizens, and thus established a precedent which may be dangerously extended; the laws which certain states have passed against the reading and circulating of Anti-Slavery publications, abridge the liberty of discussion—the noblest privilege of freemen; and the doctrine that the Congress will not abolish Slavery in the district of Columbia, "against the wishes of the Slave-holding states," fetters the exercise of the legislative power, and in one important question, subjects the whole republic to the dominion of a particular class. These things, together with the singular haste and avidity with which the independence of Texas has been recognised, demonstrate that Slave-holding principles and interests have already acquired an undue and perilous influence in your national affairs. Let these principles be applied to other matters; let the respective states act upon them; and let the number of those holding Slaves be multiplied; and you will find that, instead of being a free, independent, and vigorous people, you are a number of associated corporations, with separate and conflicting interests, and that your constitution, like the feet of the prophetic

image, is partly iron and partly clay. These things threaten the welfare and stability of all the states; and the man who is not aroused by them to throw away neutrality, and do justice to himself and his country, by granting liberty to those in bonds, has feeble views of his duty. Let all classes plead for free discussion; let the question be calmly debated; and on whatever side truth, justice, and benevolence lie, these will prevail. And surely if American Slavery be what many represent it, and if the Slaves are so well treated and so happy, there is no need to shut out information from the Southern states, and to bridle the liberty of the press. Your honour, interest, and peace, are involved in the proper settlement of this question, and the friends of universal freedom expect that you will do your duty.

We expostulate with you as fellow-Christians, and by all that is dear in "the common salvation"—we beseech you to consult the glory of our Divine Master, the honour of the Gospel and the spiritual good of all classes. The Gospel is pre-eminently a system of love, grace, and mercy, to fallen, sinful, and miserable men. It is the developement of the eternal love of the Father, the exceeding riches of the grace of the Son, and the boundless consolations of the Holy Spirit. All its aspects are mild, peaceful, and benevolent. It calls all men brethren; it offers to them the treasures of salvation, and it invites them to the mansions of heavenly rest. As the greatest blessing enjoyed by the Gentiles, it proceeds upon the ground, that all distinctions are abolished, and "that now there is no difference" among men. We were aliens and outcasts; but the partition wall has been broken down, and all the Gentiles are now fellow heirs and partakers of the same heavenly privileges. Shall we then, after being favoured with such distinguished kindness, raise up walls of separation between the black and the white? Shall we renew an enmity similar to that which Christ shed his blood to remove? If we do so, we act a more sinful and ungrateful part than did that man, who, being forgiven ten thousand talents, took his fellow-servant by the throat because he owed him an hundred pence. We deeply deplore the injury which Slavery does to human rights; but we feel unspeakably more acutely the sacrifice of divine truth which is now being made in your land, and the efforts which Christian ministers and others are putting forth to wrest the Scriptures. It is a fearful thing to deprive our brother of his rights, but it is a more fearful thing to rob the Divine Saviour. It is dangerous to sacrifice political truth, but it is ineffably more dangerous to sacrifice the truths of the Gospel. This, however, is what many seem to be doing among you. We do not speak of those ministers who practice Slavery themselves; for their guilt baffles description. We have no terms sufficiently strong to paint its blackness. But we speak of those who countenance, palliate, and defend Slavery, and who urge Bible examples and doctrines, as supports of this horrid system. Their arguments would equally uphold unmixed despotism, arbitrary taxation, and all those evils which mankind detest. These persons limit the universal offers of mercy,—make the common salvation the privilege of a special class,—give a partial account of the divine will, and are the servants of men. The Bible encourage Slavery! No doctrine ever flowed from the man of sin, more degrading to the sacred oracles than this. The sum of human misery is in that divine book denominated captivity, bondage, Slavery; and the sum of spiritual happiness is called liberty, redemption, salvation. Christ came to proclaim liberty to the captive,—the opening of the prison doors to them that were bound, and to give to all freedom from passion, sin, and woe; and he sends forth his servants, as ambassadors of peace, to preach good will, benevolence, and forgiveness, to all kindreds of men. Shall these servants of this meek and gracious Saviour, strip the Gospel of its celestial beauty, majesty, and light, and clothe it with the sordid garments of this world? Shall they take that system of doctrine which teaches us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and make it a rule more cruel and bloody than the laws of Draco? Shall they convert the revelation of mercy, designed to subdue sinful passions, and to heal the sorrows of the human heart, into an engine of oppression, cruelty, and sin? Shall they turn the ordinances of the Church, through which God ministers the blessings of his love, into an apparatus which torments the bodies and destroys the souls of men? Shall they seize the out-poured riches of divine truth, adulterate them with the basest materials, and send them abroad to promote the interests and the gains of Satan? Shall they poison the bread and the water of life, to the everlasting ruin of millions, and thus thwart the gracious purposes of heaven? Shall they do all these things in the name of the Prince of Peace, whose government is founded on justice and righteousness, and

who declares that in Him there are neither bond nor free? They may do these things, but their doom will be more terrible than that of the Scribes and Pharisees, who took away the key of knowledge, imposed heavy burdens on the people, and called them accursed. Brethren, will ye thus plead for Baal? will ye fall down and worship the golden image which Slave-holders have set up? will ye servilely minister at the shrines of avarice and lust? Rather look into the perfect law of liberty, and continue therein, and be not forgetful hearers but doers of the word, that ye may be blessed in your deed. Imitate the conduct of the Prophet of Israel, who remonstrated with his fellow-citizens, because they had led captive their brethren of Judah. "And now ye purpose to keep under the children of Judah and Jerusalem for bond-men and bond-women unto you; but are there not with you, even with you, sins against the Lord your God. Now, hear me therefore, and deliver the captives again, which ye have taken captive of your brethren; for the fierce wrath of the Lord is upon you." 2 Chron. xxviii. 9, 10.

To those who advocate the doctrine of immediate Emancipation, we offer our warmest congratulations. Their principles and conduct have our entire and cordial approbation. We are persuaded that the plan which they urge is the only safe, just, and scriptural method, and that they are the best and the most enlightened friends of America. They are defending the rights of man, the liberties of their country, and the purity of divine truth. The welfare of the human family, and the glory of God, depend in your nation upon the successful issue of the enterprize in which they are engaged. Let them proceed undismayed; strong in the uprightness of their cause, and in the protecting favour of the Lord of Hosts. Let their numerous Societies,—their seventy agents, and all friendly to the cause of the suffering Negro, powerfully, energetically, and unflinchingly, advocate immediate and unrestricted Emancipation. The time will come when they shall be viewed as true patriots, and be lauded for arresting the current of corruption. May they enjoy as their present reward the liberty of the children of God, the consolations of the Gospel of peace, and in every place be made to triumph. May their principles soon be universal, and enwrap America as in a garment of light, and beauty, and love.

We have thus discharged a solemn duty. We have obeyed the divine will in not suffering sin upon our brother; and as these admonitions proceed from fraternal love, we pray you to receive them in good part, and to try them by the standard of truth. But whatever be the result of this and similar appeals, we know that Slavery, despotism, superstition, and all evils are doomed to ruin. The Lord is coming out of his place, to shake terribly the earth, that those things only which cannot be shaken may remain. Slavery will not stand the concussion: and it will be well for those who now encourage it, to reflect how grievously its forcible removal may rend and lacerate the political body. The Saviour has decreed the freedom and the happiness of all nations, and He rules all things for the purpose of accomplishing this grand result. The divine Spirit of liberty will yet be amply poured out, and will emancipate the master from the dominion of fiery passions, and the Slave from corporeal bondage. When the light of divine truth shines with unclouded brilliancy on the world,—when the influences of the spirit affect all classes of men,—when the pure and gentle doctrines of the Gospel form the acknowledged rule of conduct, and when the Saviour reigns over his Church, commensurate with the limits of the globe, not a chain, nor a yoke, nor a mark of degradation will exist. Men shall be blessed in him, and all nations shall call him blessed. Our prayer is, that America may anticipate this period, and by casting away Slavery, and raising her coloured children to the rank and the rights of citizens, and by unfolding all the energies of political and spiritual power, may stand forth to the world an example of liberty, happiness, and virtue, so bright and commanding as to guide the nations to that state of social improvement and prosperity, at which it is the divine will they shall all yet arrive.

Remonstrance of the United Associate Synod, 1836.

1st. That we hold as one of "those things that are most surely believed among us," that the treating of human beings as property, without an express permission from Him who is the Supreme Proprietor, is utterly repugnant to

the principles both of reason and revelation—equally inconsistent with the law of justice and of love—an outrage on human nature, and an insult to God its author.

2d. That believing that "God hath made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth," and that "in Christ Jesus" all believers are in relation, and character, and privilege, "one," without respect to distinction of *colour*, any more than of origin, or sex, or age, or station, we maintain that all men yielding obedience to the laws of civil society, have an equal right to the secure enjoyment of life, liberty, and property—that all Christians yielding obedience to the law of Christ are equally entitled to the joint participation of all the ordinances appointed for the Members of the Church—and that it is the duty of the followers of Jesus, to "honour all men," and to "love the brotherhood," and to express these sentiments by a corresponding conduct.

3d. That we contemplate with deep sorrow and regret, the enormous guilt which our own nation has contracted by the practices of holding and trading in Slaves,—practices persisted in for a long course of years, notwithstanding the clearest exposition of their impiety, injustice, inhumanity, and impolicy,—with devout wonder, the forbearance of God in not having shown his righteous displeasure by involving in common ruin those who perpetrated and those who permitted such enormous crimes—and with lively gratitude, first to God, and then to the benevolent men whom he honoured as the instruments of his mercy, those two great national measures, the Legislative Abolition of the British Slave-trade, by declaring that traffic to be felonious, and the Legislative Abolition of Slavery throughout the Colonies of Great Britain.

4th. That while we cherish a fraternal esteem and affection for Christians and Christian Churches of every land—for "all who in every place call on the name of the Lord Jesus, both theirs and ours," we regard with peculiar interest the Christians and Christian Churches in the United States of America, not so much because many of these Christians are sprung from a common ancestry, and many of these Christian Churches hold not only the same doctrinal sentiments, but maintain the same ecclesiastical polity with ourselves, as for their distinguished zeal, energy, and perseverance in "works of faith, and labours of love"—for the unprecedented exertions they are making for the universal and thorough christianization of their own country and of the world.

5th. That in proportion to the esteem and affection with which we regard the Christians and Christian Churches in the United States of America, are the astonishment and grief with which *we have heard* that not only among the members, but even among the office-bearers of some of these Churches, are to be found proprietors of, and even dealers in Slaves—that not only private individuals, but some ecclesiastical bodies have engaged in a shocking, though, happily, hopeless attempt to reconcile these monstrous practices with the law of God and the Gospel of Jesus Christ,—and that to such an extent does the irrational and unchristian prejudice connected with these practices prevail, that, not merely in the ordinary intercourse of society, but even in the most sacred institutions of religion, men of *colour* are treated as if they belonged to an inferior species, acknowledged indeed to be fellow-Christians, yet dealt with as if they were not fellow-men.

6th. That we greatly rejoice to know that just sentiments on this subject are not only held by many individual Christians in the United States, but are clearly and forcibly expressed in the symbolical books of some of the churches, and that there is a rapidly increasing conviction of the reality and magnitude of the evils specified, manifesting itself in vigorous exertions for their complete removal,—and although sensible of the numerous and powerful obstacles which our Christian brethren, both in their political and ecclesiastical capacity, have to surmount, in order to their success in this sacred enterprise; we confidently trust that by the blessing of God on the faithful statement of Christian truth, and the impartial exercise of Christian discipline, these unseemly stains on the fair character of American Christianity will be wiped away; and so powerful an influence be exercised by a purified church over the national mind, as shall secure, ere long, the legislative abolition of Slavery throughout the whole territory of a people, the liberality of whose political institutions gives them so high a place among the nations, while it contrasts so strangely with the upholding and even with the permitting of Slavery and the Slave-trade; and hopefully anticipate that that degradation of character, which is said to belong to men of colour in the United States, and that contempt and dislike which have alter-

nately been the cause and the effect of that degradation, will not long survive the dissolution of that unnatural state of society in which they both originate.

7th. That disclaiming, as fellow-servants of a common Master, all disposition uncharitably to judge, or magisterially to dictate—remembering that "every man must give an account of himself unto God,"—and hoping that our Christian brethren in America will not be backward either to receive or to return, when circumstances shall seem to them to require it, the kind office of faithful admonition,—we are constrained by the love we bear our Lord, the regard we have for his authority, the jealousy we feel for the honour of his name, and the desire we feel for the prosperity of His cause, as well as by our cordial affection for brethren for whom "we labour fervently in our prayers, that they may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God," to strengthen their hands, and encourage their hearts in the arduous but honourable work to which our Lord is now loudly calling them, by urging them by the regard we know they have for the authority of God, the grace of the Saviour, the honour of Christianity, and the salvation of the world, to employ the mighty influence which God has given them, and which brings along with it a corresponding weight of responsibility, in "loosing the bonds of wickedness, undoing the heavy burdens, letting the oppressed go free, taking away from the midst of them the yoke and the putting forth of the finger;" that so "their light" which has already "gone forth as the morning, may shine more and more unto the perfect day."

Remonstrance of the Congregational Union of Scotland, 1836.

I. That as a meeting of the Congregational Union of Scotland, we are not to be considered, in regard to any sentiments we express, or any resolutions we adopt, as sustaining an official and representative character, or as assuming any kind or measure of authority which would be at variance with the great distinguishing principle maintained by us, of the mutual independency of the Churches of Christ: that, in the resolutions which follow, we speak for ourselves, whilst, at the same time, we have abundant ground for entertaining the most confident assurance, that they are in full accordance with the views, and wishes, and prayers, of the great body of the brethren throughout the country with whom we are associated.

II. That in the spirit of those Christian principles which are the foundation of our personal hopes, the elements of our spiritual life, and the charter of our New Covenant liberties, we look back with devout thankfulness to the God of Providence, to the decision of our Legislature, by which, after a long and arduous struggle, the Slave-trade was branded with the stigma and condemned to the punishment, of felony: and, in the same spirit, we contemplate the more recent act, following up the abolition of that nefarious traffic, by which a final termination has been put to Slavery itself throughout all the colonial dependencies of the British Empire,—an act by which a seemly and glorious consistency has been imparted to our character and institutions as a free people, and a dark cloud has been dispelled, which had long brooded over our beloved land, heavily charged with the vengeance of offended Heaven.

III. That at the time when this act was passed—an act demanded alike by the claims of humanity, justice, religion, and sound policy—one, and not the least of the sources of our grateful joy, was the sanguine anticipation of the beneficial influence which might be exerted on the counsels and conduct of other people, by the example of a nation occupying, through Divine favour, so exalted and commanding a position as our country does, amongst the Governments, not of Europe only, but of the world—an influence of which our high estimate led us to cherish the delightfully cheering hope, that, at no distant period, "every yoke should be broken," and, in all lands, "the oppressed should go free."

IV. That we cannot but regard with feelings of special interest, our Trans-Atlantic brethren in the United States of America, congratulating them on their participation with ourselves, through the kindness of the same universal Ruler, in the precious blessings of a common freedom, and a common Christianity; holding in admiration, the amount of Christian liberality and Christian effort evinced by them, in the dissemination of the Word of God, and of the education requisite for the use of it, through every part of their own territory, as well as for the complete evangelization of the world; but that in proportion to the delight

we have experienced in hearing of such triumphs of Christian principle amongst them, have been our astonishment and concern, that both their freedom and their religion should be so sadly tarnished by the incongruous association with them of Slavery, to so vast an extent, in all its hideous forms of traffic and oppression, and in regard to millions of immortal fellow-creatures dependent upon them; the systematic proscription, by severe penal laws, of all that instruction which might impart to the victims of corporeal thraldom, the knowledge which enlightens and saves the soul, and the liberty wherewith Christ makes sinners free; and our wonder and sorrow are rendered the more intense by the information, that so many Christian men and Christian ministers stand chargeable with what we are constrained to denominate the *sin* of Slave-holding and Slave-dealing, in direct contravention, as we hold it to be, of those principles and precepts, which it is the very object of the Christian ministry to expound and inculcate, and of the Christian character to exemplify.

V. That "God having made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the whole earth,"—and all sprung from a common origin, having become partakers in a common guilt, the objects of a common redemption, we sincerely lament the extensive and deep-rooted prevalence of a prejudice so unworthy the generosity of freemen, and of the humility and dignity of Christians, as that against *colour*—a prejudice by which so many millions of fellow-men are placed under an unmerited and disgraceful opprobrium, are excluded from intercourse, are prevented from availing themselves of such advantages as might enable them to evince their fair average of intellectual endowment and moral capabilities, and so to assume the position in society to which they might thus establish their claim; and even, in many instances, doomed to retain the stigma of marked separation in those ordinances of Christian communion, where all distinctions ought to be merged in the common characters of fellow-sinners and fellow-saints.

VI. That we cannot adopt, as the principle of our conduct, the spirit of the first murderer, "Am I my brother's keeper?"—but in the better spirit of that religion which associates in one holy and blessed fraternity "all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours," and which imperatively prohibits our "suffering sin upon our brethren," we feel it our incumbent duty to expostulate most affectionately, most respectfully, but most earnestly, with our Trans-Atlantic fellow-Christians, imploring them to lay to heart, in this matter, their duty to God, the common Father, to Christ, the common Saviour, to their kindred of the human family, and especially to those members of the redeemed family of God, who, with themselves, shall form a part of the "multitude which no man can number, out of all peoples, and kindreds, and nations, and tongues, that shall stand at last before the throne and before the Lamb;" to raise themselves from their lethargy, and, in the power of the principles of our common faith, with the largeness of heart which Christianity inspires, the regard to humanity and justice which the royal law demands, and that practical consideration of the true interests of their country, which a sound policy dictates, to unite their efforts and their prayers in breaking asunder the yoke both of cruel bondage and of degrading prejudice, in rolling away the reproach that lies at once on their national and their Christian reputation, and so bringing down upon themselves, upon their churches, and upon their country, the blessing of Him who, in immediate connection with such deeds of justice, and such "works of charity and labours of love," and in token of his gracious approval of them when done for his name, hath said—"Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily, and thy righteousness shall go before thee; the glory of the Lord shall be thy rere-ward."

VII. That in such way as may be deemed most expedient and efficient by the Committee of the Congregational Union, these resolutions be transmitted to our brethren of the Congregational Churches in the United States of America, with assurances of our most cordial affection, and with earnest prayers that they may be received on their part in the same fraternal spirit in which, we are deeply conscious, they have been dictated on ours, and that, by the Divine blessing, they may, in some small measure at least, contribute to the realization of the inexpressibly interesting and momentous objects to which they relate.

G. D. CULLEN, Chairman.
JOHN WATSON, Secretary
to the Union.

Remonstrance of the Relief Synod, 1836.

I. That this Synod, with devout admiration of the grace of God, acknowledge the eminence in piety to which many of the churches of the United States of America have attained, and that, in many respects, they feel themselves called upon to cherish warmer zeal, by the example of their Trans-Atlantic brethren.

II. That, nevertheless, their admiration does not render this Synod blind or insensible to the foul blot which darkens and disfigures the profession of so many of those churches, in the manner in which they treat the claims of the coloured and Slave population of their commonwealth.

III. That with respect to the first of these classes—the free coloured population—this Synod regard with deep abhorrence the extent to which the prejudices of the whites against a different complexion have been carried, so as to afflict their coloured fellow-citizens with much positive injustice, in the common intercourse of life, and even to stigmatise and degrade them within the sacred pale of the Church of Him who hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and who, without distinction of tribe or family, saves and sanctifies by his blood and Spirit.

IV. That with respect to the other persecuted class—the Slave population—this Synod would have felt astonished and grieved, had their American brethren shown any apathy to the grievances and wrongs of those hapless millions. How much are they not filled with dismay at the dishonour inflicted on the Christian profession, yea, with indignation, when ministers of the Gospel and their flocks, are beheld abetting and aiding in the dark work of prohibiting the education of the Negro, and resisting and persecuting the advocates of his Emancipation!

V. That this Synod not only feel themselves called upon, in defence of the honour of their common Christianity, to raise their solemn testimony against the conduct of their American brethren in this matter; but, that they consider they have a *right* to interfere with them, by fervid remonstrance, for they hold, that they are the American Christians' *fellow-citizens*, in virtue of the unity of the Church Catholic of the Redeemer.

VI. That this Synod, therefore, instruct their Moderator and Clerk, to communicate these resolutions, in the manner they judge most suitable, to those quarters in America to which they are applicable; and further, that the Synod earnestly recommend to such members of their denomination, as may have friends and acquaintances in America, that, in their correspondence, they deal with the consciences of their brethren in this matter, and admonish them on the subject of their accountability to the God of justice, and the Redeemer of the African.

VII. That this Synod express their admiration of the heroism with which the friends of the Negro are, in the midst of scorn and persecution, pursuing the work of the Abolition of that evil which is the dishonour and scourge of their country; and instruct their Moderator and Clerk to employ the means which appear best to them, to communicate to these brethren this expression of our admiration, our sympathy, and our gratitude, (for we feel ourselves their debtors), that they may be encouraged in their labours.

Which resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Address from the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, in 1836, to their Fellow-professors in the United States.

"Dear Friends,—This meeting has been introduced into a feeling of deep sympathy with the victims of Slavery, and of the Slave-trade in your land. The faithfulness with which many of your ancestors bore their testimony against this unrighteous system, not only by precept, but by an example involving great personal sacrifices, has been gratefully brought to our remembrance; and when we consider how fully you have washed your hands of this iniquity, and how long you have continued to deplore the existence of this enormous evil, we trust we may cordially unite together, in deeply commiserating the condition of more than two millions of these unhappy victims of the laws of your country, who, for

no crime of their own, are unjustly deprived of their personal liberty, liable to the cruel dissolution of the tenderest ties of nature, and a large proportion of them sunk into the depths of moral degradation.

"The sufferings of these wretched outcasts of society are doubtless not unnoticed by Him who died to save them; and as we must all look to Him for the extension of mercy towards ourselves, let us be careful to lose no opportunity of showing mercy to our fellow-man, by seeking to alleviate his afflictions.

"We regret that the ultimate object of the act which lately passed our legislature, for the Abolition of Slavery, in all the dependencies of the British empire, has been delayed by a term of apprenticeship, which is now proved to have been entirely unnecessary, by the safety and advantage with which immediate Emancipation was effected in Antigua and the Bermudas, two of our West India colonies.

"It was under the divine blessing, through the powerful influence of Christian principle, that this act of justice was at length accomplished; and in humble grateful recollection of the conspicuous part which our religious society took in this great work, we have abundant reason to believe that we were made instrumental in awakening many of our fellow-Christians, of other denominations, to a sense of their religious obligations on this deeply interesting subject.

"The noble sacrifices which your forefathers made for the support of that principle which you have so consistently maintained:—That man cannot hold property in his fellow-man,—has placed you in a position more advantageous than that of any other body of professing Christians, for holding up prominently to view this testimony, on pure Christian principle. We affectionately desire to strengthen your hands, in meekly, yet boldly, advocating this cause of justice and humanity, and in a steady perseverance in promoting it, however discouraging your circumstances may appear.

"Fully aware that you have greater difficulties to encounter than we had, in advocating the cause of the oppressed, we sincerely sympathize with you, but earnestly desire that by the help of the Lord, you may be enabled firmly to advance in this labour of love, in the full persuasion that the path of duty will ever be found to be the path of true safety.

"It is with lively feelings of interest in the welfare and prosperity of your country, that we venture to suggest to your consideration, whether there are not indications of an approaching crisis in this momentous question, in which it will mainly depend, under Divine Providence, on the faithful conduct of those who act on Christian principle, whether Slavery shall be abolished in your land by peaceful legislation, or by confusion and violence. We desire to unite with you in earnest prayer to the Father of mercies, that He would be pleased to protect you in all your dangers, preserve your country in tranquillity and peace, and hasten the day of universal freedom.

"Living, as we do, in a land where Slavery is unknown, we may not be able to make sufficient allowance for those prejudices to which a closer connection with this great evil insensibly leads. But in remembering that God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth, may you be enabled to labour against the influence of this baneful feeling, which has inflicted upon a large portion of even your free community, the cruelty of unmerited degradation.

"When we consider that every human being, of whatever colour, or of whatever clime, is equally with ourselves an object of redeeming love and mercy, and that all those who by obedience to the Holy Spirit, are enabled to work out their souls' salvation, will meet together in one kingdom of rest, and peace, and joy: we entreat you, whilst we desire it for ourselves, to seek after and cherish that spirit of Christian love, which enables us to consider every country as our country, and every man as our brother.

"In the earnest desire that the blessing of the Lord may rest upon you, and upon your labours in this righteous cause,

"We remain, with love, your friends,

"(Signed on behalf of the meeting,)

"SAMUEL TUKE, Clerk."

Remonstrance of the Paisley Emancipation Society, 1837.

Christian Brethren!—In addressing you on the subject of Slavery, we beg most distinctly to assure you that we do so in no spirit of pride or assumed superiority; but with respect and affection, as persons professing the same common faith, and avowing obedience to the same Lord and Master; and we should certainly not have troubled you with any communication on such a subject, had we been able to reconcile silence regarding it, with those duties which we owe you as brethren, in whom we dare not see sin without rebuking it; or with those obligations under which we all lie, to observe the injunctions of the Saviour, and to take heed, that, as far as we can, these injunctions be observed also by others.

It has been reported to us by persons who have travelled in your country, and their statements have been fully confirmed by works descriptive of America, that have issued from the press on both sides of the Atlantic, that of the *Thirteen Millions* of inhabitants in the United States, there are no fewer than *Two Millions and a half* of Slaves, who have been deprived of that liberty which by God's gift belongs naturally to every human being, and of which no man has a right to deprive his brother, unless he has forfeited it by conduct destructive of the peace, and inimical to the welfare of Society. And we are informed by one of your own judges, that these Slaves are generally considered and treated as little superior to the brute creation. That they are regarded by your laws as the mere personal *goods or chattels* of the individuals who may own them—are declared incapable of possessing property—their children may be torn from them whenever their master pleases, and sold by him into perpetual servitude; that these Slaves are herded together like cattle, and goaded on to their profitless, because unrewarded labour, by the whips of their task-masters; and are, in short, treated as if they were the reverse of immortal beings, destined equally with their masters to the enjoyment of salvation, and to honour and glory, in those realms of happiness which are beyond the confines of the grave.

Now, if this, dear brethren, be, as we have reason to believe, a true and correct account of the Slavery which exists among you, we would wish most affectionately, but honestly, to expostulate with you as to its continuance; and you will permit us to say, that our conscientious belief is, that as Christians, you cannot, without guilt, engage in, or sanction a system so utterly at variance with the whole spirit of the gospel—a system which gives man a power that God has not given him—to make merchandise of his brother—to rob him of his freedom—to steal away from him his child, and to break up at pleasure all those social relations and obligations which God has established for the comfort and the happiness of his intelligent creatures; all which is in direct and flagrant violation of the two great gospel rules which Christ himself has laid down for his followers:—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," and "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them."

We believe also, brethren, that the system of Slavery which exists in your country is utterly inconsistent with the principle of your civil constitution. In the original Declaration of American Independence, it is expressly affirmed, "That all men are created equal—that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" which statements all of you, we presume, approve, and in token thereof have subscribed. But is it not, we would ask, exceedingly inconsistent to hold such a principle in theory, and yet violate it in practice? To avow, in the face of the world, that all men are created equal, and yet make the mere colour of the skin a ground of inequality—to maintain before high Heaven, that God has endowed all men with *liberty* as an inalienable right, and yet deprive *two millions and a half* of human beings of its enjoyment, are, at least to us, contradictions so palpable and so unworthy of the character of your country, that we would entreat you, as freemen, and especially as Americans, either to cancel such statements from your national charter, or annihilate for ever a system which thus belies your national faith and national integrity.

But what has chiefly excited our astonishment and regret, is the fact, that a system so unjust, unscriptural, and revolting as Slavery, is abetted and encouraged by many of the ministers, office-bearers, and members of your various churches, without subjection to Christian censure or discipline for conduct so improper and unbecoming. Nay, it has been stated to us, that among your

church members, and ministers of the gospel, there are to found proprietors of, and even dealers in Slaves; and we have seen, with humiliation and sorrow, some of your ecclesiastical bodies, such as Presbyteries, Synods, and Conferences, attempting to defend these monstrous practices, and to pervert the very statements of the inspired word, in order that the dealers in Slaves may be shielded from deserved dishonour and detestation, and that Slavery itself may be continued to disgrace and to stain most foully your national honour.

We have heard also, that in some of your churches, the prejudice against colour prevails to such an extent, that the white and the dark hued children of the same Almighty Father, are not permitted to worship in the same place, but are separated from each other into different allotments; and that in some instances, the master and the Slave are not suffered to sit down simultaneously at the same communion table, to commemorate the love of him who died to reconcile man to his Lord, and men to one another; and who in the bestowal of his blessing, equally receives and saves all who come to him, no matter what their previous character, their colour, or their clime.

And is it really true, dear brethren, that "these things are so?" That opinions such as those above stated are held by many of your number; and that practices so abhorrent to every principle of humanity and religion are perpetrated by professed disciples of the meek and lowly Jesus? Suffer us, in affection and in love, to expostulate with you on this subject, and to beseech you, by the duty which you owe to the law of God, which describes the stealing and resetting of a man to be equally capital offences in his sight—by your obedience to the commands of Christ, and by the love which he has bound you to exhibit to your fellow-men, to wash, as Christians, your hands free of all participation in such opinions and such practices. For your duty to yourselves, and to your religious principles—your attachment to the precepts of eternal justice—the love which you bear to your native country—and the desire you have to see her great, and prosperous, and happy, all urge you to "loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, to take away from the midst of you the yoke, and the putting forth of the finger." The existence of Slavery among you is, in our estimation, a foul blot upon your national character, and a crying disgrace to the Christian Churches of your land; and never till it has been completely annihilated, will your great and rising country assume honourably that high place in the scale of nations which we believe her destined by Divine Providence to occupy; and never, till Slavery is abolished, will your Christianity appear as it ought to do, "fair as the sun, unsullied as the moon, and terrible as the bannered host."

In conclusion, we would just remark, dear brethren, that although you may refuse attention to, or compliance with, the brotherly appeals which in this remonstrance we have addressed to you, we have only been discharging our duty to God, to the church, to ourselves, and to you; and we would wish affectionately to remind you, that although Christian men may *now* refuse to do justice to their coloured brethren, there is a time coming when that God who heareth the groanings of the prisoner, and pitieth the sufferings of the distressed, will vindicate his own law from violation, and prove to the satisfaction of the universe, that the mere circumstance of country or of colour, does neither warrant any human being to oppress his brother, or expose any to oppression and contempt.

In name and by authority of the Paisley Emancipation Society.

JOHN BOYD,
JOHN HENDERSON, } SECRETARIES.

REMONSTRANCE FROM THE INHABITANTS OF DUMBARTON AND THE VALE OF LEVEN, ADOPTED IN 1837, TO WHICH WERE ATTACHED FOUR THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED SIGNATURES.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CHRISTIANS!—We, the undersigned inhabitants of Dumbarton and the Vale of Leven, in Scotland, address you in the spirit of kindness and brotherly love. We disclaim all right to dictate to you; to interfere with your political institutions, or to do any thing that is inconsistent with the dignity

of freemen and the charity of the gospel. Prompted by sympathy for the oppressed, and warranted by the rights of our common nature, we, as one portion of the family of man, would affectionately and solemnly remonstrate with you, as another portion of this family, on the guilt, infamy, and danger of practising or countenancing social Slavery. That period, we trust, in the history of civilization has arrived, when wars of aggression shall cease; and when nations, instead of contending by armed forces, shall emulate each other in deeds of benevolence, and shall reciprocally exert the exciting and moulding influence which their attainments in liberty, in science, in learning, and in religion, qualify them to put forth. Ours is a moral interference; founded on the great principles of humanity, the laws of God, and the dictates of the gospel—an interference which the state of things in your country constrains us to employ—which we invite you to reciprocate with regard to our faults—and which all good and benevolent men will respect. Allow us then to lay before you the views which we entertain with reference to Slavery.

We abhor Slavery in all its forms, as a system which debases man, corrupts society, and provokes God. It sears all kindly feelings in the heart of the master, brutalizes his nature, and assimilates him to a malignant demon—inflicting upon the helpless, pain, suffering, and woe. It robs the Slave of his natural rights, wrests from him his personal labour, and converts him into a chattel and beast of burden; thus putting him into a condition where, by physical necessity, he is prevented from discharging the high duties of a responsible creature. It considers men as mere animals, devoid of immortal souls, that may be bought and sold, and used like cattle and articles of merchandize. Other sins are generally individual acts—even despotism is the deed of one or at most of a few—but Slavery is "iniquity established by law," and involves either as agents or abettors, all the members of that community where it exists. It is a flagrant violation of the design of social government, the grand purpose of which is to protect and secure the persons, property, and rights of mankind; for the nation in which Slavery is sanctioned is an association formed on the base and ruffian principle of one class of human beings degrading permanently another, and profiting by their bondage, their toils, and their blood. It is a system rife with indescribable horrors, the working of which spreads guilt, pollution, and misery through all parts of the land, and causes to arise from unnumbered broken and bleeding hearts, a cry which, there is reason to fear, the Divine ruler will yet answer in terrible retribution.

We detest this system wherever it is found, and in what form soever it appears. Whether the Slaves wait on the Eastern despot, or serve the President of the great Republic, we welcome them as brethren, pity their degradation, and in the name of insulted and outraged humanity, we demand their freedom. But Slavery assumes its darkest and most loathsome forms when it is connected with the institutions of a free, generous, and enlightened people—just as poverty becomes more squalid and disgusting when it is seen beside the glare of wealth and grandeur. We felt this truth as applied to ourselves. We deplored the existence of Slavery in the British dominions; confessed the guilt which it had brought upon us; laboured to procure the liberty of our enslaved fellow-subjects; and as an evidence of our repentance and sincerity, we gave twenty millions sterling to gain their emancipation. It is therefore with feelings of deepest grief and shame, that we learn there are upwards of two millions of Slaves in the United States; that the condition of these in many States is exceedingly miserable; that they do not legally enjoy the benefits of marriage and the sweet affinites of father, husband, and brother; that they are generally denied the advantages of education; and that property in man, the accursed traffic in human beings, and all the horrid attendants of Slavery, are countenanced and perpetuated by the laws of your country.

We deplore this system of things on account of the Slaves, on account of the free citizens, and on account of the serious injury which it does to the sacred cause of liberal principles. America is a great and a splendid nation, and has been contemplated with the liveliest interest as a magnificent experiment regarding what enlightened and patriotic men, unopposed by prejudices, by illiberal customs, by vested rights, by adverse interests, can accomplish for the social welfare and happiness of man. Peopled by persons who came from other lands, and who carried with them intelligence, experience, and piety, your country obtained at the very outset wise and excellent institutions. It was a new and peculiar state of things, that a matured system of laws should be given to a nation at the first; and as there was nothing in the condition of the people

to defeat the operation of the most benevolent principles, the progress of the experiment has been watched with the deepest solicitude. The eyes of the sincere lovers of civil and religious liberty have been turned to America with intense and anxious gaze; they have prayed that the experiment might be successful; and they have ardently wished that the energies of the social system, unrestricted by the encumbrances of ages, might gloriously expand and bear the richest fruits. Your exertions were hailed with growing pleasure. Your magnificent home societies for diffusing the blessings of education and scriptural knowledge, your methods for preventing crime, your revivals of religion, your efforts in the cause of temperance, and your missions of love to the heathen—executed with so much energy, were all welcomed as proofs that America was destined to instruct the nations, to stimulate the kingdoms of Europe in the noble career of social improvement, and to shower blessings on the world. Arguments in favour of liberal principles, both civil and ecclesiastical, were beginning to be enforced by confident appeals to America. We looked to the west, and we saw indeed freedom arrayed in her brightest attire, adorned with all that is fair and precious; but when she rose from her glittering seat, and held out for the admiration of Europe the charter of American independence, we beheld a stain on her brow and a fetter on her right hand; Slaves scourged, bleeding, and dying behind her; and that her beautiful robe was spotted with the blood of murdered thousands. The friends of despotism rejoiced at the sight, and the friends of liberty turned away and wept; and silenced and ashamed, they retired to mourn over the guilt and inconsistency of sinful men, and to lament that the moral influence of America upon the nations should be thus cruelly destroyed by the existence of domestic Slavery.

These things ought not to be. We entreat you as freemen to wipe away this foul disgrace, and to purify your national institutions by giving immediate liberty to the enslaved. Adopt without delay, measures for opening the doors of their servitude. Strike the fetters from every hand—proclaim liberty through all your States—and embrace in the arms of love your black and coloured brethren. They have immortal souls; warm affections; and useful energies; and when blessed with freedom, they will promote and strengthen your social prosperity. Be just and consistent. Bear not the symbol of liberty in one hand, and the scourge in the other. Weaken not your influence upon the old world by tolerating longer this system which stains the moral beauty, and paralyses the strength of your nation. Delude not yourselves with the idea—subversive of all the responsibilities of the social state, that you are not accountable for the guilt of American Slavery, and that it is a matter which concerns the Slaveholders alone. It is a national sin. The Slaves are your fellow-creatures—your brethren, whom in the eye of the Divine law, you are bound to love and to relieve; and "if you forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; and if you say behold, we know it not, doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it? and shall not he render to every man according to his works?" Recognize the great principles that all men, whatever be the colour of their skin, have by nature equal rights, and that it is the immediate right of the Slave to have Emancipation, and the immediate duty of the master to grant it; and employ every lawful means, such as example, discussion, and the diffusion of information, for carrying these principles into full effect; and then your national brightness will be without a spot, and the delight which good men feel in your prosperity will be without an alloy.

We beseech you, as fellow-Christians, regard and act upon the free and generous spirit of the gospel. It offers the high privileges of salvation to all classes. It opens the gates of heaven to the black, as well as to the white man. It tells us that in Christ Jesus there are neither bond nor free but that all are one family, of which God is the head. It softens and removes oppression wherever it comes, and pours into the wounds of society the healing oil of gladness and joy. The Redeemer says, "Preach the gospel to every creature;" and shall American Christians interfere and say, Lord, not to the sons of Africa? The Divine Judge says, "Love all men;" and shall the fearers of his name in America say, Lord, exempt the coloured race? The blessings of heaven's love and mercy descend like the rays of the sun upon all lands; and shall the government of the freest people in the world, interpose an enactment to prevent these blessings from falling on the black and degraded children of Ham? Such conduct is assuredly not doing to others as you would wish them to do to you. Our Lord's will, clearly taught in the Bible, is, that you love these men, give them equal

privileges with yourselves, and lead them with you to heaven; and if you disregard this, you will exclude yourselves from the family of God. Remember the fate of Egypt. The cry of the suffering Slaves is ascending to heaven, and is entering into the ears of the Lord of Sabbaoth, and he who heard the groaning of the burdened Israelites, will hear the sighing of your prisoners, and display in your land, unless speedy repentance arrest his arm, the wide-wasting judgments of his awful power.

It is with unspeakable pleasure that we have heard that numerous Societies have been formed among you for the glorious purpose of procuring, by constitutional and peaceful means, the immediate Emancipation of the Negroes. These Societies have our entire and cordial approbation, and our fervent prayer for their success. Their principles appear to us to be accordant with Scripture and human rights—and the plan of operations which they have adopted, to be that which seems best calculated to gain the end which all the sincere opponents of Slavery have in view—namely, the freedom of the enslaved. We bid these societies God-speed; we encourage them to go forward, undismayed by difficulties, scorn, and danger; the persons who compose them, are, in our opinion, the best and truest friends of America; and we warn others against opposing them, lest it be in their case as it was with those who compelled Moses to flee from Egypt, when he interfered with his brethren, that they retard for many years the full prosperity, happiness, and glory of their country, and be obliged to implore those very men, whom they now despise, to assist in rescuing them from the dreadful evils in which the perpetuating of Slavery will undoubtedly involve them.

Despise not this remonstrance. Say not that it comes from a comparatively small and uninfluential place, and that it is the act of those who are adorned neither with rank, power, nor wealth. We are, however, free men; and can you bear the scorn of the lovers of liberty? The circumstance that this appeal in behalf of the injured Negroes comes from the working classes—from the inhabitants of a manufacturing district, proves that your guilty conduct has excited universal astonishment, and called into operation feelings which shall prompt incessant rebukes, till ye loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke.

In addition to the foregoing Remonstrances and Resolutions, we have before us similar documents adopted in large public meetings at Bradford, Leicester, York, Leeds, Darlington, Birmingham, Bath, Bristol, &c. &c.

CASE OF AMOS DRESSER—ATTACK ON MR. THOMPSON IN THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN, AN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED AT NASHVILLE; AND MR. THOMPSON'S REPLY.

(From the Glasgow Argus.)

Our readers are aware that in May last, Messrs Thompson and Breckinridge were engaged in a public controversy in Glasgow, on the subject of Slavery in the United States. In another column will be found one of Mr B.'s speeches on that occasion; we have not heretofore noticed this controversy, nor would we, on the present occasion, have introduced any part of it into our columns, were it not that we deem it high time for some one to speak out in relation to the Dresser case. That Mr Thompson has been guilty of the most gross misrepresentations of the Gospel ministry, in the Slave States of America, is obvious to all who reside in the southern section of the Union. Thus, he represents many of them as Slave-dealers, at which assertion we cannot but be amazed. Mr Thompson, when he gulled his Glasgow hearers with this slander upon the ministers of the Gospel here, certainly was not aware that the man who, in this country, makes a business of buying and selling Slaves stands upon a level with the black-legged gambler, and is viewed as a nuisance to society. He certainly was not aware that such an employment would for ever close the ears of the community against the preaching of any minister; and that if such a one would attempt to preach the Gospel of Christ, he would be hissed out of the pulpit by an indignant people. This, however, is only of a piece with Mr Thompson's other representations concerning American Christians.

But our chief object at present is, to give the true version of the Dresser case; and we deem it necessary for some one to vindicate the characters and conduct

of the seven or eleven elders of the Presbyterian Church, alluded to by Mr Thompson. Indeed, *we* feel in duty bound to attempt this vindication, because, in Dresser's account of that affair, he laments the absence of his friends from the city during his trial—they being at the camp meeting when he was taken prisoner. These friends of Mr Dresser were the members of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at Nashville, who were then absent at a meeting held by a sister church some ten miles from town. For his introduction to these *friends*, Mr Dresser was indebted to the writer, and he attended that meeting with the expectation that his special friend, the writer of this article, would recommend to the congregation the Cottage Bible, which he offered for sale, not because Bibles are a scarce commodity in Middle Tennessee, for we presume they are nearly as plenty as in Glasgow; but because it is a valuable commentary, admirably adapted to the wants of plain people, who cannot afford the expense of a more voluminous work.

Then, as the acknowledged friend of Mr Dresser, we deem it our duty to give the true version of the conduct of those implicated elders of the Presbyterian Church here. Moreover, as we do not belong to that Church, but to one that by many is viewed as a rival to it in this country, we cannot be suspected of a desire to conceal the improper conduct of its members. Again, we are no Slave-holder, but have often in our columns pleaded the cause of the African, and insisted on the amelioration of his condition. Besides, being a native of Glasgow, and our connections well known there, we think our statements should have some little weight in that city, where Mr Thompson's assertions were made concerning the seven or eleven elders of the Presbyterian Church in Nashville.

We have seen the names of these seven or eleven elders given by Mr Thompson, and what must the citizens of Glasgow and of Great Britain think of the correctness of Mr Thompson, when informed, through the medium of a paper published in Nashville, that on that occasion there were present neither seven nor eleven Elders of the Presbyterian Church, but three—Mr J. C. Robinson, Mr S. Seay, and Mr William Armstrong. All of them respectable gentlemen—who, Mr Thompson to the contrary notwithstanding, would do honour to the eldership of any church in Glasgow, or elsewhere. With the first of these gentlemen we have conversed upon this subject, who stated he had been appointed a Member of the Committee of Vigilance, but never attended except during Mr Dresser's trial. And then he was induced to be present for the most benevolent purpose, viz.: to do his utmost to have Mr Dresser treated as he would wish his own son to be in similar circumstances—and that during the whole scene he pled that the young man should go unscathed. The motives of the other gentlemen we believe were equally good.

A true statement of the circumstances attending that trial, however, will place the whole affair in a very different light from that given by Mr Thompson. Mr Dresser came to Nashville under the character of a book-pedlar, about the time that an effort was being made by a band of white desperadoes to excite the Negroes in a neighbouring State to deeds of rapine, bloodshed, and murder: was discovered and prevented; and when the citizens of Nashville had good ground to believe that persons of a similar character were at work inflaming the minds of the coloured population here, when pictures of white men and even children cruelly lacerating the backs of Negroes, were being circulated among them; in a word, when the whole population were in a most fearful state of excitement! On his arriving in town, Mr Dresser, being a Presbyterian, applied to Dr. Edgar, the Minister of the Presbyterian Church, to countenance him in the sale of his Commentaries; he, to encourage the young man, introduced him to the members of his church, some of whom purchased his books, and treated him with great kindness. When he had supplied that congregation, Mr Dresser introduced himself to the writer of this article as a candidate for the Gospel Ministry—stated that he had not sufficient funds to complete his education, and had resorted to the business of selling books to enable him to finish his course. The writer gave him an introduction to the members of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church here, many of whom patronised his work purely to help him to finish his studies. Meanwhile, certain very inflammatory placards, addressed to the coloured population, were posted on the corners of the streets during the night by some one unknown. When the Cumberland Presbyterian congregation here were supplied, the writer introduced Mr Dresser to a C. P. congregation in the country, some five miles from town, recommending him to their patronage, and left him with them to dispose of his Bibles. During his stay

there, placards of the same description with those already mentioned, were posted on the trees in different parts of the neighbourhood. These circumstances excited suspicion, and created indignation in the minds of the populace, *we think justly*.

The morning before Mr Dresser went to the camp-meeting, in his barouche were found, accidentally, a number of inflammatory tracts and pictures of the same character with those already in circulation; and, it being noised abroad that an Abolitionist incendiary had been detected with the publications in his possession that had created so much excitement, the *whole* population became exceedingly exasperated. A number of gentlemen who had been appointed during the emergency of the occasion, a Committee of Vigilance applied to the Mayor of the city for a warrant for the apprehension of Mr Dresser, who had followed the writer to a camp-meeting, for the ostensible purpose of selling his Bibles. On his being brought to town, the Committee entered into an examination of his papers and conduct; during which the indignant and much-excited populace demanded that he should be placed in their hands; some were for tarring and feathering, others were for whipping him severely, and others for shooting him. The Committee believed that he had acted very wrong, and deserved punishment, but were unwilling that he should fall into the hands of an exasperated populace. Some insisted that he should be committed to jail, and be tried by the laws of the land; but it was evident that if this were done, the enraged populace, in all probability, would take his life before he could reach the prison; and it should be remembered by the citizens of Glasgow, that, in Nashville, the civil authorities have it not in their power to send up the Gallowgate for hundreds of armed men; no, the people govern themselves, and there is no check here upon popular fury except their own good sense. In this dilemma the Committee thought it most prudent to appear to punish him, and sentenced him to receive twenty lashes. A gentleman of great popularity was appointed to declare this sentence to the people and obtain their acquiescence —with some difficulty he succeeded. Mr Broughton, the officer who had him in charge, having received secret orders not to hurt the young man, directed Mr Dresser to hold his hand upon his back, and stated that he would strike that. Mr Dresser himself afterwards said that he felt only the last blow, owing to the whip passing over his hand. At the close another gentleman addressed the throng, and insisted that no further punishment should be inflicted upon him, and called upon them to give a token of their approbation, which was accordingly done. During the whole scene the members of the Committee surrounded him to keep off the populace, and at its close they conveyed him to his lodgings; had this not been done, Dresser never would have left Nashville alive. Mr Dresser subsequently, to the Rev. Mr Hall, a Presbyterian minister in this vicinity, expressed his grateful thanks to the Committee for the course they had pursued; and to us it is most evident that these gentlemen saved his life. We now appeal to every reflecting man, what in such circumstances would have been the fate of a person in the hands of a Glasgow, a Manchester, a Liverpool, or a London population, without the interference of the military? He would have been torn piece-meal.

Mr Thompson says, the elders who condemned Dresser to be whipped had the Sunday before given him the elements of the broken body and shed blood of the Lord Jesus Christ: if they did, in our humble opinion, on that occasion they acted the parts of friends, and to these very men he is in a great measure indebted for his life. But to our knowledge, the Sabbath before his trial, Mr Dresser was in Frankland or its vicinity, eighteen miles from Nashville; and he acted very disingenuously in his publication of that affair, to represent the conduct of the elders of the Presbyterian church in so dark a light, from some of whom, previous to his trial, he had received many marks of attention and hospitality, and all of whom befriended him as much as they possibly could when his life was endangered. As an act of justice to those who cannot be present to speak for themselves, will the Glasgow editors to whom this number is sent, give this article insertion? Will Dr Wardlaw, to whom we send a copy, be so kind as to see to it, that the false statements of Mr Thompson, in relation to the seven or eleven Presbyterian elders, are corrected?

Mr George Thompson's Reply.

To the Editor of the Glasgow Argus.

118, Prince's Street, Edinburgh, *Feb. 10th*, 1837.

Sir,—In your paper of Monday last is an editorial article taken from the *Cumberland Presbyterian*, a religious newspaper, published at Nashville, Tennessee, United States, in which the writer attempts to invalidate my testimony respecting the character and influence of Slavery in the United States, by impugning the truth of a certain statement made by me during my recent discussion with Mr Breckinridge. As I am charged with having "gulled my Glasgow hearers," I am sure you will afford me the space necessary for the vindication of my veracity. In the course of the debate I stated—"That Mr Dresser, a pious and respectable young man, was apprehended in Nashville, on suspicion of being an Abolitionist, brought before a Vigilance Committee, and, according to 'Lynch Law,' was sentenced to receive 20 lashes with a cow-skin on his bare back. That he was so punished, and that upon the Committee were seven elders of the Presbyterian Church, and one Campbellite minister." The whole case, as narrated by Mr Dresser, and published in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, is now before me. The Committee by which Mr Dresser was tried and sentenced, is called a "Committee of Vigilance and Safety!" The following are the names of the seven elders in the Presbyterian Church:—

"JOHN NICHOL.
A. A. CASSEDAY.
SAMUEL SEAY.
S. C. ROBINSON.
ALPHA KINGSLEY.
Wm. ARMSTRONG.
S. V. D. STOUT.

THOMAS CLAIBORNE.

"The name of the Campbellite minister."

—*See Second Edition of the Discussion*, p. 131.

I have never referred to the case of Amos Dresser for the purpose exclusively of demonstrating the corrupt state of the American Churches in the Southern States, or the Slave-dealing propensities of the "Gospel Ministry," but rather to illustrate the history of "Lynch Law," and the blind and merciless fury of republican abettors of Negro Slavery.

The writer in question is careful to deny, what I have never asserted, that many ministers of religion in America are Slave-traders. I understand the technical meaning of the word "*trading*" in Slaves too well to charge any of the clergy of America with following that profession. Far be it from me to class them with those human jackalls who are ever prowling over the *Slave-raising* States, to find a supply of victims for the distant *planting* States; but I have charged them, and do again charge them, with *buying*, *selling*, and *holding* Slaves—with enforcing human labour with the whip—with keeping back by fraud, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down their fields—with building their houses by unrighteousness, and their chambers by wrong—with using their neighbours' service without wages, and giving him not for his work—with suffering human flesh to be classed (O, horrid iniquity!) with the property sacred to sacerdotal purposes—with sanctioning by practice, and greedy participation in its gains, a system which deprives more than a sixth part of the population of the United States of their inalienable natural rights, and social and religious privileges.

Let the "natives of Glasgow" ponder well the following uncontradicted statements, made in the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of America, May, 1835:—

"Thousands and thousands of our fellow-creatures are writhing under the lash, often inflicted too by *ministers* and *elders* of the Presbyterian Church. Ministers of the Gospel and doctors of divinity may engage in this unholy traffic and yet sustain their high and holy calling.

"Elders, ministers, and doctors of divinity, are with both hands engaged in the practice."

Has "a native of Glasgow," since he reached his adopted land, seen any advertisements like the following? If he has not, and will read them in con-

nection with the above citations, he will, I think, be disposed to admit that he did me some wrong when he branded me as a slanderer of the Christians of the Southern States. If he is familiar with such documents, then he must have left his love of freedom and justice in Glasgow, and become, against conviction, the apologist of "Lynch Law," and *sanctified* Slave-driving.

From the *Charleston* (S. C.) *Courier*, February 12, 1835:—"Will be sold by Thomas Gadsden, on Tuesday the 17th instant, at the North Exchange, *a prime gang* of TEN NEGROES, belonging to the INDEPENDENT CHURCH, in Christ Church parish." (!!)

Again, February 1st, 1835, the "sale at auction, of the *property* (?) of the *Reverend* Doctor Furman, consisting of a cotton plantation of 2000 acres, a library, chiefly *Theological*, TWENTY-SEVEN NEGROES, two *mules*, one *horse*, and one old waggon." ! ! !

Again, the *Southern Religious Telegraph* of October 31, 1835, states that, in one part of Virginia, "of rather more than *thirty* Presbyterian ministers, including missionaries, *twenty* are farmers, (viz., planters and Slave-holders,) upon a pretty extensive scale."

While such a state of things continues, while the Church is thus defiled with innocent blood, let not the *Cumberland Presbyterian* imagine that the Christians on this side of the Atlantic are to be silenced by the cry, "misrepresentation!" "slander!" &c. We shall continue to cry aloud and spare not. We shall tell the people of America their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins; nor cease our remonstrances till they let the oppressed go free, and break every yoke. Greatly do I rejoice to find that the movements in this country on the subject of American Slavery, are exciting attention and creating discussion. Let us have *free discussion*, and the accursed system will soon be hurled to the dust.

The denial that there were *seven* or *eleven* elders present during the trial of Amos Dresser is altogether unnecessary. I have *never* stated the number of elders on the Committee as more than seven. I have *never* stated that these were *present* when Dresser was condemned. It is not denied in Nashville, that the elders named were members of the Committee. Their *connection* with that infamous association is all I have ever insisted upon. Seven elders and one minister on a Lynch Committee! Officers of a Christian Church in league with the mail plunderers of Charleston, the kidnappers of New Orleans, and the murderers of Mississippi! This is amalgamation indeed! But, says their apologist, they did not go all lengths with the mob, or with their brethren in the Committee. They are pious and kind hearted men. One of them pled, but pled in vain, that Dresser might go unscathed. Again, I ask, what had *they* to do with an illegal and self-constituted tribunal, erected in contravention of all law and justice—in direct violation of the Constitution—a wicked, and worse than inquisitorial aggression upon the person and liberty of the citizen! These modern *Pilates* may pronounce their victim innocent, and wash their hands, and plead the will of the rabble, but they can never erase the fact, that they "delivered him to be scourged." They cannot deny that they were members of an unconstitutional court, making itself at once accuser, witness, judge, jury, and executioner; and that they condemned a Christian citizen who had committed no crime, broken no law, to a painful and ignominious punishment. "But," says a native of Glasgow, "they did not hurt him." Be it so: let them *have* the benefit of the unexampled clemency of the man who wielded the "heavy cowskin," the scene is quite sickening enough without the addition of a bloody back. My advice to the elders of Nashville, "who would do honour to the eldership of any church," is, Let Satan do his own work. "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?—and what communion hath light with darkness?—and what concord hath Christ with Belial? If determined to act in the matter, it should have been to denounce the unlawful doings of their fellow-citizens, and to have stood forth the open and dauntless asserters of the rights and innocence of the stranger in their midst. The language of every man *fit* to be an elder, in reference to every Lynch Committee, must be, "O, my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united."

It is further denied that Mr Dresser received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from the hands of any of the elders who sat upon his trial. From Mr Dresser's own narrative of the transaction, published in the *Cincinnati Gazette*, I find that he arrived at Nashville on *Saturday*, the 11th of July, and took lodgings at the Nashville Inn. That, during the following week, he proceeded

with the sale of his Bibles, till *Saturday* the 18th; when, while attending a camp meeting a few miles from the city, he was apprehended by Mr Broughton, the principal city officer, brought to Nashville, and, by order of the Mayor, (!) delivered over to the Lynch Committee. Mr Dresser then adds—"Among my triers, there was a great portion of the respectability of Nashville. Nearly half of the whole number professors of Christianity, the reputed stay of the Church, supporters of the cause of benevolence in the form of Tract and Missionary Societies, and Sabbath-schools, several members, and most of the elders of the Presbyterian Church, from whose hands, *but a few days before, I had received the emblems of the broken body and shed blood of our blessed Saviour.* * * * * Some of the Committee were in favour of thirty-nine, others were for inflicting one hundred lashes, whilst others still thought me *worthy of death.*"

Thus have I shown that, in my statement of this affair, I have not wandered the breadth of a hair from the narrative of the sufferer himself. I have stated that I frequently referred to the case of Mr Dresser to exhibit the headlong fury of the Slave-holders and the triumph of mob-law. Let us see how far the admissions of the *Cumberland Presbyterian* go to support my representations.

I. Christian men pleaded in vain with the "respectability" of Nashville that Dresser should go "unscathed."

II. The Committee thought it "prudent to *appear* to punish him, and sentenced him to receive *twenty lashes.*"

III. But for the efforts of the Committee "Dresser never would have left Nashville alive."

IV. Of the indignant populace, "some were for tarring and feathering, others were for whipping him severely, and others for SHOOTING him."

V. "The people govern themselves, and there is no check here upon popular fury except their own good sense."

What a revelation is here! Tar and feathers, the cow-hide, and the rifle, are the portion of the man who dares to avow himself the friend of the oppressed! The laws and the constitution are "blurred and blotted parchment." Mayors, constables, and militia, are puppets to fill the gewgaw scene, without power to oppose the will of their high mightinesses, the disciples of Judge Lynch. Property, liberty, and life, depend upon the "good sense" of an "excited" and "enraged" populace. Precious safeguard! Who would not dispense with the ordinary securities enjoyed by a free people and dwell in Nashville, where all depends upon the "good sense" of the mob?

The *Augusta* (Georgia) *Chronicle*, of the 26th August, abuses the citizens of Nashville on account of the mercy shown to the delinquent. "He should (says that paper) have been hung up as high as Haman, to rot upon the gibbet, until the winds whistled through his bones. The cry of the whole South should be —*Death*, INSTANT DEATH, to the Abolitionist wherever he is caught."

Let the reader of this imagine himself suddenly caught up and conveyed beyond the seas to an unknown land. He alights in the centre of a city having all the appearances of high civilisation. The Church, the school-house, the Exchange, and the thronged Mart, bespeak education, trade, commerce, and religion. The scene changes—it is midnight—he beholds a spacious square lighted with torches, and filled with an infuriated multitude, breathing out threatenings and slaughter. In their midst, a human figure is seen, naked and kneeling, with hands clasped and raised to heaven. A number of well-dressed men, nearly resembling in outward appearance the servants of God in his own land, are near the kneeling man, giving directions, and superintending the proceedings. A tall figure draws near, and holds above the suppliant the instrument of torture, and the emblem of infamy—a signal is given, and blows are commenced—twenty stripes are inflicted. While yet the lashes are falling, the bell tolls the noon of night; the solemn sound ushers in the Christian Sabbath. The punishment ended, the victim rises, and, with a glad voice, praises the God of his pilgrim sires for the grace vouchsafed in the hour of need. Suddenly the voice of thanksgiving is drowned amidst loud exclamations of "G—d d—n him, stop his praying." You turn in horror from the scene. Retiring, you join yourself to a citizen of the place, who has been also a spectator, and the following conversation ensues:—

Stranger. Tell me in what country I am at this moment sojourning?

Citizen. The United States of North America, of which I am a native born citizen.

Stranger. What is your form of Government?

Citizen. Republican—based upon these self-evident truths, that *all* men are created *free* and *equal*, and that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.

Stranger. What is the religion of these States?

Citizen. The religion of Christ, who was anointed to preach deliverance to the captives.

Stranger. Who is yonder culprit who has just been subjected to an ignominious scourging?

Citizen. He is a citizen of these States, and a candidate for the Gospel ministry.

Stranger. You fill me with surprise and horror! Say, what foul crime has he committed?

Citizen. He is the friend of universal liberty; books and papers, advocating *freedom* and *equality*, have been found in his possession. He belongs to a society for promoting the Emancipation of a sixth part of our population, now held in basest bonds. For this he has been scourged, and may deem himself happy that he has escaped with his life.

Stranger. By what law has he been condemned?

Citizen. Lynch Law.

Stranger. I do not understand you. What law is Lynch Law?

Citizen. It is mob-law, or vigilance and safety Committee law, and is declared by a judge of a neighbouring State, where they recently burned a man alive under it, to be *paramount* to Congress Law, and the constitution of the land.

Stranger. By whom was his sentence pronounced?

Citizen. By sixty of our most respectable citizens, including *seven* Presbyterian *elders* and *one* MINISTER of the Gospel.

Pardon, Mr Editor, the length of this, and believe me, respectfully yours,

GEO. THOMPSON.

CONTRABAND IMPORTATION!—THE AMERICAN ANTI-CHRISTIAN PREJUDICE AGAINST COLOURED PERSONS, IMPORTED INTO SCOTLAND.

(From the Glasgow New Liberator of May 20, 1837.*)*

TO CAPTAIN BIGLEY, OF THE BRIG CANONICUS, NOW LYING AT THE BROOMIELAW.

SIR,—The people of this country, in thousands and tens of thousands, are remonstrating with your countrymen against their national sin of Slave-holding, Slave-trading, and kidnapping, and their anti-Christian prejudice against Coloured persons on account of the complexion God has been pleased to give them. Regarding the last of these, Sir, I feel myself called upon to remonstrate with you, and that publicly, because the offence with which you are chargeable is a public offence, and because the people of this country should know that the illiberal, cruel, and sinful prejudice against which they are contending, is by you and such as you brought home to our doors; and that your countrymen may be made aware that they may expect to be remonstrated with and publicly exposed, if they attempt to import such anti-Christian maxims and practices into this country.

You will be at no loss to discover that the case referred to is that of your refusing to take out, as a cabin passenger, a young gentleman of Colour who applied to you on the 4th inst., when the following conversation ensued:—

Gentleman. What is the price of the passage to New York, in your vessel, Sir?

Captain. How do you wish to go?

Gentleman. In the cabin.

Captain. I have very good accommodation in my *second* cabin.

Gentleman. But I wish to go in the best.

Captain. I cannot take you in my best cabin.

Gentleman. Why not, Sir?

Captain. (Staring the gentleman in the face for some minutes.) Are you not a COLOURED man?

Gentleman. Certainly I am, Sir.

Captain. Then I cannot take you in my cabin; I have not been accustomed to live with *Coloured* people.

Here a third person, who was in the captain's company, said, If he took you in his cabin it would prevent other passengers from going.

The gentleman asked if there were any American passengers, and being answered that there were none, replied, No British subject would refuse to go in the same cabin with me on account of my complexion, since I have repeatedly travelled in the best cabins of the first steamers in Britain, without meeting with any such objection.

Captain. Although all my passengers were perfectly willing, yet I would not suffer you to go in my cabin, for I have not been accustomed to live with *Coloured* people. He farther stated, that as such was the custom in the United States, and as his was an American vessel, the same rule would be followed by him here.

This, Sir, is a public offence; because you publicly advertised your vessel for passengers, without stipulation as to colour or any other exception; and when a gentleman, intending to become a passenger, applies as above narrated, you turn round and say, "No Sir, I can't take you; your complexion is not so fair as mine." You should in your announcement have stated that you would take passengers only provided they are white, not Coloured people; and then the public would have known your conditions and exceptions; but it is right now that the public should know that they are such; and it is to be hoped that the people of Scotland will appreciate both you and them.

I proceed now to endeavour to show that such prejudice is, as said above, anti-Christian, sinful, cruel, and illiberal, and shall be most happy if I succeed in convincing you and some others of your countrymen, that it is so, notwithstanding that it prevails very extensively in the United States; and, what is remarkable, among persons professedly religious, and indeed of whose soundness in the faith we can have no doubt. In attempting this task, the limits of a newspaper compel me to be concise.

It is so obviously unjust to subject a person to any obloquy, inconvenience, or disadvantage, on account of adventitious circumstances, over which he neither had nor can have any control, and which constitute in him no real demerit in moral character or mental qualifications, that it appears quite superfluous to prove its injustice. It may be said, indeed, to be an intuitive axiom. It would be as reasonable and just to inflict upon a man any disqualification on account of his stature, the colour of his hair, the shape of his nose, the place of his birth, or if he should happen to want a limb, or be otherwise deformed, as on account of his complexion, which is to him as much an accidental matter, and as little implying any moral or mental defect, as any of these circumstances, and many more which might be enumerated.

The inconsistencies in the conduct of man are, in some cases, so extravagant, that they may be said to make angels weep and devils laugh. And in your country these may be seen in as great luxuriance and perfection as anywhere.

You associate with, and inflict no disqualifications on a man on account of the place of his birth or his religion. He is equally eligible to places of trust and power, whether he be of Dutch, French, English, German, Grecian, Turkish, or any other origin, provided he be white, and have no African blood in his veins; and you admit men of all religious denominations, Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, Jew, Turk, Mahomedan, or Infidel; and you would give a passage to, or associate with, any of these, or with any white man, although he may be flying from his creditors, whom he may have defrauded, or from the gallows, to which the laws of his country may have sentenced him. But to a "*Coloured man*," who has sustained an unblemished character, who has pursued his studies with credit and distinction, surrounded daily with white students, who has honourably taken his successive degrees, and finally that of M.D., in Glasgow University, to which he had been driven from New York, his native place—these illiberal prejudices interdicting him from pursuing his studies in any American University—to "a Coloured man," who, on account of his mental acquirements, his liberal education, his moral and religious character, and polite behaviour, is unquestionably entitled to the rank of a gentleman; and who, as such, has freely associated in this city, and elsewhere throughout the kingdom, with gentlemen and ladies of the most respectable classes of society, at their private tables, and in parties, and in public meetings; to such a one you refuse a passage in your vessel, for the good and substantial reason that God has been pleased to make his complexion different from yours!!!

And have you any reason to infer that *your* complexion is the most acceptable in the sight of God—of that God who has "made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the face of the whole earth?" Do you not know that "God looketh upon the heart," *not upon the colour of the skin*, as a test of admission to His divine favour and presence in the heavenly kingdom? You may refuse him a passage in your vessel, but you cannot refuse him a passage to heaven—you may refuse to associate with Coloured persons on earth; but will you not associate with them in heaven? May they not stand there in judgment against you and your countrymen, for the injustice done them here? Or think you, that there will be one heaven for whites, and another for Coloured people? Is it so that you have read your Bible?

I appeal to your own conscience, Sir, and ask you, were *you* a coloured man, would you like to be so treated on account of a matter over which you have no more controul, than over the colour of your hair, or the height of your stature? For, as the Scripture says, "you cannot make one hair black or white;" and if not one hair, certainly not the colour of the skin. Would you account such treatment to yourself just and Christian? I am sure your conscience answers No. Then what do you make of our Saviour's command, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them?" He neither taught nor exemplified in his own conduct any such unjust distinctions.

If I have succeeded in showing that the prejudice against persons on account of their colour is unjust, it must follow that it is anti-Christian, sinful, and cruel. Although aware that many sensible and otherwise good men yield to its influence, perhaps from having imbibed it from their earliest years, yet I am not aware of any rational defence being attempted to be set up for it. It seems to be thought bad policy to obliterate such a distinction; but be assured, the old maxim may be depended on, that "honesty" or justice "is the best policy;" *that* promotes dissension and division, *this* union and strength. Look at South America, and even the West Indies, where Slavery lately existed; Jamaica, for instance, where there are free coloured gentlemen in the legislative Assembly, and some of them holding other civil offices.

Now, because it is so in the States, you and many others, I believe, seem to be satisfied that you should yield implicit obedience to the custom. But, what has made it custom, and what keeps it custom in the States? Slavery and Slave-holding. "Know ye not," says the Scripture, "that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?" In thus yielding submission to distinctions set up by Slavery and Slave-holders, which are opposed to the will and the Word of God, but united as political expedients to maintain their sinful sway, are you not yielding yourselves the servants of sin unto death?

Trusting that you and your countrymen, who are verily guilty concerning your brother in this matter, may soon be made free from this sin, and become the servants of righteousness, I am, Sir, yours sincerely,

JOHN MURRAY.

BOWLING BAY, NEAR GLASGOW, 12*th May*, 1837.

AMERICAN SLAVERY AND ITS EFFECTS.

THE SHIP CANONICUS, CAPTAIN BIGLEY.

We have seen in two Glasgow papers, the (*Chronicle* and *Argus*) a statement respecting a student of Glasgow College, who was refused a passage in the cabin of the American Ship *Canonicus*, Captain Bigley, because of the *colour of his skin*, being descended from the African race. We have ascertained that the statement is perfectly correct, and we happen to know the excellent young man who has been thus treated—thus insulted because of the colour of his skin—his Almighty Maker's work! We believe no one in the Glasgow College was more esteemed for his amiable qualities and literary acquirements, and by none more than by the Professors of our University, who showed their esteem by marked attention to him.

We have often denounced the system of Slavery, and, from every appearance, no country in the world has more to dread from its moral and physical results than the American Republic, of all nations the most inconsistent, and, we are afraid, the most guilty touching this matter. We say this more in sorrow than in

anger, because we know what a bad use foreign despots and their beloved friends the Tories of our own land make of this. They scornfully point to the United States saying, "There is your glorious Republican freedom! there is the working of your Voluntary system of religion! there is the cause of man in its perfection, and 2,500,000 human beings the cattle-property of the boasting nation!" American President! American People! look at this picture. The despots of the old world, and their sweet cousins the Tories, have you fast bound here between wind and water. They have certainly a heavy hit at you here, and the speech of the new President of your Republic was by no means calculated to weaken the force of this sneer at your *spotlessness!* We tell you frankly that your country will speedily be broken up into separate hostile, if not despotic states, if you do not abandon Slavery; and you ought to think of St. Domingo and be wise. The chain which you keep so closely round the necks of "Afric's insulted race," cannot but, as a retributive justice, gall yourselves; and the effects will be to keep your great Republic in an unquiet and unsafe state. The brig *Canonicus*, Capt. Bigley, is not the only instance which has lately occurred of refusal to passengers, (educated classical scholars, and worthy men,) because of the *tinge of skin*, and of their origin. A statement appeared some eight months ago, in the Glasgow and other papers, of two Clergymen who were thus refused; and a poem, which was admired for its force, beauty, and sentiments, was connected to one account, which related the case of the Rev. Peter Williams of New York, (a Coloured gentleman,) who was refused a passage in an American ship to London; but a noble-minded English captain took him into the cabin of his own ship, and treated him with distinguished regard. The following lines occur in said poem:—

> "And dar'st thou, America, say thou art free,
> Whilst thus thou degradest thy brother?
> The scorn of the nations is pointed to thee—
> Deep scorn which thou never can'st smother.
> Whilst thus thou deniest the rights of mankind,
> Thy odium shall sound on the waves and the wind."

LETTER FROM THE COMMITTEE OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, TO JAMES M'CUNE SMITH, Esq., M.D.

Dear Friend and Brother,—When you are about to leave our shores, and return to your native country, we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of tendering you a formal testimony of our esteem, in addition to all the common evidences of affection and respect for you which it has been our privilege to give, during our intercourse for several years.

When you first appeared among us, the circumstance was in a high degree calculated to excite our sympathy on your behalf, that a young man should be found seeking, in the Institutions of Scotland, those intellectual accomplishments which he was refused an opportunity of acquiring in those of his native land, on account of his complexion not suiting the taste of a prevailing party of his countrymen. Our first feelings towards you, dear Sir, we acknowledge, were chiefly feelings of compassion. But, after a brief acquaintance, you became the object of sentiments much more honourable to yourself. We felt ourselves called upon to esteem you for your virtues, and to admire you for your intellectual powers and attainments: and from the contemplation of your character, we acquired additional ardour in the work of delivering your kindred from the oppression of men, few of whom, we are persuaded, equal you in whatever dignifies and adorns human nature. We did not, indeed, require to be convinced for the first time, that the man of *Colour* is possessed of all moral and intellectual capabilities in equal measure with the white; but you made the doctrine less a matter of abstraction to us, and impressed us with the sight and the consciousness of the present living reality.

When we were struggling for the Emancipation of our own fellow-subjects, we felicitated ourselves on gaining you as a member of our Anti-Slavery Committee; and we assure you, that when you appeared on our platforms, and moved or supported our Resolutions, the demonstration given to the citizens of Glasgow, how much of a scholar's taste, how much of an orator's eloquence, how much of a patriot's zeal, and how much of a gentleman's courtesy and bearing may be found associated with a *Coloured* complexion—was productive of the happiest consequences, in stimulating the Abolition zeal of our population. Our

West India fellow-subjects are deeply your debtors: but your own countrymen are more so; since not a little of the fervour of many among us, in the enterprise against American Slavery, is to be ascribed to the circumstance, that the insulted and oppressed of that land are the kindred of James M'Cune Smith.

You leave us, Sir, with our earnest prayers on your behalf, that God may bless you abundantly; that He may prosper you in your profession as a Physician; but especially that He may counsel, strengthen, and protect you, in your patriotic efforts for the deliverance of your brethren, *and ours*, from ignominy, sorrow, and oppression.

We perpetuate our brotherhood, by enrolling you as an Honorary Member of the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society; and, with the love and honour of brethren, bid you farewell.

Signed in name, and by appointment of the Committee.

JOHN MURRAY, }
WILLIAM SMEAL, } SECRETARIES.

GLASGOW, 15*th June*, 1837.

PUBLIC MEETING.

ABOLITION OF THE NEGRO APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM.

A PUBLIC meeting of the inhabitants of this city and its vicinity, to petition Parliament for the Immediate and Unqualified Abolition of the Negro Apprenticeship System in the British Colonies, was held on Monday evening, June 19th, at seven o'clock, in the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel. The house was crowded in every part by a most respectable and attentive audience, it having been announced that Mr George Thompson, and the Rev. Mr Cheever from America, were to address the meeting.

ROBERT GRAHAME, Esq., of Whitehill, the venerable and much-esteemed President of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, was called to the chair, amidst reiterated bursts of applause. The respected gentleman said, it would be utterly preposterous in him to attempt a lengthened address on the present occasion; because the object of the meeting would be much better and clearer, and more forcibly and eloquently stated by the gentlemen who were to address them. (Cheers.) He should, therefore, not occupy more of their time than to thank them for the honour they had conferred on him by calling him to the chair. (Great cheering.)

The Rev. Dr. WARDLAW presented himself to the meeting amidst great applause, and said:—

Mr Chairman,—In rising to submit a series of resolutions for the adoption of the audience, it may be proper to observe, that this meeting, as was known to most present, had been intended to be held on the evening of Thursday last, and had been previously advertised accordingly. Before that day, I had addressed a letter to one of the Secretaries of the Emancipation Society, apologising for my unavoidable absence in the discharge of official duty at a distance from home;—and, as that letter, which, in consequence of the postponement of the time of meeting, had been rendered useless, contained, though hastily expressed, the sentiments entertained on the great subject that has brought us together, I beg permission to make it the groundwork of my present brief address. After stating the apology for absence on the intended day of meeting, the letter, with interspersed remarks, proceeded as follows:—"I should have felt it both an honour and a pleasure to have moved into the Chair our venerated President, the uncompromising friend of Negro freedom, and of freedom generally; (cheers,) or, in his absence, to have occupied his place; or to have done any thing else the Committee might have wished me to do, in *such a cause*. I have

read the statement of Joseph Sturge with the deepest interest and concern. He deserves well of all the friends of the oppressed for what he has done." It may be right to mention, for the information of some in this auditory, who may not be aware of it, that Mr Joseph Sturge of Birmingham, a member of the Society of Friends, paid a visit, at his own cost, along with one or two other Friends, to the West Indian Islands, for the express purpose of investigating the true state of things relative to the actual working of the Apprenticeship system; and has recently brought home his report, of which some of the statements have been laid before public meetings, and have issued from the press. "His statements are sadly and too satisfactorily calculated to confirm all that we had previously heard, by which the suspicion and belief had been awakened, of the existence, to no small extent, of *foul play* in the working of the Apprenticeship system." The accounts brought home by Mr Sturge are not, by any means, the first we have received on the subject. Reports, well authenticated, had previously reached us, such as, even so long as two years ago, produced in many minds a strong suspicion, and in others a full and deep conviction, that the system was working, and likely to work, any thing but well. The minds in which the full conviction was produced, were those which, from previous familiarity with the whole subject, were prepared for the result; and there was no mind in which the anticipation had been earlier and clearer than the mind of my friend on the opposite side of the platform, (Mr Thompson,) who had seen with a kind of prophetic intuition, what the consequences were likely to be. (Cheers.) The letter proceeds:—"A system which formed no part of what was petitioned for by the British people." The system was one, for the invention of which, Mr (now Lord) Stanley has the credit—I presume rightfully. It is not ours to say what his views and anticipations might be. Charity enjoins upon us to believe they might be good. But, whatever the intentions of the inventor might be, the system was founded in an apprehension of consequences from immediate and unconditional Emancipation, such as experience had evinced to be utterly destitute of foundation. The Apprenticeship was a kind of *middle state;*—not, however, alas! such a middle state as some divines had supposed, in which there was no suffering,—but a kind of *purgatorial* middle state, in which the poor Slaves, by a process of subjection to penal fires, were to be fitted for the heaven of freedom. "A system which has at once gulled the poor Slave of the reality of freedom, and made him to feel that 'the little finger' of Apprenticeship is, in some respects, (I do not say in all,) 'thicker than the loins' of Slavery; and, at the same time, gulled the nation out of the attainment of its benevolent purpose, for a succession of years, and exposed it to hazard even at the close of the stipulated period." Yes, Sir, it is the *name*, not the *reality of freedom*, which the Negro, by this Act, has obtained. The terms of the allusion I have made may be deemed strong;—but you will have abundant evidence laid before you to-night, that they are not too strong. Allow me just to quote a sentence or two. The first is from Mr Sturge, and relates to the effects of the system, especially as to females and their infant offspring, in consequence of that offspring not being now regarded as the property of their master. The facts related by Mr Sturge relative to the treatment of females, were of the most thrilling description. Not only were they most cruelly punished, but their infants also suffered from the inhuman treatment of their parents. The men and women work in penal gangs in chains. The case of ten women with children in jail, was this:—They said that on Friday morning last, as it was very wet, they did not turn into the field before breakfast on account of their children; for this on Monday they were brought before the Special Justice, and ordered to pay five Saturdays; they told him they could not, as their provision-grounds were six miles off: they did not get their half Fridays, nor their salt fish, nor flour, nor sugar for their infants, and that without their Saturdays they were destitute of the means of support. This refusal of theirs to submit to so unrighteous a decision appears to have been construed into rebellion. They were sent to the workhouse for three days, and will still have to pay back their Saturdays. Pregnant women are often obliged to pay back the most of the time their masters lose by their confinement. They are not permitted to leave the field to suckle their children; and when they complain of this cruelty, their masters turn round upon them and say, they do not care what becomes of them, for they are free children. The other quotation is from a narrative just published in this city, of the sufferings of a young Negro Apprentice, of the name of Williams, who was redeemed by Mr Sturge, and brought home to this country; of the general contents and general merits of the narrative, I say nothing at present, save that it is

written with all apparent simplicity, and chiefly in his own broken *lingo*:—"I have been very ill treated by Mr Senior and the Magistrates since the new law came in. Apprentices get a great deal more punishment now than they did when they was Slaves; the master take spite, and do all he can to hurt them before the free come;—I have heard my master say, 'Those English devils say we to be free, but if we is to free, he will pretty well weaken we, before the six and the four years done; we shall be no use to ourselves afterwards.'"—And then, continued Dr W., as to the nation, what else or what less is it than its being *gulled?* It is a hazardous thing, in certain quarters, to pay in advance. I was always, and still am, a compensationist; but I was for seeing our article before we paid for it. And, whether we succeed in obtaining an abridgment of the Apprenticeship term or not, those with whom we have to do will require to be looked closely after at the period of its termination. "O, it is affecting to think to what extent the system of Slave-holding has destroyed the principles of honour and integrity. The British nation has fulfilled *its* part of the compact to the letter, by the payment, with interest, from the 1st of August, 1834, of the twenty millions of compensation;—the Slaves, we have abundant testimony, have fulfilled *their* part of the compact, with the most patient and persevering industry (I speak, of course, of the mass); and by those who, of all the parties, ought to have been most upon their honour, have the provisions of that compact been violated, in a degree that has rendered it a matter of doubt whether the Apprenticeship has not been an aggravation, rather than a diminution of the pressure of the previous yoke—of the woes of Slavery itself." There is, Sir, a want of honour in all this, which they who have discovered it would not, in all probability, have shown at home. There is, Sir, a want of integrity, from which shame would have kept them—from which conscience would have kept them. But it is the effect of familiarity with the system of Slavery, to eat out the very vitals of sound principle. Let me not be misapprehended. I speak generally. I speak not without exceptions. There are exceptions. I know there are. But the natural tendency and the general effect are as I have stated. "*This is not to be borne.* Blessed facts have proved—facts for which we cannot be too thankful—that the apprehension of evil results from immediate and full Emancipation was utterly groundless—all having prospered in those instances in which it was wisely and—I was going to say *generously*, but I will rather say—*righteously* granted." I refer here to the cases of Antigua and Bermuda, in both which islands full Emancipation was granted, and in both which islands the results have been most propitious. Allow me to quote, in a single sentence, the summary of Mr Sturge's account of Antigua. From "a summary of the result of their inquiries in this island, it appeared that the great experiment of Abolition had succeeded beyond the expectations of its most sanguine advocates. The trade of the island had revived, the people were more prosperous, houses and land had risen in value, and the moral and religious education of the inhabitants had kept pace with the amelioration of their condition." "And, whereas, some may allege that it is not worth while petitioning *now*, I," said Dr Wardlaw, "would answer, those on the spot are better able to judge of this than we are, and they urge us to use every possible effort to get the system abolished by 1838." I must here present an important document. It is the conclusion of an address to Mr Sturge, before his leaving Jamaica, *signed by fifteen Missionaries* on the island.

"We cannot refrain expressing our deliberate opinion of the total unfitness of the Apprenticeship system as an act of preparation for freedom; and that it is to the unparalleled patience of the apprentices, and not to its tolerant spirit, that the present peaceful and prosperous state of the island is attributable.

"To you we unhesitatingly declare our belief, that this mockery of freedom is worthless as a preparation for that state to which it can have no possible affinity; that, while it represses the energy of the Negro, it has rendered him distrustful of the British public, by whom he considers himself to have been cheated by a name; that it has entailed, and is still entailing, excessive suffering, especially on the mother, and her helpless and unavoidably neglected offspring; and that, to secure its termination, no effort can be considered too great.

"We do, therefore, most earnestly entreat you, on your return to your native land, to exert your influence to effect the total abandonment of this system in 1838.

"But, if every effort fail in procuring the abolition of the term of apprenticeship to the predial apprentices, that those advantages may at least be secured

to them, to which they are entitled by the provisions, imperfect as they are, of the Act for the Abolition of Slavery.

"We further urge you to watch with vigilance any law which may be introduced in the Imperial Parliament, or passed by any of the colonial legislatures, to curtail the liberty of the Negro after the termination of the present system; and any enactments of a restrictive and oppressive nature, calculated to keep them more degraded than any others of their fellow-subjects, for one moment beyond that period.

"Your own observations in this *Colony* must, we think, have convinced you that the costly apparatus by which it was intended to secure a measure of protection to the Negro, is in many instances made instrumental in carrying on a system of coercion and oppression as odious as that from which he was intended to be freed.

"We cannot but express our regret at the apathy manifested of late by some of those friends in England, who so long and so zealously exerted themselves in behalf of the injured sons and daughters of Africa, and must consider that the responsibility rests on them, who have the power to obtain justice for this still injured people, for any consequences that may take place; meanwhile we shall continue to exert our influence to tranquilise their minds under every disappointment, and to induce them to bear with patience the wrongs they are called upon to suffer."

My letter to the Secretary, continued Dr Wardlaw, closed thus:—

"Is the abridgment of suffering such as we know to be inflicted, by the space of *two years*—the abridgment of it by that period to so large a number of our fellow-creatures—not worth being in earnest about? I envy not any man the possession of a heart that allows him to think or to say so. Were it *months* instead of years, we should do what in us lies to effect the deliverance. If we do not succeed, we at least enjoy the satisfactory reflection of having done our duty." I shall not detain you longer, Mr Chairman; but, on the grounds which have thus been stated, and which, in the course of the evening, will, I doubt not, be amply illustrated and justified, I beg leave to propose the following resolutions for the adoption of this meeting:—

"Resolved, 1. That the Act of 1834, purporting to be an Act for the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies, contains provisions which, from the first, so far from approving, we deplored and deprecated;—that the scheme of Apprenticeship, whatever might be the views and anticipations of those by whom it was proposed, did then appear to us to be little better than a prolongation of Slavery under another name;—that, in opposition to every such half-measure, we ever regarded the Negro as entitled to Immediate and Unqualified Emancipation, whether respect were had to his claims on justice, to his capacity for using liberty with discretion, or to the munificent compensation awarded to the planter for the loss of his personal service as a bondsman;—that, notwithstanding, we could not but hail the passing of the Act with emotions of satisfaction, having experienced the bitterness of long-frustrated efforts, and the oppressive sickening of the heart from hopes deferred, fondly flattering ourselves with a present mitigation at least of existing wrongs, and anticipating with joy, at a period which, compared with past delays, seemed brief, their entire and final cessation:—

"2. That, while our apprehensions have been more than realized, our hopes have been miserably disappointed;—that on the ground of most unexceptionable testimony, we are unwillingly but sadly convinced, that under the colonial administration of what is termed the Emancipation Act, not only does the system of oppression maintain its ground in unmitigated severity, but that, in some respects, it has even assumed an aspect of augmented atrocity; so that not merely do we feel ourselves deluded by men who, in failing to implement their part of the compact, have defrauded us of our compensatory millions,—but, if measures be not instantly adopted for putting an effectual termination to such infamous abuses and such faithless mockery of a nation's confidence, we still stand, as a people, obnoxious to the charge of national guilt, and to the consequent displeasure of the 'righteous God who loveth righteousness:'—

"3. That we therefore reiterate our old demand of the instant and entire Abolition of Colonial Slavery; and urge it with even increased vehemence, on the ground that, under a delusive name, nearly three years of scandalous oppression have been added to the Negro's previously accumulated wrongs; that our estimate of his average character and capacity for the right enjoyment of liberty, has been abundantly confirmed by the happy results of various trials;

and that whatever rights the Apprenticeship Act may be conceived to have conferred on the planter, to the temporary continuance of his unremunerated services, have been utterly forfeited by a system of outrage so nefarious, as would warrant the insulted people of Great Britain to insist on the exaction of a much heavier penalty:—

"4. That, instead of pleading the pressure of our own commercial distresses as a reason for suspending our attention to the Negro's interests, we rather feel ourselves thereby called upon to the more prompt and energetic exertions in his behalf;—because our own sufferings do not answer their end, unless they increase our sympathy for the sufferings of others; because our duty to the oppressed Slave, misnamed Apprentice, in our Colonies, is neither altered in nature nor diminished in imperativeness, by the additional duty laid upon us of providing relief for our distressed operatives at home;—because at the tribunal of Divine Judgment, the merciful alone are warranted to expect the blessedness of finding mercy; and because, in the reckoning of that God who chastises us by his righteous inflictions, the oppressions and cruelties still practised in our Colonies, form, we are convinced, no trivial element in that guilt, on account of which He has 'a controversy' with our land:—

"5. That we deprecate the heartless indifference of those who would discourage the efforts of the Friends of the Negro to procure the Abolition of the Apprenticeship System, by pleading the shortness of the time it has now, by the terms of the Act, to last; that, on the contrary, we hold it to be our duty, even were the unexpired period shorter than it is, to demand its Immediate and Unqualified Extinction, as we would not willingly be answerable for even a single hour's unmerited and unnecessary suffering, far less for two full years of suffering, on a scale so painfully extensive; and we earnestly entreat all who formerly struggled with us so nobly in this cause of humanity, to imitate our example; that so, by one simultaneous effort, we may, if possible, secure the real and perpetual annihilation of the accursed system of British Colonial Slavery, under whatever form and by whatever ALIAS it may disguise itself."

The Rev. Mr JOHNSTONE of Port-Eglinton, said, he was not under any necessity of making a lengthened address, in seconding the resolutions just proposed, as they spoke sufficiently for themselves. The very excellent remarks with which they were introduced, must tell on every bosom that throbbed with the feelings of our common humanity. On that account he did not feel himself called upon to detain them by any remarks; but there was another circumstance connected with the meeting of that evening which prevented him from intruding himself. By addressing the very respectable audience before him, he should only detain them from listening to facts and arguments, accompanied by eloquence that must not only charm every ear, and carry conviction to every heart, but rouse the higher principles and the nobler feelings of our nature. (Cheers.) Mr J. then seconded the adoption of the resolutions.

Mr GEORGE THOMPSON rose to introduce to the meeting the Rev. George B. Cheever, from Salem, Massachusetts, United States, and warmly eulogised the Rev. Gentleman as an ardent Abolitionist, who had devoted his head and his heart to the great work of Emancipation. He was certain that his reception in a land of strangers would be a most cordial one, and such as, from his talents, piety, and general worth, he was eminently entitled to.

The Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER rose to propose a resolution with which he had been intrusted:—

"Resolved, That in the deliberate judgment of this meeting, the Abolition of the Negro Apprenticeship System in the Colonies of Great Britain, is intimately connected with the advancement of the Emancipation Cause in America; believing, as we do, that so long as the system is suffered to exist, the march of Freedom in the United States must be proportionably retarded."

Mr Cheever observed that the resolution put into his hands accorded so entirely with his own convictions, that he felt very great pleasure in saying a few words, however inadequate, in its support. He remarked, that when the bill was signed that sanctioned and established the system of West India Apprenticeship, the people of Great Britain lost an opportunity for striking a blow at American Slavery, which, it was to be feared, they could never regain. Had they done what they ought—what every consideration of humanity and justice demanded—had they struck the fetters at once from their Slaves, and lifted up the trampled Negro to a full participation in their own rights, unshackled and undegraded by the bondage of the Apprenticeship System, they would have shown to the world the glorious spectacle of eight hundred thousand enslaved

Negroes made at once and absolutely free—you would have held forth, said Mr Cheever, the pleasing sight of eight hundred thousand Negroes advancing—the moment the weight was taken off that crushed and paralysed their energies—advancing in intelligence, in order, in education, in sterling worth of character, both as moral beings and as members of the body politic. You would have silenced for ever the arguments of Slave-holders against the measure of Immediate Emancipation, by an example,—just such as the whole world needed,—of the practicability, the wisdom, the expediency, as well as the justice and benevolence of that measure—(hear, hear, hear)—and by this time, instead of a community of Negroes, driven to their ceaseless tasks amidst insults and stripes, and the horrible cruelties of the treadmill, you would have had a happy and peaceful community, cheerfully working for their just wages, grateful for the change you would have made in their condition, obedient to the laws as good citizens, and demonstrating to the whole world the vile slander of those who asserted, and still assert, that the blacks can never be tolerated among the whites in a state of freedom, and that the measure of Immediate Emancipation would be a measure fraught only with terror and death. Instead of this, you have suffered yourselves to be cajoled into the purchase and support of a system of barefaced iniquity and oppression—a system that perpetrates and perpetuates the most atrocious enormities of Slavery, under the plausible shape of a gradual preparation for freedom—a preparation, as it has been admirably described this evening, of "penal, purgatorial suffering." You thought you had got rid of Slavery, when you were only lengthening out its ferocity; and you thought you were setting an example of benevolence to America, when you have made it, for American planters, an example of avaricious and successful cruelty. You thought you were aiding Abolitionists, and you have abbetted Slave-holders. By bidding twenty millions as the price of sin, you have endorsed the wicked claim of property in man; you have signed and sealed it with your own sign-manual; and you have encouraged the rapacious dealers in human flesh to demand, whenever occasion elsewhere offers, a tenfold sum. (Hear, hear.) You have made a precedent that every man-stealing nation will quote with savage delight; and you have put an argument into the mouth of every such nation, in the opportunity to say that since, with all the power of your Parliament to act upon the subject, you either dared not, or could not, or would not, give to your Slaves the justice of Immediate, Unconditional Freedom; you have thereby declared that the measure itself can neither be deemed wise, nor practicable, nor expedient. You may say what you will to disallow that conclusion, but the enemies of human kind will tell you that actions speak louder than words. (Hear.) In giving to the West India planters their system of Apprenticeship, you have taught American planters to expect theirs. You have set an example of Abolition, by a prolonged form of injustice, which indeed is no better than if your physicians should attempt to teach us to cure a fever by changing it into a consumption. And in so far you have rivetted the chains of American Slavery, even while you have been professing your horror and indignation against it. You have been putting beams in your own eyes, while you have been saying to brother Jonathan across the water, "Brother, let me pull out the mote that is in thine eye." (Loud cheers.)

I will not say, "thou hypocrite," for doubtless you have been perfectly sincere; you demanded immediate unconditional Emancipation, and you might have had it if you had not suffered yourselves to be so egregiously deceived; but I do say, "cast the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye;" for the world, you know, will not endure to be lectured on their sins by those who are partakers with them. The very resolution put into my hands, as the judgment of this meeting, plainly intimates that you are still giving opportunity to all who hate the truth to say to you, in answer to all British remonstrances on the subject of American Slavery —Physician, heal thyself. (Loud cheers.) And indeed you well know that it is the very edict of the Almighty, even in the nature of our souls as he has made them, that every sin we indulge, and every abuse we foster, either as individuals or nations, weakens our power of rebuke over the consciences of others. It cannot but be so, and therefore it is that the effectual energy of a nation's benevolence is so vitally connected with, and so intimately dependent upon, the purity of her own institutions, and the holiness of that living temple, which, in the Church of Jesus Christ, enshrines the only true and steadfast principles of benevolence within a nation's bosom. And I do say, in regard to the main point of this resolution, that the iniquity of your Apprenticeship

system is so great and so glaring, that if you, with the Parliament of England in your hands, and the power of acting directly upon Colonial Slavery, neglect to do your duty, and fail to procure the Abolition of this cruelty, you do, in just the same measure, tie yourselves up from all effectual labour for the Abolition of Slavery in America. You are like men with iron gyves upon their wrists, attempting to stretch forth their arms to save their fellow-creatures from perdition. If, with the power of acting directly through Parliament, you cannot at once abolish your own Slavery, but leave your 800,000 Negroes still groaning beneath its execrable torments; how can you expect that in America, with such tremendous obstacles in our way, and no power of immediate constitutional remedy through Congress, (I mean so for as Slavery in the separate individual States is concerned), we can in a moment work ourselves free from this iniquity. Here permit me to say a few words as to the reason why we are truly anxious to obtain your undivided energies in our help. I do assure you it is not because we feel ourselves behind the British nation in any one movement in the march of Christian benevolence; it is not because our possession and profession of unlimited freedom is not as genuine as yours; though, indeed, until you on the one hand have redeemed the wrongs of the Caffre nation, and snatched your 800,000 Negroes from the pangs of West India tyranny, and lifted poor degraded Ireland to an equal participation in every one of your own privileges—(loud cheering), and until we, on the other hand, have redeemed our millions of bondmen from Slavery, and wiped the reproach of its existence, as we soon shall do—(cheers), from our national escutcheon, the profession of freedom in neither case is altogether free from the charge of hypocrisy. It is not because we are not as quick in our sympathies as you are, for I believe that even now there is more apathy on the subject of Slavery in Old England than in New England (hear, hear, and cheers)—and a more healthy Anti-Slavery feeling in New England than in Old England (cheering)—an Anti-Slavery feeling of such tremendous power that it shakes the nation to its centre. And if the sin of Slavery existed in your country as it does in ours, and our Abolitionists were to send a religious deputation to your Churches, it would be one that would speak out without the least concealment, in a voice of thunder, though disgrace or death itself were threatened as the consequence. Be assured that if we possessed the power of acting directly through Congress, as you do of acting directly through Parliament, we would ask for no help from abroad, we would scorn to have a word said to us upon the subject, even by our mother nation, beloved and venerated as she is; and we would abolish the whole evil, and set our two millions and five hundred thousand Slaves at liberty; yea, set them in the open air of liberty, in less time than you have taken to put your eight hundred thousand, even beneath the tender mercies of the "West India Apprenticeship." You have only changed evils; we would have annihilated them at once. But we ask your aid, and we welcome your remonstrances, because, as Abolitionists, we depend, under God, upon the hearts, and minds, and efforts, and prayers of Christians, upon the free discussion, upon the universal, reiterated, perpetual agitation of the subject, upon the burning power of truth over the consciences of Slave-holders. Every voice of the civilized world therefore helps us, every remonstrance from this Continent, every strong expression of outraged humanity, acts with the intensity of galvanic force across the Atlantic. (Hear, hear, and loud cheering.) The sin is festering, even in our Churches, and every earnest rebuke in the Spirit of Christ from your Churches, and every word from your eminent Christian philanthropists goes down into our inmost convictions, and greatly animates our efforts. The bare knowledge of the fact that a man so universally esteemed among us as the venerated minister of Christ, in whose chapel we are this evening assembled (loud cheers)—a man whose praise is in our Churches as well as in yours, gives the aid of his presence and his counsels to a meeting like this, and has heretofore lifted his voice to encourage the band of Abolitionists in America (cheers); adds to the influence of Abolitionists there, and will carry with it a sensation of delight to all our hearts. Let a few such minds combine to help us, and it will be help indeed. Let a few more such names here and in the United States be enrolled among our ranks, and our cause will speedily become popular, and the whole multitude of waiters for the movement of the tide of popular opinion will crowd themselves into it. And if you, the British public, will rise in your united energies, and annihilate the system of Apprenticeship, which, as long as you suffer it to exist, does indeed retard the march of freedom in the United States, then you will be strong to help us, without any thing, so far as Slavery is concerned, to neutralise the

power of your appeals. Let not the idea that but few years remain for the legal existence of that system, prevent your exertions. Let not Slavery die out beneath your apathy, but strike it out, cut it up by the roots, for if you leave the stump in the ground, as you have done, it will be sending out its tough and poisonous runners all over the country. The wickedness of the system is desperate, it is incurable; nor can it be supported in any part of it but by argument as grossly immoral, as incurably wicked, as the system itself. Think of going to the holy Scriptures for a defence and a foundation of Slavery; yet even thus have the apologists for Slavery in the United States profaned the Word of God, and would palm upon an indignant world a Slave-holding Christianity as the Christianity of the Bible! The wickedness of the system only appears the more perfectly hateful, the more utterly intolerable, by the light of such an attempt, and we are determined in America to have nothing to do with patching it up as you have done. (Hear, hear.) We will have no Apprenticeship system there. (Cheering.) Our Yankee Abolitionists are too shrewd for such a cajolement, (hear), and too stern in their principles for what would seem to them such a desecration of their cause. Here I might tell you of the scenes of deep interest transacted already in our Senate Chambers, and in our National Assemblies, as well as at the Anniversaries of our State and National Anti-Slavery Societies. (Hear.) I might tell you of the noble stand in opposition to southern blustering and tyranny, taken by the venerable ex-President of the United States, John Quincy Adams (hear, and cheers); and of the onward progress of this mighty movement of freedom and benevolence, amidst all obstacles or evils that men or devils can array against it. Doubtless our country is to be the theatre of scenes of yet deeper interest, deepening, indeed, as the consummation advances; for never was an era in the world's history, when the conjunction of circumstances, and the period of time, and the state of Christianity, and the state of political society, and the arrayed energies of the prince of darkness on the one side, and the host of light on the other, conspired to make a crisis more sublime. Never before was there an arena so completely open, in which tyranny and liberty, in the eyes of all the nations, engaged in a contest of such infinite importance. And the genius of despotism seems perfectly aware, by the madness of its struggles, that if it fails here it fails for ever. We trust in God it will be a bloodless contest, and we are sure of victory, for our cause is the cause of religion; it is deep in the hearts of men of ardent piety, whom you might as soon compel to renounce their Confession of Faith in Jesus Christ, as to relinquish their holy, self-denying labours, in behalf of their perishing brethren in bondage. It is deep in the hearts of men, who long for the spiritual regeneration of more than two millions of immortal beings, excluded from the enjoyment of heaven's sweet light, even amidst all the surrounding light and privileges of Christianity. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Trusting in God, we are confident of victory, and fearless of danger. Our cause shakes the Union, it is true, but only in order that it may be cemented still more strongly, cemented in the righteousness that exalteth a nation; that all its stones and timbers of iniquity may be shaken out of it, and their place supplied with majestic buttresses of universal freedom. We have no alarm for the continuance of the Union, save in the continuance of Slavery. But even if the danger which our opponents charge upon the agitation of the subject, were real, is not our duty to the oppressed as real? The danger is merely contingent, while the duty is present and actual. And we dare not, in defiance of God's law, place a contingent danger on the one side, in the way of the performance of a manifest moral duty on the other; no, not even if it were a danger involving the possible destruction of the whole habitable globe. A manifest, immediate moral duty, is to be immediately performed, and the consequences must be left with God. (Loud cheers.) We expect opponents indeed, and we have them in abundance, nor was there ever any good work that had them not (hear, hear, hear); nor any "wide and effectual door" thrown open, that had not its many adversaries, and its alarmists in the open passage, and who would tell you that you are moving too soon and too hastily, (hear, hear), and that you are rolling back and ruining your cause by your reckless imprudence. There is not a purer enterprise of Christian benevolence in the world, than this. There is not one more immediately connected with the march and advancement of the kingdom of our Redeemer, (hear, hear), and I hold it an honour and a privilege for any man to be engaged in it on either side of the Atlantic, or any corner of the globe. (Hear, hear, hear, and cheers.) And to be persecuted for righteousness sake, in such a cause, is a still greater privilege. It was a noble sentiment of Edmund

Burke, that "it was not only in the Roman customs, but it is in the nature and constitution of things, that obloquy and abuse are essential parts of triumph." Certainly those men who, like Mr Birney and Arthur Tappan, have suffered in the cause from genuine, sterling principle, are to be envied. Their day of reward is near, and they who persecute will yet behold the subjects of their persecution completely triumphant, and invested with the crown, even of this world's reverence. I will not detain you, but only reiterate, in the name of all my countrymen who love the cause of Negro Emancipation, the earnest prayer that you would hasten and press on the Abolition of the Negro Apprenticeship system in the Colonies of Great Britain. (Cheers.) Do it now, and you would strike a most powerful blow for the extinction of Slavery in the new world across the ocean; though the effect of the blow would still be diminished by the injustice of its delay; and the planters would still cry out to us, when we would urge the tardy example in favour of immediate Emancipation in America—"Aye but, after all, you had in the West Indies several years of Apprenticeship; and if it had not been for that, the measure of Emancipation would have been ruinous." The truth is, every hour's delay on your part to administer the justice that lies in your power, or to express your abhorrence of the Apprenticeship system, in tones that all the world may hear, is injurious to our cause. And while we welcome your Christian remonstrances, and spread them out with their thousands of signatures before our public meetings, and commend them to the consideration of our Churches, we would do it with a tenfold delight, and your remonstrances would come to us with tenfold energy, if you would complete, now and for ever, the Abolition of Slavery throughout your own possessions; and, as you boast that the bright sun never sets upon the British dominions, enact that its light shall never more fall upon the dwelling of a bondman, nor shine upon a single rood of land in all these dominions, that is hoed, or planted, or trodden by a Slave. (Loud cheering.)

The Rev. Mr Eadie seconded the motion.

The Rev. James M'Tear, on moving a resolution relative to Mr Sturge, said, as the resolution now to be moved has only been handed to me since I came to this platform, (for it was understood, Sir, that a gentleman every way better qualified to do justice to the sentiments which it contained was to have taken charge of it), I acknowledge that I do not feel prepared as I could wish, for addressing an audience so very numerous and so highly respectable as the present. The resolution, however, is so completely in accordance with my own sentiments, and I am so persuaded that it accords no less with the sentiments of those who compose this meeting, that I shall crave your indulgence while I attempt to say a few words in support of it. To those who have so often assembled within these walls, to plead for the immediate and unconditional freedom of our Coloured brethren, the name of Joseph Sturge is not unknown. We have frequently heard of his labours of love—of his disinterested benevolence—of the munificent sums which he has again and again subscribed to promote the good cause, and of his varied and untiring exertions in behalf of the wronged and oppressed Negro. But when we see a modest and unobtrusive man like Mr Sturge, (for such I am well informed is peculiarly his character), when, I say, we behold a man like this display a firmness and decision of character, in undertaking and prosecuting what he conceives to be his obvious duty towards the oppressed and the helpless—when we see him, for a considerable time, leaving the comforts and endearments of home—not for the purpose of commercial speculation—nor for the sake of increasing his fortune, by forming profitable connections in trade; but, actuated by a spirit of the purest and noblest philanthropy, undertaking a tedious and expensive voyage, exposing himself to the influence of climates which are allowed on all hands to be highly pernicious to European constitutions—and that, too, at his own cost—when we see him doing all this, that he might, by his own personal inquiry, obtain that information which he deemed necessary to influence the legislature of his country, and to rouse the British public to demand, with a voice which should reach through the length and the breadth of the land, that the odious system of the Negro Apprenticeship should be immediately and entirely abolished—is not such conduct worthy of our highest approbation? When we advert to the horrors of that system which he has so simply yet so graphically described—horrors, the existence and atrocity of which he has but too clearly demonstrated; when we attend to the overwhelming mass of evidence which he has thus been enabled to bring forward, to prove how completely the friends of Emancipation have been duped and defrauded by the wicked scheme of the Apprenticeship,

and the consequent necessity that it be immediately brought to an end; I am sure that this meeting will cordially agree with me, that our warmest thanks should be given, and given with acclamation, to Joseph Sturge, Esq., and to his colleagues who went out on the same humane and benevolent Mission. Sensible as I am, Sir, that these sentiments require no lengthened speech to recommend them to the approbation of this meeting, I will not detain you a moment longer, but conclude by simply reading the resolution—which was then carried by acclamation.

"Resolved, That this meeting express their cordial and unanimous thanks to Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham, and the other gentlemen who accompanied him on his benevolent Mission to the West Indies: that the pure spirit of philanthrophy which so nobly stimulated Mr Sturge to undertake the Mission at his own cost, and in the prospect of a host of opposition; which animated him to the prosecution of his humane object, amid scenes of the most revolting and heart-rending description; and which has enabled him to obtain such an overwhelming mass of evidence of the cruelty, oppression, and fraud, practised upon the Negro Apprentices in our Colonies, is worthy of our highest admiration, and entiles him to the warmest commendation of the friends of universal Emancipation; and this meeting earnestly hopes that Mr Sturge's efforts will, under the divine blessing, powerfully contribute to promote the immediate termination of the odious Apprenticeship System.

"That the Chairman be requested to write to Mr Sturge, and transmit to him a copy of this resolution."

Mr Thompson then rose, and was received with loud cheering. He said, he would not attempt to describe the feelings with which he had attended that meeting, and especially the feelings with which he had listened to the various speeches which they had heard delivered. He could candidly assure them, that, much as he had been in the habit of administering reproof, and much as he had been in the habit of cultivating those principles which ought to enable him to receive reproof meekly and kindly, he had not that night sat unmoved under the severe, though he was sure it was the honest reproof of his excellent friend from America. (Hear.) He had not been angry, but he had been deeply grieved and humbled, that they, as a nation, should have so fully and so justly deserved it, and that the reproof which they had received that night ought to have been far more severe than their friend would be willing, perhaps, to administer. (Hear.) And yet he felt that he must say one word for them (the meeting,) and for himself—for them first, and for himself next—(cheers)—viz., that while all was true that had been said, and while human language could not overcharge the picture of misery and injustice in the British Colonies, and while it was open to any one to prefer against them a charge of want of firmness and skill, as characterising their struggle with reference to Abolition; yet so far as their intentions were concerned, the continued existence of Slavery was scarcely chargeable upon their hearts, but rather upon an infirmity of purpose in particular quarters—upon that want of foresight which was manifested when they were within sight of port; and when, (continued Mr Thompson,) with swelling canvass, and amid the shoutings of a triumphant crew, they were about to cast anchor in the haven of Emancipation; some want of courage necessary to success was then exhibited—some influence operating on persons having the last management of the cause, tended to produce not what they indeed anticipated they should be able to accomplish—the Total Abolition of Slavery—but an odious, unnatural, incongruous mockery of freedom, called the Apprenticeship system of the West India Colonies. (Cheers.) And yet he granted that they were justly chargeable as a nation with this state of things. It was indeed a sad state of things; and they were now called on imperatively to arise and undo with tears that which they had done, but which they had done so ill that he had almost said they had better never have done it at all. (Cheers.) And yet he scarcely knew why they agitated. At the present moment, he scarcely knew whether they ought to agitate at all, unless they knew the management of their cause was not to be committed to people in London. (Cries of "Hear.") They could put no faith in Committees, either Parliamentary, or Anti-Slavery, so called, at present established in London. With reference to all Anti-Slavery Committees they had known in London, they were for all practical purposes extinct; and when they were summoned, what then? Why, Committees might be called together in London, in Birmingham, in Liverpool, in Manchester, in Edinburgh, in Glasgow, in Aberdeen, in Dundee, and as many other places as they chose, but what would be the result? In vain they

would petition—in vain they would demand attention—in vain they would instruct their representatives—in vain they would send up delegates to London, if those who were charged with the immediate settlement of the matter, wanted the prudence or the honesty they ought to have, and, proving recreant to all that they pledged themselves to do, took from a Minister just that which a Minister offered, forgetting their principles, their pledges, and their constituents; forgetting all that they owed to man—all that they owed to the Slave—all that they owed to God. (Hear, hear, and great cheering.) He would say, renounce all these—place no confidence in Ministers of the Crown, in Colonial Secretaries, in any Parliamentary leaders who had thus deserted the cause, and committed themselves to measures, and to men adverse to the interests of the great object they had at heart—and let it be known to the world that they, the inhabitants of Glasgow, in public meeting assembled, have spoken boldly out; that they required an immediate answer from those to whom they addressed their petition, and that standing by themselves they demanded, that night, and would prosecute that demand till its fulfilment to the utmost farthing—the complete, the universal, everlasting overthrow of that fabric of cruelty and oppression, which held in cruel bondage the bodies and the souls of eight hundred thousand human beings in the British Colonies. (Loud and continued cheering.) They must not trust any longer to the Colonial Office. Take one specimen of the honesty of the Colonial Office. But first he would remark that when they should send up their petitions to London, embodying their prayers, founding these prayers on the facts authenticated by Joseph Sturge, they would tell Lord Glenelg and Sir George Grey nothing that they did not know before. They knew it all before. Letters upon letters, dispatches upon dispatches, and deputations upon deputations, had made them acquainted with the whole facts; and, before the Committee of the House of Commons, witnesses had made known all these things; yet, in the face of such convincing facts, the Committee decided in their Report of last year. that not one day of the Apprenticeship should be taken off the amount. (Hear.) Their recommendation to the House of Commons was, that they should discourage, both on the part of the master and the Slave, the slightest abridgement of the Apprenticeship term. As to the honesty of individuals connected with the Colonial Office, he would give one fact connected with the conduct of Sir George Grey; and to him alone he would refer, as he was not aware that Lord Glenelg had much to do with the West India department of the Colonial Office. There was one gentleman who faithfully discharged his duty as a Colonial magistrate in Jamaica—Dr Palmer. From the first moment of his appointment as a magistrate, Dr Palmer did most honestly and fearlessly his duty to all parties, and what was the consequence? Why, he was persecuted by the whole island. Every effort was made to crush him, and drive him from the Colony. At last, by means of incessant clamour, his enemies induced the Marquis of Sligo, the Governor, to suspend him from his office, on the allegation that some decision he had given was contrary to law, and that it would be for the peace of the island if he was dismissed. Dr Palmer, on this occasion transmitted a full account of the facts to the Colonial Office. At this time, the Marquis himself became unpopular, in consequence of doing impartial justice: a meeting of proprietors was held, and some strong statements made as to the Marquis, describing him as a man very unfit for the Government of the island, and a resolution to that effect was proposed. This resolution however, did not pass; but the minority met by themselves, and appointed a deputation, consisting of West India proprietors in London, to wait on Sir George Grey, and advise the immediate recall of the Marquis of Sligo, from the Governorship. What was the reply of that Minister to this extraordinary application? He said, "I enter fully into your views, but we cannot recall the Marquis of Sligo, without a reason. He is a great friend with the Dissenters, and it will not do to irritate the Dissenters." (Sir George Grey never recollecting all the while that he owed his seat for Devonport, to the Dissenters.) (Hear.) "But," continued he, "I will tell you what—the Marquis of Sligo has done a certain thing—he has suspended Dr Palmer; we have sent out word to him to reinstate Dr Palmer in the magistracy. This will in all likelihood bring about his resignation; we will accept it at once, and then put a better man in his place." (Hear.) As was anticipated, the Marquis did send home his resignation; it was accepted, and Sir Lionel Smith put in his stead. But let the meeting mark the double dishonesty of this act. Dr Palmer was reinstated; but Sir Lionel Smith (the Marquis of Sligo's successor,) soon afterwards again suspended him. On this occasion the treatment of Dr Palmer was even more unjust than before;

and if they had strong reason to disapprove of his suspension the first time, they had still stronger reason the second time, and ought to have reinstated him. But no; Dr Palmer was made, on the first occasion, the means by which the Marquis of Sligo might be superseded; and though Sir Lionel Smith had again suspended him, and the latter had again given a full statement of the case, they confirmed his suspension,—thus by a double stroke of policy, getting quit at once of both Dr Palmer and the Marquis of Sligo. ("Shame.") This country had paid twenty millions, with interest, for the law which they had got; and then it had appointed about a hundred Magistrates to go to the islands and administer the law. Now, what sort of men were appointed? Why, in the first place, it was decided that no man having an Anti-Slavery reputation should go there. They were chiefly taken from the army, almost all military men. He did not mean to disparage the military profession; but he thought a better class of men could have been got for so important a duty, than those who had served in the army, where, to the disgrace of our country, the cat is not yet abolished. (Great cheering.) Such were the men sent out to the West Indies; and, that they might be the more impartial, the more incorruptible, they were to receive the enormous salary of £300 a-year;—that they might mix with the Colonists and the higher classes of the people there, they were allowed the large sum of £300 a-year. (Hear.) Why, every person who knew any thing of the expense of living in the West Indies, was aware that this was little more than pocket-money. (Hear.) The consequence was, that they found they could not live on this sum; and the planters came around them and invited them to their houses and to their parties; and the magistrates, that they might find fodder for their horses, dinners for their tables, and wine, and all the luxuries of the island —why, they must, of course, dance with the ladies—that they might borrow a gun from one, a horse from a second, a dog from a third, and a wife from a fourth, instead of becoming the friends of the injured Negro, and impartially administering the law, became at once the willing, subtle, industrious, unceasing tormentors of the Negro. They ate with the planter—they hunted with the planter—sung with the planter—got drunk with the planter—in the expectation that, in return, they should flog the Negro—(Hear);—and amply did they deserve all their dinners, and their wine, and every luxury which was poured upon them; for they had not ceased, since the 1st of August, 1834, to torment the Negroes, young and old, even to a degree greater than before that period. (Shame, shame.) The Colonial Office knew all this, and, without wishing to disparage the course in which the present administration were engaged, he would say with Mr Sturge, that they would have had more impartiality from any other, and that it would have been given with a better grace than by the present administration; that administration was a cruel, heartless, dishonest administration, on the subject of Colonial Slavery. He said this the more fearlessly, as he wished for the success of many reforms that they were promoting. But he repeated, that it was heartless, dishonest, and cruel, in reference to Slavery. The only mode of acting upon them was through the people's House, and he felt persuaded they would yet be forced to listen to the complaints, and obey the behests of the people. (Great cheering.) Mr Thompson then proceeded to point out in what respects the Emancipation Act had been violated in the West Indies. The food of the Negroes, he observed, had been greatly diminished—their usual allowance of salt fish, and even their salt itself, had been taken away—their medicine had been withheld from them, and the women were not now, as before, permitted to have nurses to take care of their children, while employed at labour—old women were driven to the field to work; and those nursing children were not allowed to take even a drop of water to cool their parched tongues, and give nourishment to the infants that drew from them their sustenance. (Shame, and expressions of indignation.) The 13th clause of the Act provided that all children below six years of age, on the 1st of August, 1834, or born after the same date, left destitute by their parents, or in consequence of the death of their parents, and should become burdensome to the planters, then the planters, in consideration of their care and maintenance of these children, should have their services, male and female, till the age of twenty-one years. After remarking upon the base and iniquitous character of this provision, Mr T. said, the planters, from the moment they read it, endeavoured to make it an impossibility for Negroes to take care of their children, in order to drive them to ask the planters to take them off their hands and provide for them. Yet, to the honour of Negro mothers, only seven children in Jamaica had in this way been abandoned, though that island contained 320,000 Negroes. (Cheers.) But

the consequence had been the most dreadful sufferings entailed on the mothers of these children—horrors unutterable endured, and many of the children perishing, in consequence of the treatment to which their parents were subjected. One clause in the Act provided that the Negroes should be divided into two classes—the prædial and the non-prædial: these again were divided into the prædial attached, and the prædial unattached—the former those employed on the soil—the latter not employed on the soil of their owner. This had been flagrantly violated—for those who, before 1834, were non-prædial, had been registered as prædial, or field labourers—and hence, if they wanted to purchase their freedom, they must purchase two years more than if they were registered as non-prædial labourers—thus paying a much higher price than they would otherwise do. ("Shame.") By the Act, the Negroes were not to labour more than seven hours a-day, or forty-two hours a-week. The Negroes of course, (continued Mr Thompson,) carried no watches to the field, and were easily imposed upon by the overseers, unless the decline of the sun told them their labour hours were long before finished, or the oppressed mother discovers it by the want of that sustenance which she is unable to give her children—these often tell them that they have worked twelve instead of seven hours in the field. By the Act (said Mr Thompson), it was expressly prohibited that women should be flogged, but they are nevertheless flogged with more severity than they were before;—for though it is enacted that there shall be no female flogging, they are yet flogged by another law---for the Emancipation Act provides "that this Act shall not prevent from being flogged for the violation of any law or police regulation, being applicable to all other persons of every condition." Though no white women were ever flogged in Jamaica, or ever will be, they have nevertheless made it legal to flog them, in order that through this they may get at the black women; and thus the latter are brought under the old regimen, and subjected to greater cruelty than ever they were before. Here Mr Thompson related instances of cruelty exercised towards females, who, besides being exposed to the horrors of the tread-mill, had been severely lashed. The tread-mill he described as a machine of exquisite torture. It was a cylinder of ten feet diameter, with broad steps. The hand-rail above it had eight pair of straps fastened to it, to which the prisoners were secured by the wrists. The board under the hand-rail descended perpendicularly towards the wheel, and did not therefore afford the slightest protection to the prisoners in case of their hanging. The steps of the wheel projected twelve or fifteen inches beyond the board, and were bevelled at the edge, so that the keen side revolved against the bodies, legs, and knees of the prisoners with torturous effect. On such a machine as this it is difficult to move---the women particularly are not able to "dance the machine," as it is called, and in consequence suffer dreadfully when they miss the steps, by being knocked on the shins and knees. The women are often left, by being unable to dance the wheel, hanging by the wrists, when they suffer excruciating pains, being sometimes all over with blood. Mr Thompson then gave the following from Mr Sturge's account:---"We asked the jailor at ——— whether the driver was allowed to use a cat, and asked to see the instrument. It was a whip composed of nine lashes of small cords knotted. He said it was absolutely necessary to 'touch them up,' women as well as men. They struck the latter on the back, but the women on the feet. Not only all the steps, but the very drum of the mill were stained with old and recent blood, the latter being that of a poor old woman, which had been shed so profusely, that even the sand on the floor underneath was thickly sprinkled with it. I saw the blood, and put the question myself to the jailor respecting the cause of it, who informed me that the poor old woman had been put on the mill that morning, and, being unable to keep the step, hung for the whole fifteen minutes, suspended by the wrists, with the revolving steps beating against, and bruising her body the whole time. We saw this woman the next day with the penal gang working on the roads, compelled to carry a basket of stones on her head, and chained like the rest in pairs, two and two, with iron collars. She was so dreadfully mangled, they had not attempted to put her on the mill again that morning. Other women showed us their legs lacerated in the same cruel manner." He then, from an account by Dr Palmer, gave the following additional instances of cruelty:—"He (Dr Palmer) would notice a most horrible and afflicting case that came under his own observation, in which a poor creature, for simply asking payment of his wages for extra labour, had received a punishment of so dreadful a nature as to ruin him for life. Robinson had, along with his fellow-apprentices, contrived to give his extra labour during crop for the sum of 2*s.* 1*d.*

currency per week; payments were always made on Saturday morning; it happened, one Saturday, that Robinson required to go to Spanish Town; he desired his wife to receive his money; the overseer refused to pay it, as he was not present to receive it himself; he took no notice of this until the following week, when being paid for the current week's wages, he asked for the amount due for the previous week. The overseer refused it, and ordered him to be off; the man indignantly replied—"I work for the money, and it belongs to me, and you have no right to keep it from me; and, if you no pay me, I will go complain to massa." The overseer threatened to kick him out of the place. He went to his master, but got no satisfaction. On Monday he was taken into custody, and taken before the Special Magistrate. He (Dr Palmer) had no hesitation in giving the name of the magistrate, it was Mr Thomas Baines, who was now in England, and might deny any part of the satement if he were able. Robinson was charged with insolence and threatening his overseer—threatening to complain to his master. It was positively sworn to, that Mr Baines refused to hear a word in defence, and forthwith sentenced Robinson to receive thirty-nine lashes in the workhouse. How the punishment was inflicted there were no means of ascertaining, but it would appear that the flesh was literally ploughed up on the man's back. A large mass of malignant looking tubercles had arisen, which caused extreme torture when the rays of the sun or the slightest cold air came in contact with the part; the man's strength was gone; his constitution impaired, and his mind had become a good deal affected by his long-continued sufferings. In describing the agony he had endured, he became almost frantic, a very distressing affection of the heart had been produced, and which it is probable will carry him to his grave." (Cries of shame, shame.)

The above details were received by the meeting with expressions of the deepest indignation.

Such, continued Mr Thompson, were one or two instances of the horrible oppression to which the Negroes were exposed under the Apprenticeship system. Mr Brown, the returned magistrate, to whom he had before referred, told him that he found the Slaves were so much the worse treated for complaining of their barbarous usage, that he told them, as the most friendly advice he could give them, never to complain to him at all, but to suffer the cruelties with meekness and patience, rather than expose themselves to the refined barbarity which their complaints were sure to bring upon them. And now he asked, what was the response of that meeting to the tale? Was it not, "Let us rise at once, as in the days that are gone, and demand, without the delay of one hour, the total, the immediate, the everlasting destruction of such a system." (Great cheering.) And this brought him to the chief object of his rising, which was to propose, that a petition, founded on the resolutions they had adopted, should be sent to the House of Commons, to be presented by Lord Wm. Bentinck, and that Mr Dennistoun be requested to support its prayer. (Cheers.) He hoped this would be done without delay, and that they would stand prepared at no distant day, should their petition be ineffectual, and the state of things remain as they were, to convene a meeting ten times as numerous as the present. (Cheers.) Let them have a meeting in the public Green, and give an unequivocal demonstration of the feeling of Glasgow. (Tremendous cheering.) Nothing would tell so powerfully upon the inhabitants of this country, or on the members of the House of Commons, and on the heartless ministers of the Crown, who had so recklessly neglected the interests of the Slave, and pampered the wishes of the planter. He felt assured that even the suffering weaver, would for an hour forget his own sorrows, and come forward to commingle his sympathies and groans with those of the oppressed Negro, and help to swell such a note of earnest, impassioned, and irresistible demand, that the British Legislature would be constrained to yield to the voice of such a people, that which they had so long withheld from the prayer of those who had gone before them. (Cheers.) Mr T. then proceeded to point out, in forcible language, that it was to British, not to Colonial law, that the present abominable system owed its existence; and showed the bad effects which the continuance of such a system must have upon their efforts towards the Abolition of Slavery in America. He trusted they had representatives in Parliament who would fearlessly back all their efforts towards its Abolition; but, whatever was the issue, they would still have the consolation that they had done their duty. He exhorted the meeting to guard with anxiety against the possibility of any measure being passed in Parliament which would place the Negro in the power of the planter, even after the Emancipation Act should be no more, and concluded by enforcing upon them energetic measures in prosecuting the good work they had so hon-

ourably and so gallantly undertaken. Mr Thompson then read the resolution, and sat down amid loud and long-continued cheering.

"Resolved, That a Petition to the House of Commons, founded on the resolutions just adopted by the meeting, be drawn up by the Committee, as the Petition of this Meeting of the Inhabitants of Glasgow and its vicinity; that the Chairman do sign it on behalf of the meeting; that it be by him transmitted to Lord William Bentinck, and John Dennistoun, Esq., the Members for the City, to be presented to the House of Commons; and that they be respectfully requested to support the same."

The Rev. Wm. Anderson, in seconding the resolution, addressed the meeting in a short speech, in which he spoke of the Emancipation Act, coupled with the Apprenticeship clause, as having transferred the responsibility of the planters upon the British nation.

Mr Cheever again rose. He said the meeting could scarcely conceive the pleasure felt by the Abolitionists of America on receiving communications and remonstrances from the friends of the Cause in the mother country; but to give them some idea of it, he would read to them from the *New York Emancipator*, an account of the joyful and thankful manner in which the celebrated Remonstrance from Dumbarton and the Vale of Leven had been received. The extract was highly interesting, and was listened to with deep attention.

Mr Murray then moved the thanks of the meeting to Dr Wardlaw, and the Managers of the Chapel.

The Rev. Alex. Harvey moved a vote of thanks to Mr Grahame for his conduct in the Chair. Notwithstanding his advanced years and infirm state of health, the venerable Chairman retained his place till the close of the meeting, and evinced the deepest interest in the proceedings—his invincible love of freedom sustaining him under the debilities of age. In regard to the matter on which Mr H. had risen to address them, he said he had the pleasing duty to perform of proposing the thanks of the meeting to their venerable and respected Chairman—(great cheering)—a man who had spent the fervour of his youth in advocating the cause of liberty generally, and who had turned to the work in which they were more immediately engaged, with increased energy—(cheers.) They had seen him there that night displaying all the fervour of youth in this holy cause. (Great cheering.)

The motion was passed with loud acclamation.

Mr Thompson said it was not, perhaps, known to their friend from the other side of the Atlantic, that the venerable gentleman who presided was the friend and brother, in friendship and in labour, of one than whom there was none stood higher in the estimation of the American people; he meant the venerable Lafayette. (Cheers.) Mr T. then called their attention to the financial affairs of the Emancipation Society, and said, give them but the sinews of war, and they had two Secretaries on the platform that would move all England. (Cheers.)

The Chairman acknowledged the honour which had been conferred on him, and reminded them of the labours of Thomas Clarkson in the Emancipation Cause. They should never, at any of their meetings, part without acknowledging the services of that excellent man, who was the prime mover in all that had been done. (Great cheering.)

The meeting then dismissed.

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS.

A.

Joseph Afleck,	0	10	6
Aird & Russell,	0	10	6
Alexander Allan,	0	10	6
James Alexander,	0	5	0
Alexander Anderson,	0	5	0
David Anderson,	1	1	0
Ebenezer Anderson,	0	5	0
James Anderson,	0	10	6
Rev. Wm. Anderson,	0	5	0
Do.	0	5	0
Rev. Wm. Auld,	0	5	0
Do.	0	5	0
Wm. Auld, Sidney St.	0	5	0

B.

Bobert Barclay,	1	0	0
John Barr,	1	1	0
James Beith,	0	10	6
James Beith, Candleriggs,	0	5	0
Thomas Binnie,	0	5	0
Robert Bland,	0	5	0
John S. Blyth,	0	10	6
Do.	1	1	0
Andrew Boggie,	0	5	0
Rev. J. Borland, Lanark,	0	5	0
David Boyd,	0	5	0
Rev. Wm. Brash,	0	5	0
Do.	0	5	0
Henry Brock,	1	1	0
Archibald Brown,	0	5	0
Hugh Brown, jun.,	1	1	0
Do.	1	1	0
William Brown,	0	5	0
Brown & Downes,	0	10	6
Peter Bruce,	0	5	0

C.

James Cairns,	0	5	0
Dr. Campbell, Kent St.	0	5	0
James Carmichael,	1	0	0
William Chisholm' jun.,	0	10	6
Allan Clark,	0	5	0
James Clark,	0	5	0
James Cocker,	0	10	6
James Collins,	0	2	0
Robert Connel,	0	5	0
Do.	0	5	0
Thomas Craig,	0	5	0
William Craig,	1	1	0
Dr. Crawford, Bridgeton,	0	5	0
Andrew Crichton,	0	2	6
John Croom,	0	5	0

D.

Dr. Wm. Davidson,	0	5	0
Alexander Dawson,	0	5	0
George C. Dick,	0	10	6
John Douglas, Esq. of Barloch,	1	1	0
James Drummond,	0	10	0
James Duncan, Mosesfield,	0	5	0
Rev. John Duncan,	0	5	0
Do.	0	5	0

DONATIONS FROM SOCIETIES, &c.

From the Glasgow Ladies' Auxiliary Emancipation Society,	80	0	0
Friends of Emancipation at Manchester, per Mr George Thompson,	50	0	0
Newcastle Emancipation Society,	15	0	0
Paisley Do. Do.	10	10	0
North Shields Anti-Slavery Society,	10	0	0
South Shields, Do.	6	16	0
Friends of Emancipation at Leicester,	6	12	6
Do. Do. at Stirling,	6	0	10
Servants of Scotston house,	3	3	0

E.

Rev. John Eadie,	0	5	0
William Easton,	0	10	6
Rev. John Edwards,	0	5	0
Do.	0	5	0
Rev. Greville Ewing,	1	0	0
Do.	0	10	6

F.

William Ferguson,	0	10	6
Do.	0	10	6
Rev. Charles Findlater,	1	1	0
Finlay & Neilson,	0	10	6
James Fleming,	0	5	0
John Fleming,	0	10	6
A Friend, H. D.,	2	0	0
Do., A. B.,	1	0	0
Do., A. M. K.,	0	10	6
Do., in Annan, ℘ W. Kay,	0	5	0
Do., W. B.,	0	5	0
Do., M. B.,	0	5	0
Do., T. B.,	0	5	0
Do., D. A.,	0	5	0
Do., A. A.,	0	5	0

A Friend, J. F.,	0	5	0
Do., J. N.,	0	5	0
Do., in Jamaica,	0	4	0
Do , A. M. M.,	0	2	6
Do., J. M.,	0	2	6
Do., W. T. J.,	0	2	6
Do., W. E.,	0	2	6
Archibald Fullarton,	2	0	0

G.

George Gallie,	0	5	0
Alexander Galloway,	0	10	6
William Gilmour,	1	1	0
Wm. Gilmour, Writer,	0	5	0
William Goold,	0	5	0
Archibald Graham,	0	5	0
William Graham,	0	5	0
Robert Grahame, Whitehill,	5	0	0
John Gray,	0	5	0
John B. Gray,	1	1	0
Archd. Greenshields,	0	5	0
William Gunn, jun.,	0	10	6

H.

John Hamilton,	0	5	0
Rev. Alex. Harvey,	0	5	0
Do.	0	5	0
Andrew Harvie,	0	5	0
William Harvie,	0	2	6
James Hedderwick,	0	5	0
Rev. Dr. Heugh,	0	10	6
Do.	0	10	6
W. B. Hodge,	0	5	0

J.

Robert Jameson,	0	10	6
Johnston, Galbraith, & Co.,	1	1	0
Rev. John Johnstone,	0	5	0

K.

Alexander Kellar,	0	5	0
Hugh Kennedy,	0	5	0
Robert Kettle,	1	0	0
Rev. Dr. Kidston,	0	10	6
Do.	0	10	6
Rev. David King,	0	10	6
Do.	0	10	6
John King, Advocate,	1	0	0

L.

William Lang,	0	5	0
Henry Langlands,	1	1	0
Robert Laing,	0	5	0
James Laurie,	1	1	0
Robert Leslie,	0	5	0
Patrick Lethem,	5	0	0
George Lewis,	0	5	0
Andrew Liddel,	0	10	6
Rev. William Lindsay,	0	5	0
Do.	0	5	0
William Lochead, jun.	0	5	0
Rev. Dr. Lockhart,	0	5	0
Andrew Lottimer,	0	5	0

M.

Alexander Martin,	0	5	0
Robert Mason,	0	5	0
Robert Mathie,	0	5	0
John Maxwell, M. D.,	0	5	0
John Millen,	0	5	0
Do.	0	5	0
James Miller,	0	5	0
James Miller, Argyll Street,	0	5	0
Do.	0	5	0
Robert Miller, London Street,	0	5	0
Robert Miller, Bookseller,	0	5	0
Robert Miller,	0	10	6
William Miller,	0	5	0
James Milliken,	0	5	0
Alexander Mitchell,	0	5	0
Andrew Mitchell,	1	1	0
Samuel Moir,	0	5	0
James More,	0	10	6
Edward Morris,	0	5	0
David Muir, Kilwinning,	0	5	0
James Muirhead,	0	5	0
Right Rev. Bishop Murdoch,	0	10	6
John Murray,	0	10	6

Mc.

John Mackay,	0	10	6
Robert Mackay,	0	10	6
Donald Macintyre,	1	1	0
Do. Donation,	1	0	0
Peter M'Ara,	0	5	0
Colin M'Dougal,	1	1	0
Robert M'Gavin,	1	1	0
R. F. M'George,	0	5	0
Ninian M'Gilp,	0	5	0
John M'Gregor,	0	10	6
Anthony M'Keand,	1	1	0
Alexander M'Kinlay,	0	5	0
Alexander M'Leod,	0	5	0
John M'Leod,	1	1	0
John M'Leod, Argyll Street,	0	10	6
Rev. James M'Tear,	0	5	0

N.

John Nairn,	0	5	0
William Nairn,	0	5	0

P.

William P. Paton,	2	0	0
Rev. James Paterson,	0	5	0
James Paul,	0	2	0
Richmond Picken,	0	5	0
James Proudfoot,	0	5	0
Rev. Thomas Pullar,	0	5	0
Do.	0	5	0

R.

James Rankin,	0	2	6
John Reid,	1	1	0
John Reid, Queen St.	0	10	6
William Richmond,	1	1	0
Rev. Wm. Ritchie, Berwick,	0	10	0
David Robertson,	0	5	0
David Robertson, Buchanan St.	0	5	0

William Robertson,	0	5	0
George Robson,	1	1	0
S.			
Robert Sanderson,	1	1	0
James Scott,	0	5	0
John Scott,	0	5	0
Semple & Co.,	1	1	0
Thomas Service,	0	5	0
William Service,	0	5	0
Wm. Shanks, Johnstone,	1	1	0
T. H. Slater,	0	5	0
John Small,	1	0	0
William Smeal,	0	5	0
William Smeal, jun.	0	10	6
David Smith,	1	1	0
Do.	1	1	0
James M'Cune Smith, M.D.	0	10	6
Andrew Steven,	0	5	0
Andrew Stevenson,	0	5	0
Duncan Stewart,	0	5	0
George Stewart.	0	10	6
James Stewart,	1	1	0
William Strang,	0	5	0
F. B. Stuart,	0	5	0
John Symington,	0	10	6
Do.	0	10	6
T.			
David Taylor,	0	5	0
Andrew Tennant,	1	1	0
Rev. Robert Thompson,	0	5	0
George Thorburn,	0	10	6
Archibald Todd,	0	5	0
James Turner, Thrushgrove,	0	5	0
V.			
Peter Virtue,	0	5	0
W.			
James Wallace,	0	5	0
Rev. Dr. Wardlaw,	0	10	6
William Wardlaw,	0	5	0
Archibald Watson,	1	1	0
George Watson,	1	1	0
James Watson, Buchanan St.	0	10	6
Robert Webster,	0	5	0
William White,	1	1	0
John Williamson,	0	10	6
Rev. M. Willis,	0	5	0
Do.	0	5	0
Samuel Wilson,	0	10	6
Thomas Wilson,	0	5	0
Walter Wilson,	0	5	0
William Wilson,	0	5	0
William Wotherspoon,	0	2	6
Ronald Wright,	0	5	0
Do.	0	5	0
Robert Wylie,	0	5	0
Y.			
Andrew Young,	0	5	0

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF THE RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE CONNECTED WITH THE DISCUSSION BETWIXT MR GEORGE THOMPSON AND THE REV. R. J. BRECKINRIDGE.

DR. *The Treasurer of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.* CR.

1836.				1836.				
June 21.	To Sale of Tickets for the Discussion in Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel, between Messrs. Thompson and Breckinridge,	£111	18	11	June 24.	By Glasgow Chronicle, 900 Copies, containing full Report of the whole Discussion, for five nights,	£26	7	0
						— Advertising Discussion in sundry Newspapers, and Printing Bills,	5	13	6
						— Fee to Special Reporter,	3	0	0
						— Printing Tickets,	4	3	0
						— Gas Light Company, and attendance of Policemen,	2	11	0
						— Expenses of Platform, Cleaning Chapel, and Beadle's attendance,	7	12	0
						— Posting Bills, Hire of Committee Rooms, and sundry small Charges,	2	19	7
					July 2.	— Printing 2000 Copies of the Discussion in Pamphlet form,	50	0	0
						— Balance carried to Emancipation Society's Account,	9	12	10
		£111	18	11			£111	18	11

GLASGOW, 13*th March*, 1837.—Examined and found correct.

(Signed,) JAMES M'TEAR.
WILLIAM SMEAL.

THE TREASURER OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

Dr.

March 13, 1837.			
To Annual Subscriptions and Donations,	£118	8	0
Donations from the Glasgow Ladies' Auxiliary Emancipation Society,	80	0	0
Sale of Tickets at Annual Meeting, 1836,	20	8	9
Do. at Mr. Thompson's Lecture on "Prejudice,"	14	4	0
Collection at Public Meeting in Dr Heugh's Chapel, 1st of August, 1836,	4	13	8
Sale of Tickets at Mr Thompson's Lecture on Texas,	10	13	2
Sale of Pamphlets,	24	10	3½
Do. of Second Edition of the Discussion,	35	0	0
Balance of Discussion Account,	9	12	10
Remittance from Friends of Emancipation at Manchester, ∾ *Mr George Thompson*,	50	0	0
Do. from Newcastle Emancipation Society,	15	0	0
Do. Paisley, do.	10	10	0
Do. North Shields Anti-Slavery Society,	10	0	0
Do. South Shields, do.	6	16	0
Do. Friends of Emancipation at Leicester,	6	12	6
Do. do. at Stirling,	6	0	10
Donation from Servants of Scotston House,	3	3	0
	£425	13	0½

Cr.

March 13, 1837.			
By Amount paid Mr George Thompson, the Society's Agent,	£200	0	0
Expenses of Annual Meeting, 1836,	13	5	2½
Do. Petition against the Apprenticeship,	37	7	1
Do. Mr Thompson's Lectures on Prejudice and Texas,	5	0	10
Expenses of Public Meeting on 1st of August, 1836, in Dr Heugh's Chapel,	4	13	0
Printing Fine Edition of the Discussion, 1000 Copies,	45	0	0
Stitching 2000 Copies of Cheap Edition,	3	10	0
Printing Annual Report, and Committee's Address to Ministers, &c.	13	11	6
Advertising, Printing Tracts, Committee Notices, and Second Address of Committee,	58	18	3
Newspapers, for Transmission by Post, containing Accounts of Annual Meeting, Mr Thompson's Lectures in various places, and Addresses of the Committee,	18	15	7
Expenses attending Meetings at Greenock, Paisley, and Dumbarton,	0	18	4
Balance due late Treasurer,	1	18	8½
Do. James Johnston & Son,	0	19	3
Postage of Letters and Foreign Newspapers, Carriage of Parcels, and warning Committee Meetings,	14	2	9½
Balance in the hands of the Treasurer,	7	12	6
	£425	13	0½

Glasgow, 13*th March*, 1837.—We have this day examined the above Account, with the vouchers produced, and find the same to be correct.—The Balance in the hands of the Treasurer, at this date, is Seven Pounds Twelve Shillings and Sixpence.

(Signed.) JAMES M'TEAR.
WILLIAM SMEAL.

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FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY:

HAVING FOR ITS OBJECTS

THE UNIVERSAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE;
THE PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF THE BRITISH COLONIES;
AND THE BETTERING OF THE CONDITION OF OUR FELLOW-SUBJECTS, THE NATIVES OF BRITISH INDIA.

ALSO,

REPORT OF THE LADIES' AUXILIARY SOCIETY.

Presented 1st August, 1839.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING SPEECHES AT THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING, LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS, ABSTRACT OF THE CASH ACCOUNT OF BOTH SOCIETIES, AND MUCH IMPORTANT AND INTERESTING INFORMATION.

GLASGOW:
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AND WILLIAM SMEAL, GALLOWGATE.

MDCCCXXXIX.

ANNUAL MEETING.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

GLASGOW, 1*st August*, 1839.

THIS Evening, the Fifth Annual Meeting of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, was held in George Street Chapel.

On the motion of Mr WILLIAM SMEAL, the Rev. Dr. WARDLAW, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, was called to the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN, having opened the business, and intimated that letters of apology, for absence, had been received from John Dennistoun, Esq., M.P.; the Rev. Professor Thomson and Dr. Burns, of Paisley; and from the Rev. William Johnston, of Limekilns; then called on Mr Murray, one of the Secretaries, to read an Abstract of the Annual Report; after which, Mr Smeal, the other Secretary, read the Report of the Committee of the *Ladies' Auxiliary*, and stated the amount received and disbursed by both Societies. It was then—

I. Moved by the *Rev. Dr. Heugh*, and seconded by the *Rev. William Anderson* :—

"That the Reports now read by the Secretaries, be adopted as the Reports of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, and of the *Ladies' Auxiliary*; and that they be printed and circulated, under the direction of the respective Committees."

II. Moved by the *Rev. Archibald Baird*, of Paisley, and seconded by *John M'Leod, Esq.*, one of the Magistrates of Gorbals :—

"That the thanks of this Meeting are due to those Ministers and Congregations, who last year so cordially responded to the recommendation of

this Society, both with respect to the observance of a time of Thanksgiving for the Abolition of Colonial Slavery, and the Collections in aid of our Funds; and this Meeting cherishes the hope, that these friends will continue to co-operate with us in the great Cause of Human Freedom."

III. Moved by the *Rev. Alexander Harvey*, and seconded by *John Maxwell, Esq., M.D.* :—

"That this Meeting rejoices in the formation of the London Society for promoting Universal Abolition; that we renew the expression of our fervent desire for the success of our Anti-Slavery brethren and sisters in America; and whilst, in common with the friends of Humanity everywhere, we deplore the continued existence and increased activity of the Traffic in Human Beings, we feel called upon to reiterate our conviction, that so long as Slavery is suffered to exist in any quarter of the Globe, the Slave Trade will never be effectually put down; and therefore resolve, under the Divine Blessing, to promote, to the utmost of our power, the Universal Extinction of Slavery."

IV. Moved by *Major-General Briggs*, and seconded by *William Craig, Esq.* :—

"That it is established by ample evidence, that there exists throughout British India—a country of vast extent and great fertility, whose inhabitants are intelligent and industrious, and whose ancient Institutions might be made instrumental to good government—an amount of destitution and misery, which demand the immediate sympathy and succour of the people of Great Britain."

V. Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and seconded by *John S. Blyth, Esq.* :—

"That, considering the value of our Empire in India—the destitute and helpless condition of the many Millions of our Fellow-Subjects in that Country, and the intimate connexion between their Improvement and Prosperity as an Agricultural Population, and the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade—this Meeting regards with the purest satisfaction the formation in London, of the BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY, and pledges itself to promote the great object which that Society has in view."

Dr. Wardlaw being obliged to leave the Meeting, was succeeded in the Chair by W. P. Paton, Esq.

The following Resolutions were carried by acclamation, viz.:—

VI. Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.* :—

"That the best thanks of this Meeting be given to Major-General Briggs, for the valuable and highly interesting information he has now communicated to this Society."

VII. Moved by *Thomas Grahame, Esq.* :—

" That the Office-Bearers and Committee of the Ladies' Auxiliary, and of this Society, be requested to continue their services :—

" That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be given to the Ladies, for their valuable co-operation :—and also,

" That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Trustees, for the use of the Chapel ; and to Dr. Wardlaw for his conduct in the Chair."

RALPH WARDLAW, D.D., *Chairman.*

WILLIAM P. PATON, *Chairman.*

OFFICE-BEARERS.

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ROBERT GRAHAME, Esq., of Whitehill.

Vice-Presidents.

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ANTHONY WIGHAM, Esq., Aberdeen.

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William Lloyd Garrison, Esq., Boston, New England.
Arthur Tappan, Esq., New York.
James G. Birney, Esq., do.
James Johnston, Esq., Upper Canada.
Rev. Nathaniel Paul, Albany, New York.
James M'Cune Smith, M.D., do.
M. George Washington Lafayette, } Paris.
M. Victor de Tracey, }

REPORT.

MARKING the progress of events in the Colonies, your Committee, at this time last year, drew upon them by anticipation. Thanksgivings were offered up to Him who overrules all things, and a Jubilee was held, in the confident expectation that Slavery, under the guise of Apprenticeship, had at last been abolished in the British West Indies.

It was even so—and now after a year of Freedom has revolved, we meet, not to mourn over desolate fields and deserted villages; not over a population rioting in anarchy and blood, as was predicted by the Enemies of Liberty, but to rejoice over a peaceable, an industrious, and a happy people.

Peaceable they are to an extreme; so that Militia and Police are deemed too superfluous to be worth the cost. On the subject of a Militia, the *Barbadoes Liberal* says,—"We tell Lord Normanby, plainly, openly, and boldly, that the Public of Barbadoes,—ninety-nine hundredths of the inhabitants of the Island, are perfectly satisfied that a Militia is not required." And, in reference to a Police Force, the *Jamaica Morning Journal* of June 3d observes,—"Not a single instance can be adduced of any necessity having arisen this year for such a body; and this being the case, the re-establishment of it must be regarded as a waste of the public funds.....In the mother country, nothing appears more essential than a police force. Here no one attaches the slightest importance to such a force, whilst its expence presents a serious objection to it. The peasantry are peaceable, quiet, and orderly—they may refuse to labour continuously, but certainly do not require policemen to keep them in order."

The Negroes are industrious, when their industry is rewarded by suitable compensation; but they will not work for those who

give them not adequate wages for their labour; who overreach them, and take advantage of them in every way in their power. No! They very properly mark them out, and take their labour to another market. There may not, on every estate, be the same number of labourers in the field; nor the same number of field labourers in the aggregate, as there was during Slavery; because some prefer other occupations—and the males, in general, seem disposed to permit the females to withdraw from the more laborious field operations, to domestic duties, while they themselves work harder, and thus make up in some measure for the deficiency of female labour. And there is not, upon the whole, so many invalids and delinquents withdrawn from field labour, as during the existence of Slavery.

Many estates, where the Negroes have been humanely treated, will yield, we are assured, their usual, or more than their usual, quantity of sugar; and whatever deficiency of crop may arise, will, we are confident, be more justly ascribed to the obstinacy, or something worse, of the Managers, than to the indolence of the Negroes. The Governor of Jamaica, while on a tour over the Island, told the Managers and Attorneys, in the presence of a large mixed assembly, that "white men were going about the country disguised as Policemen, pretending to have his authority, telling the people not to work." He said he "knew their intention and design—*he understood the trick.* You are anxious," said his Excellency, "to produce a panic, to reduce the value of property, to create dismay, in order that you may speculate by reducing the present value of property; but you will be disappointed, notwithstanding a press sends forth daily abuse against me, and blackguard and contemptible remarks against my acts. I assure you, *I am up to your tricks.*"

There has been a great deal of finesse among the Planters to make an appearance of a deficient crop—by keeping back shipments, expecting a rise of price, and by other stratagems. There will, doubtless, be a deficiency on some estates, owing to disagreements between the Managers and the Negroes; but all these matters, like the scum on a fermenting vessel, will, in due time, pass off, and all will soon settle down clear and pure. These trifling matters, with a little care and attention, will speedily remedy themselves. There is not a superabundance of labourers, and those who wish their estates to be cultivated, will have to change their obstinate and contentious Managers, and to pay a fair value for labour.

There is a stronger desire to import labourers than to treat with kindness, humanity, and justice, those already imported;

for whether they are Portuguese, Germans, or Hill Coolies, they soon find their way—to the grave. The Court of Policy of Guiana has voted to raise a loan of £400,000 for the immigration scheme. The Gladstone Slave Trade—not less the disgrace of the Government who permitted it, than of the man who, for his own avaricious purposes, prevailed upon them to institute the iniquitous traffic—has been the means of transporting from Calcutta, 5,886 Hill Coolies; 5,379 to the Mauritius, and 414 to Guiana—settlements equally famed for cruelty. Of these latter, the *Guiana Royal Gazette* asks, "where are the Portuguese that were imported here? and where will the Hill Coolies soon be? Of the seventy or eighty located on Belle Vue estate (Mr Gladstone's) about a year ago, it appears that *not more than fifteen or sixteen are fit to go to the field* at the present time." And on an examination into their treatment on that estate before W. B. Woolsely, Esq., Assistant Government Secretary, and a Magistrate, Mr W. said, "I never saw such a dreadful scene of misery in my life, as is now to be seen in the sick house. I have been in a great many hospitals on various estates for the last twenty years, but *I never saw so melancholy a scene!*" Mr Matthews, the attorney for the estate, replied—"Oh, they are *acclimatizing*, that is all I can say about it!"

In answer to questions put to Mr Labouchere on this subject, in the House of Commons, on the 24th July, he said that "the condition of the Hill Coolies of Demerara had been one generally of disease and mortality; and abundant proof had reached the Colonial Office, that too much vigilance could not be exercised to prevent the cruelties and hardships to which they were subjected by strangers." (*Times*, July 25.) On the 27th we find another version, by way of correction, of what he had previously stated. "He had stated that the general condition of the Hill Coolies in Demerara was not [?] one of general disease or mortality, although there was abundant proof of their being exposed to hardships which called for considerable vigilance on the part of Government. He had since looked more accurately into the returns of mortality, and he was bound to take the earliest opportunity of correcting that statement, by mentioning to the House, that though the mortality was not so great in any part of the Island* as on the particular estate of which mention had been made, yet the total mortality throughout the Island did not show that the general

* The Geography of the Hon. Gentleman, or of his Reporter, is at fault here, in speaking of Demerara as an *Island*.

condition was one of health. There was not a particle of information which the Colonial Office possessed on this subject which would not be printed and laid before the House in the course of a few days."

It is some consolation, however, to know from the same authority, "that the order against further importation of Coolies has been strictly enforced;"—and that at last, "on 31st March, the final and complete Emancipation of the Apprenticed labourers in the Mauritius had taken place, in a peaceable and satisfactory manner."

In Antigua, where they wisely preferred *Immediate* Emancipation to Apprenticeship, and have had five years of freedom, the Rev. Mr Gilbert, an extensive proprietor and resident in the island, says,—"If due allowance is made for the drought of 1837, I have little doubt that the crops of the first five years of freedom, will equal, or nearly so, the last five years of Slavery. Estates that had not been cultivated in the memory of man, are once more crowned with cane fields, and I have myself re-established a set of works which had been in a state of dilapidation for more than twenty years."

Our excellent Anti-Slavery friends, Charles Stuart, and John Scoble, Esqs., have gone out to the West Indies, and are investigating the working of the system, and exposing its defects; and Dr. Palmer, formerly a Special Magistrate, and late editor of the *British Emancipator*, has resumed his residence in Jamaica, where he has established a Newspaper, entitled, *The Colonial Reformer:* so that the interests of the Emancipated classes will be closely watched. What a pity that this is necessary!

Schools and Churches are being built in great numbers, and education is ardently sought after by the Emancipated Negroes. A proposal has been made in Jamaica, to send out a Mission from the West Indies to Africa, under the charge of the Rev. William Knibb, and an institution is to be established in Jamaica for the training of Negro Missionaries. We are informed, indeed, by a letter from Mr Knibb, to Dr. Hoby of Birmingham, that "one of the despised and traduced sons of Africa has left Jamaica, taking with him only a letter of recommendation from his late pastor, Mr Gardner,—has worked his passage to Africa, and, without any support or countenance, except from God, is now on the spot from whence he was stolen when a boy, *telling his countrymen of the name of Jesus;* and although he does not know Greek or Latin, he knows and feels that Jesus died to save sinners, and in the spirit of an

apostle he has gone to proclaim his precious name. A pious medical gentleman in one of the Queen's ships, just from Africa, saw Thomas Keith, (that is his name,) there, and he appears to enter very warmly into his subject. Several other interesting blacks are ready to go,"—and are probably away before now.

The Negroes in Canada, many of them refugees from United States' Slavery, are forming, with the co-operation of the Whites, Anti-Slavery Societies, to promote the liberation of the Slaves of the Republic.

Altogether, the result of British Colonial Emancipation is truly gratifying, whether we regard it on the Continent of America or of Africa,—at Guiana or the Cape,—on islands, large or small,—from St. Lucia, with its 2,000, to Jamaica with its 300,000 persons liberated at once—and where the numbers greatly exceeded those of the resident whites—liberated too, in spite of the obstructions thrown in the way by interested Planters—by men addicted to oppression, almost constitutionally attached to Slavery, whose characters seem as unchangeable as the leopard's spots, or the Ethiopian's skin, unless operated upon through the opening of their eyes to see, that by the boon of Freedom to the Slave, their own aggrandizement will be promoted. The result of Emancipation, we repeat, is truly gratifying, and well calculated to exercise a beneficial effect on the Abolition of the Slave System elsewhere; especially in the United States, where the subject is often referred to, both in Anti-Slavery and other publications. Thus we are encouraged still to persevere in promoting, by every means in our power, the Abolition of Slavery throughout the world, as the sure means of extinguishing the Slave Trade.

The Emancipation infection has begun to spread to the Foreign Islands in the Carribean Archipelago. Cuba has taken the alarm, and has issued a decree, prohibiting intercourse with the Emancipated. But decrees will not prevent men from longing for, and finally obtaining liberty.

It appears that two respectable American gentlemen were ordered off the Island, because they were suspected to be Abolitionists. And the Agent of the *British and Foreign Bible Society* says, that the Archbishop of Cuba had issued a circular, in which the people were warned of the attempt that would be made to circulate the Bible, and thereby to stir up the Slaves to assassinate their masters! At Santiago de Cuba, although furnished with most respectable letters of introduction, he

again fell under suspicion of being a person sent to disturb the public peace and order of the Island. He was put upon oath by the authorities of the city, and subjected to a severe and lengthened examination, as to his objects, designs, and movements, and then directed to leave without delay. A case of Bibles, consigned to him from Kingston, was seized and detained, (perhaps suspecting them to be *Anti-Slavery* publications—*as in truth they were*,) and he himself escaped with some difficulty from the Island,—an order for his arrest and imprisonment arriving, as it would seem, the day after he embarked.

Strange opinions are produced in Governments, according to the degree of liberty enjoyed. While Jamaica had Slaves, she was very jealous of holding any intercourse with the Free Black Republicans of Hayti; but now the tables are turned, and Hayti is jealous of intercourse with Jamaica, because the principles of liberty and of Government are too freely discussed in that Island to suit the Haytian taste as an article of import. But here, too, liberal principles will work their way.

Hitherto we have been giving a Report, rather of the result of our Abolition efforts on the Emancipated, than of our operations for the past year; yet it surely cannot be inappropriate, briefly to trace, how far this branch of the object of your Society has been accomplished.

The absolute safety, as well as the advantages of Immediate and Entire Emancipation, have been most satisfactorily demonstrated; if the safety and advantages of obeying the command of God, of doing justice and loving mercy, could ever be questioned by men professing to be Christians. But after all, compared with the vast field before us, all that has yet been accomplished may be regarded only as an experiment, just as the skilful artizan or chemist operates on a small scale, to put any new or great principle to the test.

France has declared free, after remaining seven years in the service of Government, all Negroes, whose names are not inscribed on any district register, or to whom no Planter can produce an incontrovertible claim, although such Negroes may be unable to prove their freedom. The National Institute has proposed the question of the Abolition of Slavery for a Prize Essay.

The enterprising Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, has set an example to Christian Governments worthy of their imitation. He makes it his study to promote the education, interests, and happiness of his people. Although a follower of the Maho-

medan religion, which justifies the enslavement of infidels, he has strictly prohibited the Gazou, or Slave-hunt, by which his army was supplied, and his officers appropriated to themselves captured Slaves for the arrears of their pay;—ordered that quarrels between neighbouring tribes be adjusted by the Governor-General;—set the example of paying wages to his people;—abolished Slavery among the Negro tribes, which was the source of constant wars, and has encouraged them to cultivate the soil.

Our American Anti-Slavery brethren congratulate the friends of free institutions, that the doctrine of *Immediate Emancipation* is now established on a basis from which it cannot be dislodged, either by the malice of its enemies, or the unfaithfulness of its friends.

Three hundred and four new Societies have been added last year, making the total 1,650, and their funds are also increased.

The press is more extensively discussing or advocating the freedom of the Slave.

The American Anti-Slavery Society has issued 724,862 publications during the year.

In the Southern States, it may be said the whites as well as the blacks are enslaved; but, that a change is proceeding, there is evidence which cannot at present be produced, without endangering the lives of parties in that quarter.

The agitation and discussion of the subject in the Churches, is producing strange work. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church is rent asunder, and divided into two jealous and hostile sects.

In the Methodist Episcopal Church, sentiments equally opposite and incongruous are held, while the Anti-Slavery Society looks quietly on, and is steadily progressing, gratified that these champions of Slavery, headed by a bishop, who quotes the golden rule as good authority for Slave-holding, have, by their contests, advanced the cause of Abolition.

In Congress, the right of petition has been the fourth time refused; nevertheless, under all these discouragements, these noble-hearted Abolitionists persevere. Let us cheer them on, by extending to them the right hand of fellowship. *They* cordially wish us God speed in our endeavours to improve the condition of our *Eastern* fellow-subjects, and we may well reciprocate the feeling on their behalf.

The onward march of the cause in the United States, is most graphically described in the following extract of a letter addressed to Wendell Phillips, Esq., (an eminent Abolitionist now

in this country,) by the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society :—

"In the year 1829, an isolated drop appeared on the surface of the land; in the year 1839, that drop is swallowed up and lost in a great ocean of humanity, which is swelling and dashing against the walls of the American Bastile with a might that is irresistible. Ten years ago, a solitary individual stood up as the advocate of Immediate and Unconditional Emancipation, with scarcely one to cheer him to the conflict with American slavery. Now that individual sees around him, in amicable league, hundreds of thousands of persons, of both sexes, members of every sect and party, from the most elevated to the humblest rank in life, the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant. In 1829, not an Anti-Slavery Society, of a genuine stamp, was in existence. In 1839, there are nearly two thousand societies, swarming and multiplying in all parts of the free States. In 1829, there was but one Anti-Slavery periodical in the land. Now there are not less than fourteen. In 1829, scarcely a newspaper, of any religious sect or political party, was willing to disturb the 'delicate' question of Slavery. In 1839, there are multitudes of journals that either openly advocate the doctrine of Immediate Emancipation, or permit its free discussion in their columns. In 1829, scarcely one tract or pamphlet, in opposition to American slavery, could be readily found. In 1839, it is impossible to calculate the whole number that is scattered over the land, thicker than rain-drops, and as nourishing to the soil of freedom. Including the issues of the regular Anti-Slavery periodicals, the estimate may be safely reckoned by millions. In 1829, not an Anti-Slavery agent was in the field; now there are scores, whose labours are as untiring as their appeals prove irresistible. In 1829, a Lecture on Slavery was an anomaly. In 1839, the Lectures and Sermons delivered on this subject are too numerous to be estimated. Ten years ago, scarcely an ecclesiastical or political body dared to assail, even indirectly, the Slave system. Now, synods, conferences, general associations, and legislative assemblies, are lifting up their voices against its continuance. Then, hardly a church, of any denomination, made slaveholding a bar to communion and Christian fellowship; now, multitudes refuse to hear a slaveholder preach, or to recognize him as a brother. In 1829, scarcely one, if any petition, was sent to Congress, praying for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, &c., &c. Now, in one day, a single member of the House of Representatives, (John Quincy Adams,) has presented one hundred and seventy-six in detail. It was ascertained, at the last session but one, that not less than seven hundred thousand persons had memorialized Congress on this and kindred subjects. In 1829, that scourge of the coloured race, and most inhuman association, the American Colonization Society, was flourishing like a green bay-tree, having secured the approbation of both Church and State, and laughing to scorn all opposition. In 1839, there are few so poor as to do it reverence, in the free States,—though the traffickers 'in Slaves and the souls of men' regard it as the sheet anchor of their piratical ship. Its popularity has given place to abhorrence—its honour is changed to infamy—and it lies prostrate, helpless, bankrupt—a broken and blasted monument of God's displeasure. In 1829, where ten Slaves escaped from their prison-house, now a hundred find their way to the north, and are safely landed in Canada, to receive liberty and protection under the flag of Victoria. May their numbers increase, from day to day, and from hour to hour, and God send them a good deliverance, is the prayer of every true-hearted abolitionist. In 1829, the Free Coloured Population of the United

States were bowed to the earth in despair. Before the combined influences of those twin-monsters, Slavery and Colonization, they withered like a green herb in a time of drought. Their spirits were broken, their energies paralyzed, their expectations of future good cut off. In 1839, they are quickened into life (through the power of Abolitionism) as by a mighty resurrection. Now they begin to be filled with the spirit of enterprise, and are eager for moral and intellectual improvement. In various places, they have well-furnished libraries, debating societies, scientific clubs, temperance and moral reform societies, &c., &c. They have also two periodicals, very ably conducted, by men of their own complexion. Two of their members are members of the executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and are thus practically entrusted with the management of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. But we must forbear. The contrast between the state of things in 1829 and at the present time, (which we have barely glanced at,) presents almost miraculous transformations to the vision of every candid person. No revolution in public sentiment, during the same time, has ever been more extraordinary, more hopeful, or more important. Truly, before heaven and earth we attest, that it is solely the Lord's doing, and it is very marvellous in all eyes. Shall not He, then, have all the glory.

"Tell our British brethren, that the apathy which once brooded over the land, like a spell of death, is broken for ever. Tell them there is no part of our immense national domain, which is not agitated with the great question of human rights. For into what circle or society, what political or religious body, what legislative or ecclesiastical assembly, has the discussion not been carried? What a mass of intellect has been quickened, what generous sympathy for the oppressed excited, what intense abhorrence of Slavery every where called into activity! Yea, what sacrifices have been made, what labours and sufferings joyfully encountered, by multitudes, that the yokes and fetters of twenty-five hundred thousand American bondmen might be broken, at once and for ever! We do not believe, that what brought the people of England to repentance, in America serves to harden the national heart;—that the same principles, which, on moral and religious grounds, effected the Abolition of Slavery in one country, are calculated to perpetuate that horrid system, by their promulgation in another.

"Among the distinguished band of British philanthropists, whom it will be your privilege to take by the hand, will doubtless be our beloved and eloquent coadjutor, George Thompson. Joyful, most joyful, will be the meeting between you. Convey to him the renewed assurances of our gratitude for his invaluable services in this country, our admiration of his philanthropic labours in Great Britain, and our deep interest in his present and future welfare. There are thousands and thousands in this country, who are fondly anticipating the time when he will again visit the United States. In his new field of benevolent enterprise, we heartily bid him God speed, as well as all those who are associated with him."

Very soon after the period of last Annual Meeting, that devoted friend of oppressed humanity, Mr George Thompson, having become connected with the *British and Foreign Aborigines Protection Society*, as their Agent, visited Glasgow along with Mr. Montgomery Martin, a Member of their Committee. These gentlemen met your Committee on the 6th

of September last, when they were heard in explanation of the objects and prospects of that Association; and after the Committee had deliberated on the matter, particularly in reference to the condition of many Millions of our fellow-subjects in British India; and the Members present had expressed their sentiments thereon,—it was moved, seconded, and unanimously resolved, that a junction with the *Aborigines Society* should take place, and that the designation of your Society should be altered to embrace the purposes of both; which resolution, at a Public Meeting held the same evening, was fully confirmed.

In commending the very important object which the Society for the Protection of the Aborigines has in view, and the claim which it therefore has on our assistance and co-operation, we cannot do better than refer to an Appeal which it has lately published in London:—

"This Society, which was instituted in 1836, advocates the cause of many millions of human beings, a large portion of them intimately connected with British Colonies and commerce. They are the free Aborigines of remote countries, whom experience proves, when justly and kindly treated, to be capable of receiving the benefits of Civilization and Christianity, while they urgently require protection in their increasing conflicts against oppression.

"Of these people, the Aborigines who may be termed British, amount, at a low estimate, to one million inhabiting Australia; one million in the South Sea Islands, including New Zealand; half a million still surviving in North and South America; and two millions in Western and Southern Africa, with several millions of the more barbarous tribes in British India and its borders, and of the Eastern Archipelago and Indian Ocean.

"Of Foreign Aborigines, who will be benefited by our efforts, there are sixteen millions in America; sixty millions in Africa; two hundred millions in Asia; and a small but interesting remnant of ancient European barbarism existing in Lapland.

"Among these multitudinous tribes our imported diseases produce frightful ravages; our ardent spirits deprave and consume their population; our unjust laws exclude them from enjoying that first element of well-ordered societies—judicial protection, as well as from the possibility of a timely incorporation with Colonial communities; while, in addition to all these evils, our neglect of suitable methods of improving them, prevents their adopting the civilized manners and customs to which they are inclined.

"The Aborigines Protection Society seeks to devise remedies for these evils, and its plan of operation embraces,

"1st. An extensive correspondence at home and abroad.

"2d. The publication of documents and papers.

"3d. Interviews and communications with different departments of the State.

"4th. The presentation of petitions to the Crown and to the Legislature.

"The extension of Colonies constitutes a marked characteristic of the times we live in, to which fertile source of national prosperity, the course

pursued by the Aborigines Protection Society is by no means opposed. But it is impossible for us as men, patriots, philanthropists, or Christians, to behold without anxiety the ruin of the people we shall be thus accessary in supplanting, unless our future modes of colonization be directed with greater humanity and wisdom than in times past.

"The claim of this society to public support is rested on the grounds already briefly stated, and as its funds arise from voluntary contributions, the Committee earnestly solicit annual subscriptions or donations."

It is obviously quite competent for your Society to co-operate with this Institution in its benevolent plans; and, at the same time, to pursue with unabated zeal our original object, which at the formation of the Society in 1833 was declared to be—*The Abolition of Slavery throughout the World.* The language of the 2d Resolution passed at our first Annual Meeting, contains a further expression of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society's* object. "Contemplating the appalling statement made in the Report, that there are *Five Millions* of the human race in a state of the most abject Slavery, and the dreadful extent to which it appears the Slave Trade is still carried on—of all the horrors and atrocities of which traffic, *Slavery is the fruitful source,*—Resolve to continue, and if possible increase their exertions, for the *removal of the one* and the *annihilation of the other.*"

Such was the ground which your Society took up, immediately after the Imperial Abolition Act was passed; but having lately had its efforts directed principally to the Extinction of our Colonial Slavery, under the name of Apprenticeship; and having now satisfactory proof of its entire termination, in a way likely to have considerable influence upon Foreign Slavery and the Slave Trade, your Committee trust their constituents are ready to direct all their energies to that very important subject, and that the inhabitants of Glasgow, *regarding all mankind as their brethren,* will extend to *them* the same zealous sympathy which they manifested for their fellow-subjects, by their numerously signed petitions in their behalf.

Order of time seems to require, that your Committee should notice here the severe loss they have sustained, by the death of two of their number, since our last Annual Meeting. We mean, John M'Leod, and Patrick Lethem, Esqs. These Gentlemen were among the earliest and warmest friends of the Slave.—Hence, their absence is deeply felt by your Committee, as a deprivation to the cause they so earnestly seek to promote. And regret for the decease of these truly humane, benevolent, and Christian individuals, is not confined to the members of

this Society, but is universally felt by all those institutions, which aim to promote the temporal or spiritual interests of our fellow-men. Mr M'Leod, it will be recollected, perished along with his estimable friend, Mr James Perston, in the melancholy wreck of the Forfarshire Steam-packet; and your Committee participate in the sympathy which has been so generally expressed for their families, under the peculiarly afflicting dispensation which was permitted to befal them.

Mr Lethem's liberality, as a contributor to the funds of this Society, and his unflinching zeal in the great cause of Universal Abolition, will ever entitle his memory to the cordial esteem of your Committee; and it is their fervent prayer to God,—"all whose works are truth, and his ways judgment,"—that the mantles of those whom He has seen fit to remove, may fall upon suitable successors.

There having appeared, in the Life of the late Mr Wilberforce, published by his sons, certain statements prejudicial to the hitherto undisputed claim of the venerable Thomas Clarkson, Esq., to be regarded as the primary promoter and advocate of the Abolition of the Slave Trade; your Committee deemed it right to express, by a special Resolution on the subject, their estimation of Mr Clarkson's labours, as the chief instrument, under Providence, of accomplishing not only the termination of the heinous traffic in Slaves, but also of the system of Slavery which existed in the British Colonies. The following Resolution, prepared by your Committee, was unanimously approved by a public meeting of their fellow-citizens, at the close of one of Mr Thompson's Lectures, on the 14th November last, and a copy was transmitted to Mr Clarkson:—

"The Glasgow Emancipation and Aborigines' Protection Society—lately the Glasgow Emancipation Society—in Public Meeting assembled, considering that their labours in the latter character are almost entirely brought to a favourable termination as regards the British Colonies, by the complete enfranchisement of the Slaves there on the 1st of August last, followed by the most cheering and satisfactory accounts of the orderly and decorous manner in which they received their new-born liberty, and have since conducted themselves: In consideration also of the successful issue of the cause, and of the advanced age of THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq., now in his 78th year, who has steadily and perseveringly devoted 53 years of his life to its promotion—Resolve, That this Society feel themselves, on the present occasion, particularly called upon to declare, that, duly appreciating the very important services of Mr Wilberforce in Parliament, which perhaps none other there could have rendered to the same extent, yet they believe that he was much indebted for his materials to MR CLARKSON, who, in point of priority, preceded Mr Wilberforce in drawing public attention to the subject of the Slave Trade and Slavery; and that to MR CLARKSON, *more than to any other individual*, out of Parliament, has the

cause been indebted, for long and well-directed, diligent, persevering, untiring, unostentatious, and self-devoted effort—and, in particular, it was by his labours in 1822, by making a tour through the kingdom, and arousing the slumbering Anti-Slavery spirit; in resuscitating and establishing Societies for the abolition of Slavery; and by his publications on the subject, that the people were then stimulated to seek from the Legislature the Emancipation of the Slave; and since, encouraged by a variety of circumstances, and the co-operation of many influential individuals, have persevered, until they have obtained its final accomplishment.

"That this Society, therefore, publicly tender to THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq., their hearty congratulations on the peaceful and happy results of his, their, and the country's exertions in the Anti-Slavery cause, and on the prospects likely to accrue therefrom to the liberty of the human race throughout the world; and they hope that, by the blessing of God, he may yet be long spared to witness and enjoy, in the decline of life, these cheering fruits of his early and uninterrupted labours.

"RALPH WARDLAW, D.D., *Chairman.*"

In reference to this matter, the same course was simultaneously adopted by many other Anti-Slavery Associations in the kingdom; and the Common Council of the City of London decreed, that a marble bust of Mr Clarkson should immediately be erected, as a testimony to future generations, of his humane and praiseworthy efforts to promote the happiness of his fellow-creatures.

Allusion has already been made to Five Millions still in Slavery —but this, although a vast number,—equal to twenty times the population of Glasgow—is far below the mark. This was the amount estimated several years ago, as held by Christian nations!—nations nominally Christian. Of these, two millions two hundred and fifty thousand were held by the United States of America; but with their increase, and the addition of those in Texas—which from their friendship for it may be regarded as part of the territory of the United States*—three millions may therefore now be put down under that head;† and with those held in Slavery by Mahomedans, and in India, altogether they may, at the present time, perhaps be more correctly estimated at Eight Millions. Thus, only a *tithe* of this number are yet freed!!

In a work which Mr Buxton has lately published, on the African Slave Trade, and which we strongly recommend to all who take an interest in this direful subject, the number of human be-

* For further information on the subject of Texas, and its anticipated incorporation with the United States, see Appendix, No. II.

† Whether for good or ill we know not; but it appears that the Slaves in the United States are not to be distinguished as such in their future census. If from a sense of shame, this may be for good; if merely to conceal their evil deeds from the world's eye, little benefit may be expected from the step.

ings carried into Slavery, or murdered in the process, is estimated, on a very moderate calculation, and from well authenticated testimony, to be as follows:—

Annually subjected to the horrors of Slavery, .		120,000
Murdered in the seasoning, . . .	30,000	
Murdered in the middle passage, . . .	37,000	
Murdered in the march, seizure, and detention,	187,000	255,000
Annual victims of the Christian Slave Trade, .		375,000
Annual victims of the Mohamedan Trade, . .		100,000
Annual loss to Africa, ...		475,000

Or more than a thousand per day sacrificed to the demon of Slavery, by nations calling themselves Christian!!!

Let us, if we can, contemplate the magnitude of this object. Let us, as men and as Christians, endeavour to grasp in our imaginations, the vast extent of moral, civil, political, and physical evil connected with the holding in Slavery of Eight Millions of our fellow-creatures, and the feeding of the insatiable maw of this monster with *a thousand human victims every day.* Let us reflect upon the immense amount of wretchedness and cruelty involved in this system—the tearing asunder of the kindred ties of nature and affection—the pains, the groans, and the cruel deaths—not only the sufferings of the enslaved, but the sin of the enslavers, and its awful and eternal consequences; and can we then unconcernedly fold our arms in indolence, and be insensible to the call of duty. We trust not—but that the magnitude of the object will be a stimulus to our exertions.

But it may be asked, by what means is this object to be accomplished? Here your Committee would revert to some remarks on this subject, and some measures in reference to it, which were proposed in their First Report:—

"It must be remembered, that it is now with foreign powers holding Slaves, that our business lies; and that the measures to be pursued in each particular case, must be carefully and judiciously considered; must be adapted to the peculiar circumstances of each; and be prudently and cautiously prosecuted. The jealousy of foreign interference, so natural to every state, precludes us from resorting to such measures with foreign Slave-holding powers, as we brought to bear on our own Government. We have no reason to expect, that a direct appeal from us to these Governments would be listened to. Hence, the only course left open for us, is to use every means we can, to induce the subjects of foreign states to consider, with the attention which it demands, the question of the Emancipation of their fellow-subjects from Slavery; and, if we succeed in impressing a portion of them, influential from circumstances or number, with its importance, we must leave it to them to urge their respective Governments to carry that Emancipation into effect. It may also materially tend to promote the cause, if we can, at the same time, induce our Government

to use its influence on this subject, in its negotiations with foreign powers. But our success in this, must very much depend upon the *character* of the Government. It would be in vain to propose such a measure to those at present in power.* The Committee trust, however, that this obstacle to the progress of Liberty and Liberal measures, will soon be removed out of the way; never more to interfere with the affairs of this kingdom, or to retard the progress of Liberty in foreign states.

"And here, in passing, the Committee cannot omit the opportunity of reminding the friends of liberal measures—the advocates for a liberal Government, who have lately so nobly distinguished themselves, and shown by how much they outnumber their opponents, how closely *their* cause and *ours* is allied; and of expressing to them our regret, that a greater proportion of them have not joined our standard. *We*,—to a man, will be found in *their* ranks; why then, may not *they* join *us?*—*They* seek to advance their own, and their Nation's liberty; and without using any direct means to accomplish it, leave that of others to follow, as it may in process of time, as a matter of course. But whilst *in common with them*, we unite in the means used to advance our National liberty, we would not leave to their fate, our most destitute fellow-men in other countries, who are suffering all the miseries, and degradation, and cruelty of Slavery, even under professedly liberal Governments, without the power to help themselves,—but would 'remember them that are in bonds,' and use every effort in our power, to 'let the oppressed' in *every land* 'go free.' As the friends of liberal measures, then, love Liberty for themselves, we would earnestly call upon them to endeavour to impart it to others—to give to *this* Society, and its *object*, all the weight of their influence;—for they may be assured, that while there are Five Millions of their fellow-men in Slavery throughout the world, and of these, Two and a half Millions under one of the reputedly freest Governments on the earth, genuine liberty cannot flourish. Slavery, and Slave-holding Governments, be they Regal, or Republican, are the natural soil of oppression and despotism; and we would warn our Trans-Atlantic brethren, that no Government, call it Republican or by what name they may, can long continue to flourish, and to dispense, *even to the free*, the unadulterated blessings of Liberty, if it cherish Slavery within its dominion—if *more than one-sixth of its subjects are Slaves;* they cherish in their bosom a reptile that will one day sting them to the core. On the other hand, we may anticipate, that the happy circumstance of the extinction of Slavery in the British Colonies, and, we may add, of Slave-holders from the Councils of this nation, will, in a thousand ways unperceived, shed its benign influence over the advancement of our National freedom.

"In prosecution of the general object of your Society, one of your Secretaries forwarded to Lord Suffield, and to Mr Buxton, copies of an Address to His Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to order Returns to be made, and information to be obtained and laid before Parliament, by the various authorities residing at Sierra Leone, or at the Courts of Foreign Slave-holding powers, and by the Officers of Vessels of War, relative to such cases of Slave-Trading, as may have occurred during the last five years, or since the last papers on this subject were laid before Parliament, that it might be seen to what extent the Slave Trade has been carried on, notwithstanding the Treaties with Foreign powers, and the laws made for its prohibition. And that, seeing thereby the ineffi-

* This was during the Peel and Wellington administration.

ciency of all the means used for its suppression, and considering that the only effectual method of accomplishing its entire extinction, is the Total and Universal Abolition of Slavery, that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to instruct his Minister for Foreign affairs, and the authorities residing at the Courts of Foreign States, to enter into a friendly correspondence with these Governments, so as prevail upon them to Emancipate their bondsmen.

"This address was sent to Lord Suffield and Mr Buxton, not with the intention of immediate presentation, but rather to consult them as to this mode of forwarding our object—or whether, instead of the several Societies sending such addresses to His Majesty, it would not be preferable, to endeavour, through their respective Members, to get addresses presented from both Houses of Parliament.

"Letters were received, in reply, from Mr Buxton, and Lord Suffield, dated 24th and 25th February, 1834. Lord Suffield, whilst he recommended Addresses through Parliament, as preferable—and expressed his desire in common with us, to see Slavery abolished throughout the world; yet from the jealousy that exists in America of all interference from this country, he did not advise the measures we proposed, immediately. Mr Buxton stated, that he concurred with us in thinking our work but very partially done, until we have seen the Emancipation of all Slaves in all countries; and that he would confer with the friends of the cause, on the suggestion of an Address by Parliament to the King.

"These gentlemen, so eminently distinguished by their zeal for the extinction of British Colonial Slavery, although they expressed themselves confident that the Abolition scheme would work well—were yet desirous to delay the prosecution of the measures which our Society contemplated, till we might have it in our power to refer to 'Prosperity, the result of peace, good order, and industry established in our Colonies'—and to 'Experience, for a proof of the advantages, commercial, moral and religious, resulting from Emancipation.'

"Your Committee, although not entirely agreeing with these opinions, did not, however, press the measure further at that time, rather reserving it till they should see, which they hope will soon be the case, these enlightened philanthropists in the ranks of those devoted to the cause of Universal Abolition, and taking a lead in the British and Foreign Society,* for promoting that most desirable object."

A change of Ministry took place shortly after the period to which your Committee have referred, and they have now been several years in office. But the complexion of their policy on this question has been of so doubtful a character, that we fear, if we are to judge from their opposition to the Abolition of the Apprenticeship, and their sanctioning so readily the Hill Coolie Slave Trade, their sensitiveness on the subject is not of the very quickest kind. They will not, your Committee believe, be self-inclined to adopt any very effective measures in this cause, unless forced upon them by the pressure from without, or by the altered circumstances of our Colonies. There is

* The Society then existing under that name in London has, we believe, died a natural death; and the one formed there on 18th April last, with a similar name, is a different society.

little to be expected from their moral perceptions on the matter, and hence it will, in all probability, be necessary to resort to Addresses or Memorials to them and the Crown, through Parliament, as we formerly proposed. However, now that every remnant of Slavery is happily extinct in all our Colonies, we may cherish a hope that the Ministry and the Colonial proprietors at home will, ere long, become warm advocates for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade in other quarters. The people of Jamaica have already been appealing to the Government on the subject.

Your Committee trust, that the Anti-Slavery public of the United Kingdom, who have so long and so steadily struggled in the contest, will not think of retiring from the field because victory has crowned their efforts with success in one small department, while ten times the number rescued still remain exposed to the tender mercies of the Slave-holder; and Africa, whose only crime is, that she is offenseless and defenceless, is regarded as a reserve to supply the waste of human life, occasioned by the cruelty and the drudgery required to minister to the wants and luxuries of her more polished barbarian neighbours; but that, stimulated by success, Abolitionists will stretch their views to more extensive fields of enterprise. Whilst each individual and each society should act as faithfully, and as energetically, as if the work depended on their separate exertions, it is encouraging to know, that there are several Anti-Slavery Associations throughout the Kingdom engaged in the same contest; and many more, it is to be hoped, will be found to co-operate in the work. Your Committee are disposed to regard it as an earnest of continued and successful exertion in this great cause, that a Meeting, to which we were invited to send Delegates, was held in London on the 18th of April last, which issued in the formation of "The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the world. Mr George Thompson and the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw were appointed to represent the Glasgow Emancipation Society; but while we hailed with pleasure the formation of this kindred Institution in the metropolis, we proposed to co-operate, not as an Auxiliary, but as an independent Society.

The Slave Trade is indeed prosecuted at present with great activity, as if the parties were apprehensive that their harvest of human victims was soon to be ended. "The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light." Let *their* activity stimulate us to use every justifi-

able means for the advancement of our cause, and as that cause is one of justice and mercy, we may reasonably expect to succeed. A project has simultaneously originated in America, England, and Scotland, to hold a Conference of Anti-Slavery Delegates from all parts of the world, in London, in the summer of 1840, and the London British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have proposed that it should commence on the 12th June next. We trust much good will result from this measure; and that it will be the means of diffusing a more extended and right principled feeling of sympathy for the sufferings of the Slave and of Africa, which may sow the seeds of future effort in their behalf, in the respective countries from which the Delegates may come.

Let us never despair while we have the moral energy and influence of the British nation on our side, and on the side of the oppressed; and this we trust we shall now have with us more than ever. Great Britain now stands out on a high moral eminence, which cannot fail to induce respect and attention to every thing she may say or do on this interesting question. And if the interference of Great Britain, France, and Russia, to protect 810,000 Greeks from the oppression of the Turks in 1827, was justifiable and commendable; how much more so—nay, would it not be a high moral duty in Great Britain—to throw the shield of her protection over the hundred millions of Africa—degraded and outcast Africa pillaged of her inhabitants—and now that the hands of Britain are clean from any participation in Slavery or the Slave Trade, she is in a fit state to say to all other powers still engaged in this Anti-Christian and savage barbarity, "We will not suffer this weak nation to be harassed, and her people to be carried into Slavery and murdered,—we will extend over her the shield of our protection; and, by the law of nations, we demand of you, each and all of you, to cease this cruelty and cowardly injustice to this weak nation." While she makes such a declaration, let her, at the same time, invite all other powers to co-operate with her in this protection, and remonstrate with those who will not.

And while Great Britain, and those States who may unite with her, declare their determination to protect the inhabitants of Africa from being made articles of "merchandise," let them also declare, that they will assume no rights or powers over the territory or people of Africa, but such as are essentially necessary for their protection from the Slave Trade; and that, only so long as such protection is necessary; but will permit

and encourage a Free Trade in the natural and artificial productions of that country.

Such a declaration, on the part of our Government, with the moral power of the British people to support it, would have a mighty and a salutary influence on the diplomacy of nations, especially in regard to this subject. The details of such a measure are too long, and perhaps not suitable to be given here, but while we have high expectations from the sincere and resolute adoption of such a course, could the Government of this country be prevailed upon to do so—yet like all moral measures, its effect would not be instantaneous; perseverance would be required; and along with this, there should be employed all other means which are in any way calculated to remove so great an evil, and which are justifiable on Christian principles.

Africa, with her 100 Millions of Inhabitants, is now almost a blank in the commercial world, and her people, with the exception of a few hundreds, are sunk in ignorance and idolatry. We have done much to degrade her—some atonement is, without doubt, required of us.

But it is wisely ordered in the providence of God, that moral honesty and justice are intimately connected with the promotion of our secular interests. Thus, by raising Africa to her place in the scale of nations, she would, to all other countries, become more valuable in a commercial point of view.

The same may be said of the One Hundred Millions of Inhabitants of British India, referred to by the Aborigines' Society; who, from various causes, are at present very much oppressed and degraded—some of them in a state of the most abject slavery; but if elevated, and their industry turned into a proper channel, it might have a powerful effect in promoting the Universal Abolition of Slavery and the Slave trade. If, instead of waste Jungle, and the cultivation of Opium to poison the Chinese and enrich the unprincipled speculators in that drug, Cotton and Sugar were cultivated in India, we might soon become independant of American and Brazilian Slave-grown articles of that description; and the slaves in those countries, becoming unprofitable, would soon be Emancipated to provide for themselves.

Hence, the reference made to India by Mr Thompson, in advocating the claims of the Aborigines' Society, has been the means of drawing particular attention to the population of that vast region; and the beneficial results likely to arise to Commerce and the Abolition of Slavery, by their elevation. It may be proper here to revert to the fact, that it was *with spe-*

cial reference to the condition of our British Indian fellow-subjects, that the attention of the Glasgow Emancipation Society was first called to the objects of the Aborigines' Society, by Messrs Thompson and Martin, as already noticed. The former found, wherever he went, that, not only from the number of persons in our Eastern Empire claiming the attention of the philanthropist, but from the greatness of the interests involved, and the manner in which these affected the people of this country, there was a general feeling in favour of a separate organization for promoting the welfare of the natives of British India. Mr Thompson's mind became entirely absorbed in the magnitude and importance of this branch of the Aborigines' question, and he was irresistibly led to the conviction, that he ought to confine his labours to the case of India, leaving the general objects of the Aborigines' Society to be taken up by others. A separation between that Society and him, therefore, took place in February last; and a Provisional Committee for the formation of a British India Society having soon after been organized, your Committee were applied to by Mr Thompson, to co-operate in furthering the objects which the Provisional Committee had in view; and having deliberately considered the subject, they were unanimously of opinion, "That this Society may with perfect consistency unite in promoting the objects of the 'British India Society,' and therefore agree to render it all the support which it may be in our power to bestow."

The Provisional Committee having appointed Mr Thompson their Agent, and having received from many places assurances of co-operation, "THE BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY" was ultimately formed in London, on the 6th of July, at a large Public Meeting, of which the Right Hon. Lord Brougham was Chairman; and the Meeting was attended by many of the most distinguished and influential friends of the Slave, from different parts of the country; Abolitionists from the United States of America; Noblemen and Gentlemen long connected with India; several Indian Princes, &c. In the list of its members of Committee, are the names of some of the oldest, most ardent, and devoted friends of the Anti-Slavery cause; and they are actively engaged in diffusing information throughout the kingdom, in order to awaken a general interest on behalf of our oppressed fellow-subjects in the East.

Your Committee have sincere pleasure in stating, that various bodies of Christians have recently resolved, that so far as they are concerned, the interests of Humanity shall not be forgotten. The first of these is, the General Assembly of the

Church of Scotland; who, at their meeting in May last, came to a unanimous resolution "To petition both Houses of Parliament, that the Government of this country may be pleased to exert their influence with other powers, not only for the extinction of the Slave Trade, which unhappily is still carried on to an awful extent; but likewise for the utter extinction of Slavery itself, as the great cause of the continuance of the Traffic in Slaves."

Several thousand pounds have recently been raised by the Society of Friends, for promoting the improvement of the condition of the Emancipated Negroes in the British Colonies; and a Deputation of members of that body are about leaving for the West Indies, with a view to superintend the application of the Fund, in accordance with the objects which the Society has in view.

The Relief Synod, at its last meeting, was addressed by Mr George Thompson, on the claims of the Inhabitants of British India to the Christian sympathy and effort of the people of this country in their behalf. The thanks of the Synod were given to Mr Thompson, by the Moderator, for his Address, and the following resolution was unanimously passed, viz. :—

"That this Synod tender to Mr George Thompson their warmest expressions of admiration of his character as the advocate of the Negro—but especially at this time, of their gratitude for the manner in which he has this evening interested their minds on behalf of the oppressed and degraded Natives of British India; and further assure him that they feel their responsibility increased, in consequence of his Address, to use their influence, so far as it extends, to have the miseries of that afflicted people reduced, and the obstacles removed which impede in that land the circulation of the Gospel."

Other denominations of Christians will, your Committee hope, feel themselves called upon still to continue those exertions which, in the struggle recently so auspiciously terminated, essentially contributed to ensure its success; and that while the condition of Slavery is known to exist on the face of the earth, or a human being bought and sold, there will never be wanting those who shall be determined to accomplish, under the Divine blessing, the utter extinction of such Anti-Christian practices.

But whatever may be the determination of others, the Glasgow Emancipation Society, it must be evident, has abundance of labour in prospect. The Society was instituted to promote *the Universal Abolition of Slavery, and the Slave Trade.* It stands pledged, in conjunction with the Aborigines' Society, *to*

Protect the Rights of the Aboriginal Inhabitants in our Colonies: and, with the British India Society, to aid in "*Bettering the Condition of our Fellow-Subjects, the Natives of British India.*" These objects, being of general public interest, your Committee trust they will be sustained in their labours by the continued and increased countenance of the Friends of Freedom.

The Committee cannot close this Report, without briefly adverting to the pecuniary affairs of the Society. The large amount of debt incurred last year is only yet in part paid off. The friends of the cause are therefore earnestly and respectfully entreated to aid, by their contributions, not only in paying off the claims against the Society, but so to replenish their treasury, as to enable the Committee to embrace every opportunity of promoting the welfare of their degraded and oppressed fellow-men.

ERRATUM.—At page 9, line 13 from the top, *for* Mr Gladstone's, *read* Mr Colville's.

SECOND REPORT

OF THE

GLASGOW LADIES' AUXILIARY EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

PRESENTED 1ST AUGUST, 1839.

OFFICE-BEARERS.

President,

MRS WILLIAM WHITE.

Vice-Presidents,

MRS P. LETHEM, | MRS D. MACINTYRE, | MRS WM. CRAIG.

Treasurer,

MRS NELSON.

Secretary,

MISS SMEAL.

Committee,

Mrs Blyth,
Miss Brown,
Mrs Cochran,
Miss Craig,
Miss Drummond,
Mrs Eadie,
Mrs Farie,
Miss Ferguson,
Mrs Fletcher,
Miss Frame,
Mrs Robert Frame,
Miss Fullarton,
Mrs Gallie,
Miss Gibson,
Miss J. Gibson,
Miss Hall,
Mrs Thompson, Campbelton,
Mrs Harvie,
Mrs Hinshelwood,
Mrs Martin,
Miss M'Gregor,
Mrs M'Tear,
Miss Muir,
Mrs Murray,
Mrs Pullar,
Miss Smith,
Miss Templeton,
Mrs William Thompson,
Mrs Watson,
Miss R. Watson,
Mrs Wright.

Honorary and Corresponding Members,

Mrs George Thompson.
Mrs Philleo, (late Miss Crandall.)
Mrs Nathaniel Paul, Albany, New York.
Miss Juliana Tappan, New York.
Mrs A. L. Cox, do.
Mrs H. G. Chapman, Boston.
Mrs James Mott, Philadelphia.
Mrs D. L. Child.
Mrs A. G. Weld.
Miss Hussey, Portland, Maine.
Honourable Mrs Erskine.
Miss Cruickshank, Edinburgh.
Miss Beaumont, Newcastle.
Miss Elizabeth Pease, Darlington.
Mrs Somerville, Dumbarton.

REPORT, &c.

The Committee deem it unnecessary to submit any detailed account of their proceedings since the date of their last Report, as great publicity has already been given to those proceedings through the medium of newspapers, and other means of information.

They desire, however, to record their gratitude to God, for the truly happy termination of the great national struggle in behalf of the Negroes, one of the noblest struggles in which any nation was ever privileged to be engaged.

The manner in which the Negro population received their entire freedom on the 1st of August last, and their admirable conduct subsequently, have called forth unmingled joy, and have demonstrated that our coloured fellow-subjects are as susceptible of the noblest sentiments, and as capable of discharging the highest duties belonging to citizenship, as they are entitled to personal freedom—which is the gift of God. The great object of freedom for the Slave, having, under the Divine blessing, been attained, the Committee feel that the success which has been granted to their labours, devolves upon them the solemn and interesting task of seeking to promote the education of those, whom they have, in some humble degree, been instrumental in introducing to the privileges and duties of *a free condition:* they will, therefore, embrace every opportunity of imparting the means of intellectual and moral improvement to those whose bonds they have exerted themselves to break. The Committee are happy in being able to state, that an individual of their number is now *on her way* to one of the most important of our Colonies—there to devote herself to the work of *a teacher amongst the liberated population.* She is followed by the best wishes of the Committee, that her life and health may be continued, and that her self-denying efforts may be crowned with abundant success.

The Committee have received from the United States of America, the most encouraging accounts of the progress of the cause of Emancipation; they have forwarded several contributions of articles for sale at various Anti-Slavery Fairs: they have marked with deep interest the struggles, trials, and triumphs, of their Trans-Atlantic sisters, and desire to maintain an uninterrupted correspondence, and to continue and increase their co-operation.

The Committee embrace the present opportunity of tendering an expression of their warmest thanks to all those friends of the cause who have afforded them assistance since their last Report was issued. Amongst those who have kindly helped them with pecuniary means, they feel bound to name the Ladies of Newcastle, from whom a donation of £20 has been received; the Ladies of Darlington, who sent a donation of £10, exclusive of two donations from the esteemed Secretary of the Darlington Association, Miss Elizabeth Pease, amounting together to £15. To those who so promptly and liberally sent contributions to the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Bazaar, they feel that their obligations are eminently due, as the Committee were, in consequence, enabled to realize the means of promoting the cause of the Slave at an interesting and momentous crisis. The Ladies forming the Association at Dumbarton, and the Vale of Leven, are entitled to special thanks, for the strenuous and spontaneous efforts which they made to secure the success of the Bazaar, immediately after they had laboured and contributed in a similar way, in another cause. They also cheerfully and gratefully acknowledge their obligations to those Ministers and other gentlemen, in Glasgow and at a distance, who have forwarded the Committee's plans of usefulness, and have generously undertaken the discharge of duties which the members of the Committee were precluded from performing.

The Committee have recently had their attention called to the condition of the Aboriginal tribes of the British Colonies, and the parts adjacent; and also to the oppressed and suffering circumstances of the many Millions of their native fellow-subjects in India,—*five hundred thousand of whom perished by famine during the past year.* The Gentlemen's Society having extended the basis of *their* Constitution, to embrace the enfranchisement, protection, and improvement of the Coloured inhabitants of the British possessions *at large*, and being now actively engaged in forwarding those objects, *with special reference* to British India, the Committee have resolved to devote a portion of their

labours, and the fruits of those labours, to the same work; impressed with a belief, that India is not only a field worthy of the most exalted and persevering enterprise *in itself considered*, but that upon the condition of India, depends, in a great degree, the state of other parts of the world, more particularly *America* and *Africa*, the Slavery and Slave Trade of which countries can only be effectually reached by the *encouragement of free Agricultural industry in our Eastern Empire.*

The Treasurer's Account, an abstract of which is appended to this Report, will exhibit the manner in which the Society's funds have been disbursed. It will be perceived that great expenses have been incurred by the measures which the exigencies of the cause demanded. The Committee's operations having considerably exceeded their receipts; they trust that their friends and subscribers will, with their usual liberality, renew their contributions, and enable the Committee not only to discharge their obligations, but to continue and extend their labours to diffuse information.

The Committee, in the assurance that their friends and fellow-labourers are "*not weary in well-doing*," have ventured to enter a field of labour, not less arduous, and much more extensive than that in which they have been hitherto permitted to toil and to triumph. They look with confidence for encouragement and support. The miseries of the human race call loudly and imperatively for pity, interference, and prompt relief. Millions of Slaves reach forth their fettered hands to the islands of the *brave* and the *free.*

The mothers and daughters of favoured Scotland have much to be thankful for, and should remember that *the enjoyment of blessings creates corresponding responsibilities.* It is the hope and prayer of the Committee, that the judgment of Him who is the Friend of the destitute and oppressed, may, with reference to each of them, and their respected coadjutors be,—"*She hath done what she could.*"

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

TO

The Glasgow Emancipation Society,

From 1*st August*, 1838, *to* 1*st August*, 1839.

A

	£	s.	d.
David Anderson,	1	1	0
James Anderson,	1	1	0
Alexander Anderson,	1	1	0
John Anderson,	0	10	6
Rev. William Anderson,	0	10	0
James Anderson, jun.,	0	10	6
Joseph Affleck,	0	5	0

B

James Brown, Douglas, per G. Gallie,	1	0	0
Do. do.	0	5	0
Robert Barclay,	0	10	0
John Barr,	1	1	0
Hugh Brown,	1	1	0
Archibald Brown,	0	10	6
William Brown,	0	5	0
Moses Brown,	0	5	0
David Boyd,	0	5	0
James Brock,	0	5	0
James Beith, Candleriggs,	0	5	0
Thomas Binnie,	0	7	6
Robert Burns,	0	5	0
Thomas Brown,	0	5	0
Charles Bryson,	0	5	0
Peter Bruce,	0	10	6
Henry Bruce,	0	5	0
Andrew Boggie,	0	5	0
William Brodie,	1	1	0
Robert Bruce,	0	5	0
William Bankier,	1	1	0
Rev. William Brash,	0	7	6
James Beith,	0	10	6

C

James Clark,	0	5	0
William Craig,	1	1	0
John Croom,	0	5	0
James Cairns,	0	5	0
James Cocker,	0	10	6
William Chisholm, jun.,	0	10	6
Dr. Crawford, Bridgeton,	0	10	0
Andrew Crichton,	0	2	6
Allan Clark,	0	5	0
Archibald Cumine & Co.	0	10	6

COLLECTIONS,

	£	s.	d.
At Thanksgiving Services, Aug. 1st, 1838, viz:—			
Rev. W. Anderson's Chapel, (Joint Service),	5	11	2½
Rev. Dr. Heugh's, do.	3	4	10½
Old Independent Meeting-House, Oswald Street,	6	3	0
Reformed Presbyterian Congregation, W. Campbell St.	1	5	8½
Rev. Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel, collected during part of service,	1	1	10
Baptist Churches, George St. and Portland Street,	1	10	5
Rev. David King's Chapel,	2	12	0
Rev. Dr. Mitchell's do.	3	13	1
United Secession Congregation, Hamilton, Rev. Thos. Struthers,	1	2	2
Do. do. Dalry, Rev. D. Henderson,	0	18	3
Do. do. Stonehouse, Rev. M. M'Gavin,	0	6	0
Do. do. Limekilns, Rev. W. Johnston,	1	8	0
Do. do. Alloa, Rev. W. Frazer,	1	13	0
Do. do. Comrie, Rev. R. T. Walker,	1	16	7
Do. do. Whithorn, Rev. Jas. Gibson,	1	3	0
Do. do. Auchtermuchty, Rev. J. Taylor,	1	6	2
Do. do. Stirling, Rev. John Smart,	2	2	2
Do. do. Brechin, Rev. D. Blackadder,	1	5	9
Do. do. Wigton, Rev. James Towers,	1	7	0
Do. do. Fenwick, Rev. W. Orr,	0	17	10
Relief Congregation, Campsie, Rev. James Brown,	0	13	8½
Do. do. Bellshill, Rev. John Wilson,	3	1	5
Do. do. Greenock, Rev. W. Auld,	2	14	0

First Relief Congregation, Strathaven, Rev. W. M'Lae,	1	12	6
Relief Congregation, Rutherglen, Rev. W. C. Wardrop,	1	0	0
Do. do. Ayr, Rev. R. Renwick,	1	10	0
Do. do. Auchtermuchty, Rev. J. Wise,	0	13	0
Do. do. Milngavie, Rev. A. M'Naughtan,	0	17	4
Do. do. Kelso, Rev. James Jarvie,	0	7	2
Independent Chapel, Paisley, Rev. R. M'Lachlan,	0	16	0
Do. do. Perth, Rev. J. W. Massie,	4	0	0
Baptist Congregation, Storie Street, Paisley,	3	3	0
Old Light Burgher Congregation, New Kilpatrick, Rev. James Gardner,	1	3	6

D

John Dennistoun, Esq., M.P.,	20	0	0
George C. Dick,	0	10	6
James Duncan, Mosesfield,	0	5	0
George Duncan,	0	5	0

E

Rev. John Edwards,	0	5	0
Rev. John Eadie,	0	10	0

F

Friends at Kilwinning, per D. Muir,	0	4	0
A Friend, per A. Y.,	0	1	0
Do.	1	1	0
Finlay and Neilson,	0	10	6
John Fyfe,	1	1	0
A Friend,	0	5	0
William Ferguson,	0	10	6
James Fleming,	0	10	6

G

Thomas Grahame,	5	0	0
John B. Gray,	1	1	0
George Gallie,	0	10	6
Robert Grahame, Whitehill,	5	0	0
William Graham,	0	5	0
William Gilmour, Writer,	0	5	0
Archibald Greenshields,	0	5	0
William Gunn, jun.,	0	10	6
John Galloway,	0	5	0
Rev. John Graham,	0	5	0

H

W. B. Hodge,	0	10	6
Andrew Harvie,	0	10	6
John Hamilton, Turner,	0	5	0
Rev. Dr. Heugh,	1	1	0
D. A. Hardie,	0	5	0

I

Robert Jameson,	1	1	0
Rev. John Johnstone,	0	5	0

K

Robert Kettle,	1	1	0
A. M'K. Kirkland,	0	10	6
Hugh Kennedy,	0	5	0
Alexander Kellar,	0	5	0
Rev. David King,	1	1	0
Rev. Dr. Kidston,	0	10	0

L

Robert Laing,	0	10	6
Andrew Liddell,	0	5	0
William Lang,	0	5	0
Thomas Lochhead,	0	5	0
Thomas Lee,	0	5	0
William Lochead, jun.,	0	5	0
Patrick Lethem,	5	0	0
Long and Nicholson,	0	5	0

M

David Muir, Kilwinning,	0	5	0
David M'Arthur,	0	2	6
Mrs Mercer, London, ⚭ John Murray,	1	0	0
Robert M'Gregor,	0	10	6
John Murray,	0	10	6
John M'Leod,	0	10	6
James Muirhead,	0	5	0
Robert M'Kay,	0	5	0
William Milroy,	0	5	0
Andrew Mitchell,	1	1	0
Anthony M'Keand,	1	1	0
John Maxwell, M. D.,	0	10	0
Samuel Moir,	0	5	0
James Milliken,	0	5	0
Robert Miller,	0	10	6
William Miller,	0	5	0
Right Rev. Dr. Murdoch,	0	10	6
Robert Miller, London St.,	0	10	0
James More,	0	10	6
Rev. James M'Tear,	0	5	0
Robert Mason, New Lanark,	0	5	0
John M'Gregor,	0	10	6
Peter M'Ara,	0	5	0
William M'Lean, Plantation,	1	1	0
Robert Miller, Bookseller,	0	5	0
Robert Mathie,	0	5	0
Rev. H. M. M'Gill,	0	7	6
Thomas Muter,	0	5	0
David Murray,	0	5	0

N

William Nairn,	0	5	0

P

James Proudfoot,	0	5	0

S. Pollock,	0	5	0
J. Pollock,	0	5	0
William P. Paton,	5	0	0
Rev. James Paterson,	0	5	0
Rev. Thomas Pullar,	0	5	0

R

James Reid, Kilwinning,	0	2	6
John Reid,	0	10	6
J. & C. Risk,	1	1	0
Archibald Rigg,	0	5	0

S

William Shanks, Johnstone,	1	1	0
Rev. Dr Stark, Dennyloanhead,	0	10	6
Alex. Stevenson, Bannockburn,	0	5	0
William Smeal,	0	10	6
Robert Sanderson,	1	1	0
James Stewart,	1	1	0
William Stewart,	0	5	0
David Smith,	1	1	0
F. B. Stuart,	0	5	0
Thomas H. Slater,	0	5	0
Semple & Co.	1	1	0
William Strang,	0	5	0

Society for Religious Purposes, George Street Chapel.

Rev. Dr Wardlaw,	0	10	6
Thomas Wilson,	0	5	0
J. S. Blyth,	1	1	0
John Gray,	0	5	0
Donald Macintyre,	1	1	0
A. R. Henderson,	0	5	0
Miss Fullarton,	0	5	0
John A. Fullarton,	0	10	6
Matthew Lethem,	1	1	0

T

Rev. Wm. Thomson,	1	0	0
Rev. Professor Thomson, Paisley,	1	0	0
James Turner, Thrushgrove,	0	5	0

W

William White, Violet Vale,	1	1	0
Archibald Watson,	1	1	0
James Watson,	1	1	0
Oliver Wingate,	0	10	6
William Wardlaw,	0	5	0
Walter Wilson,	0	5	0
Samuel Wilson,	1	1	0
John Williamson,	0	10	6
James Wallace,	0	5	0
Robert Wylie,	0	5	0
William Wotherspoon,	0	5	0
George Watson,	1	1	0
William Wilson,	0	5	0
Rev. Dr. Wardlaw,	1	1	0
Rev. Dr. Willis,	1	1	0

Y

Andrew Young,	1	0	0

☞ *Every person subscribing 5s. per annum, is a Member of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and is entitled to receive a copy of all its publications.—Subscriptions will be thankfully received by* Mr James Beith, *the Treasurer*, 59, *Hutcheson St.; and by* Mr William Smeal, *one of the Secretaries*, 161, *Gallowgate.*

THE TREASURER OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

Dr.

July 31st, 1839.				
To Collection at last Annual Meeting,			£9	3 10½
Do. at Thanksgiving Services in the City, for the Abolition of Slavery,			25	12 1½
Do. at do. in the Country,			39	7 2½
Sale of Tickets for Soiree in the Assembly Rooms,			49	17 0
Collection at Aborigines Public Meeting in George Street Chapel, (Dr. Wardlaw's,) 6th September, 1838,			4	4 10
Bill from "A Friend to Universal Emancipation,"	£50	0 0		
Interest on Do.,	2	17 8		
	£52	17 8		
Less Legacy Duty,	5	0 0		
			47	17 8
Collection at Lecture by Mr Thompson, in George Street Chapel, 14th November, 1838,			3	18 10½
Do. Do., in St. George's Church, Paisley, (Rev. Dr. Burns's,)			2	13 0
For British Emancipator, from Sundries,			4	16 8
Legacy by the late Mrs Duncan, per Rev. John Duncan, Milton Church,			10	0 0
Discount on Accounts due at last Anniversary,			6	10 4
Contribution from Society for Religious Purposes in George Street Chapel,			5	4 0
Subscriptions collected by Miss Christina Perry,			1	12 6
Do. do. per William Smeal,			116	16 6
Sale of Pamphlets,			3	7 3½
Balance due by the Society,			66	5 8
			£397	7 6½

Cr.

July 31st, 1839.			
By Balance due at last Annual Meeting,	£220	13	0
Additional Expences of Delegates to London,	1	0	0
Do. do. of last Petition to Parliament,	0	15	0
Expences at Thanksgiving Services,	0	15	6
Do. of Soiree of Friends of Universal Freedom, in the Assembly Rooms,	40	6	3
Do. of Public Meetings during last year,	12	12	6
Do. of Meetings of Committee,	1	6	6
Do. of Printing 1000 Copies of last Annual Report, Bills, &c., for Public Meetings, Advertising in Newspapers, and for Newspapers transmitted to Correspondents at home and abroad,	89	17	7½
Paid for British Emancipator,	21	13	4
Do. Postages, Carriage, Booking of Parcels, and sundry other small incidental charges,	8	7	10
	£397	7	6½

Glasgow, 1*st August*, 1839.—We have examined the above Account, and the relative Vouchers, and found the same correct; the Balance due by the Society, being Sixty-six Pounds Five Shillings and Eightpence Sterling.

(Signed,) Wm. FERGUSON.
ANDREW YOUNG.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

TO THE

Glasgow Ladies' Auxiliary Emancipation Society,

From March, 1837, *to* 1*st August*, 1839.

Mrs Wm. White, Violet Vale,	£2	0	0
Collected by do. viz.:—			
A Friend, - - -	1	0	0
Dr. John Black, - -	0	5	0
Thomas Stordy, Carlisle,	0	10	0
Mary Sutton, do.,	0	5	0
Lydia Sutton, Scotby,	0	5	0
Ann Brown, - -	0	5	0
A Friend, - - -	0	1	0
Pamphlets sold by Mrs W.,	0	16	6
Mrs William Craig, -	1	10	6
Collected by do., - -	1	6	0
Do. Mrs Nelson, -	4	19	0
Miss Isabella Smith's Box,	0	14	3
Mrs G. Thomson, Campbelton, per Miss Smith, -	0	10	0
Miss E. Brown, - -	0	5	0
Anti-Slavery Box, per do.,	0	3	6
Sale of Pamphlets, do., -	1	0	9
Collected by - do., -	1	11	6
Do. do. do., viz.:—			
Miss Terise, - -	0	2	6
Miss J. Terise, - -	0	2	6
Mr Wilson, - -	0	5	0
A Friend, - - -	0	1	0
Elizabeth Macauley,	0	5	0
Robert Brownlie, -	0	1	0
Janet Morton, - -	0	1	0
John Caldwell, -	0	1	0
Collected by Misses Gibson, viz.:—			
Mr Naismith, - -	0	10	0
A Friend, - - -	0	2	6
Do., - - -	0	2	6
Miss Smith, - - -	0	5	0
Miss Arnot, - -	0	5	0
Mr Turner, - - -	0	5	0
Miss Wallace, - -	0	5	0
A Friend, - - -	0	2	6
Do., - - -	0	2	6
Do., - - -	0	2	6
Do., - - -	0	2	6
Misses Gibson's Book, continued:—			
Miss Spencer, - -	0	5	0
Pamphlets sold, -	0	16	10
Collected by Miss Agnes Shaw,	0	17	6
— Miss Mary Hinshelwood,	0	14	6
— Mrs R. Wright, -	1	0	0
Do. do. viz.:—			
Mrs Hunter, - -	0	2	6
Mrs Carr, - -	0	2	6
Mrs M'Nair, - -	0	2	6
Eliza Young, - -	0	2	6
Mrs Jackson, - -	0	2	6
Mrs R. Wright, - -	0	5	0
Do. do. - -	0	5	0
Janet Wright, - -	0	2	0
Ann Wright, - -	0	2	0
Pamphlets sold, -	0	6	9
Collected by Miss J. Frame, viz.:—			
Mr John Craig, - -	0	5	0
Miss Houston, - -	0	5	0
Mrs Russell, - -	0	2	6
Duncan Stewart, - -	0	5	0
For Reading Report, -	0	0	7
Collected by Miss Janet Hall,	0	8	8
Do. Miss E. M'Lellan,	0	4	0
Do. Mrs W. Gray,	1	19	6
Pamphlets sold by do.,	1	2	6
Do. do., by John Hardie,	1	7	0
Collected by Miss R. Watson,	0	16	0
— Mrs Cochran, - -	1	15	0
Pamphlets sold by do., -	0	6	0
Isabella Greig, - -	0	2	6
Collected by do., -	0	14	6
James Kirkland, per do., -	0	2	0
Thomas White, per do.,	0	2	6
Mrs M'Tear, - -	0	2	6
Mr James Thomas, Teacher, Blackquarry, per do., -	1	0	0
Female Servant, per do.,	0	2	0

Collected by C. Henderson, Paisley,	0	16	0
Publications sold by do.,	0	4	6
Friends at Paisley, per Robert Eaglesim, viz.:—			
Mrs Kerr, Oakshaw Street,	0	5	0
Mrs Pollock, Maxwelton,	0	2	6
Mrs Connell, Wellmeadow St.,	0	1	6
Mrs Whitehill, do.,	0	2	6
Mrs Poulson, High Street,	0	3	0
Collected by Miss Templeton, viz.:—			
Miss Graham,	0	15	0
J. Craig,	0	7	6
Mrs Rennie,	1	0	0
J. Lindsay,	0	3	0
Mrs Lancaster,	0	2	6
W. Gray,	0	1	0
Mrs Alexander,	0	15	0
W. C.,	0	10	0
Mrs Stewart,	0	5	0
Mrs Simpsom,	0	6	0
J. B.,	0	2	0
Catherine W. Spence,	0	5	0
Mrs Russell,	0	5	0
Miss M'Farlane,	0	2	6
Miss E. Templeton,	0	2	6
Mrs Campbell,	0	2	0
Mrs Martin, Strathmiglo,	0	8	0
Elizabeth Alexander,	0	2	6
Miss Brodie,	0	2	6
Mrs Crichton,	0	5	0
Three Friends,	0	3	0
Mrs M'Nair,	0	5	0
Pamphlets sold by Miss T.,	0	3	0
Jane Smeal, jun.,	1	0	0
Publications sold by do.	3	7	6
Collected by do., viz.:—			
Miss Pease, Darlington,	10	0	0
Do. do. do.	5	0	0
Do. do. for 50 Reports,	1	5	0
Mrs John Wigham, Edinburgh, for "Wrongs of Africa,"	2	16	6
Miss M. B. Tuckey, Cork, do.	4	0	0
Misses Smith, Græme Street,	1	12	6
Mrs Jackson,	0	2	6
John Craig, Stockwell Street,	0	10	6
Hugh Fulton,	0	2	6
Miss M'Gregor,	0	5	0
Do. per Box,	0	5	5
Mary Marchbank,	0	5	0
Agnes M'Leod,	0	5	0
James Crowther,	0	2	6
Sarah Wells,	0	5	0
D. A. Hardie,	0	7	6
Agnes Sutherland,	0	2	6
Miss Crawfurd, Langside,	5	0	0
Mrs Thomas Gray, per R. Miller, London Street,	0	5	0
For Expenses of Ladies' Petition, per do.,	0	4	1
Mrs Robert Miller,	1	1	0
Mrs Ballantine, 5, Buchanan Street,	0	2	6
Mrs Cairnduff, Stewarton,	0	5	0
A Friend,	0	1	0

Jane Smeal's Book, continued:—			
Miss E. Stark, Dennyloanhead,	0	8	0
Reports sold,	0	2	0
Mrs Kaye, Russell Street,	0	2	6
Robert Dougall,	0	2	6
Miss C. Findlater,	0	5	0
Mrs White, Adelphi Street,	0	7	6
A Friend, (H. E.,)	0	1	0
James Collins, Tradeston,	0	4	0
Mrs Collins, do.	0	2	6
Mrs Stephen, Largs,	0	2	6
Robert Gray, Denmill,	0	2	6
Mrs M'Lay, Strathaven,	0	2	6
Mrs Campbell, do.,	0	5	0
Sale of Tracts at Milnathort,	0	8	0
Friend at Old Kilpatrick, per J. Murray,	0	4	0
A Friend, (J. F.,)	1	5	0
Mrs Andrew Miller,	0	3	0
Helen Mulcaster,	0	2	6
A Friend, (M. B.,)	1	0	0
Mrs William Thompson,	0	3	0
Robert Hepburn,	0	2	6
Misses E. & C. Paton,	0	5	0
Andrew Robertson,	0	10	0
Robert Thallon,	0	5	0
James Grindlay	0	5	0
David Gilmour,	0	5	0
Patrick Gilmour,	0	5	0
Mrs Steel,	0	5	0
James Wotherspoon,	0	7	6
David Black,	0	7	6
James Armstrong,	0	0	6
Andrew Mouat, jun.,	0	5	0
John Angus,	0	3	6
Thomas Aucott,	0	2	6
James Marshall,	0	5	0
William Greig,	0	1	0
Miss M. Browning,	0	5	0
Elizabeth Smeal,	0	2	6
Mrs R. Rettie,	0	5	0
Miss Agnes Barlas,	0	2	6
Sarah Dodds, per G. Gallie,	0	5	0
William Miller, Blackfriar's st.	0	5	0
Mrs James Clark,	0	2	6
Mrs Andrew Harvie,	0	5	0
Do. for Publications sold,	0	11	0
Friends, per Mrs H.,	0	8	0
Miss Adam,	0	5	0
Janet Wright, Græme Street,	0	5	0
George Cruden,	0	2	6
George M'Kinlay,	0	5	0
Robert Thom,	0	10	0
A Friend,	0	1	0
A. Wotherspoon,	0	0	6
Gabriel Anderson,	0	2	6
John Shaw,	0	2	6
Andrew Henderson,	0	2	6
Miss Ferguson,	0	5	0
Miss H. Ferguson,	0	5	0
Mrs Thomson, Paisley, per do.,	0	2	6
Mrs R. G. Maxwell,	0	5	0
James Fleming, Cowcaddens,	0	5	0
Mrs John Duncan, Argyle St.	0	2	6
J. C. Wilson,	0	5	0
James Smith,	0	5	0
Claud Turner,	0	2	6

Jane Smeal's Book, continued:—

Mrs N. M'Gilp, - -	0	10	0
Do. for Publications sold,	0	9	0
Robert Frame, - -	0	10	0
Mrs Robert Frame, -	0	2	6
Ann Lee, - - -	0	5	0
Mrs A. Liddell, - -	0	5	0
Miss M'Murrich, per R. Kettle,	0	10	0
Andrew Reid, per R. S.,	0	1	0
Elizabeth Maxwell, -	0	5	0
A Friend, - - -	0	4	6

Jane Smeal's Book, continued:—

Mrs Reid, - -	0	2	6
Mrs Bland, - - -	0	5	0
Lady at Kirkintilloch, per Mrs Andrew Marshall, -	1	0	0
Mrs D. Macintyre, -	0	5	0
Miss S. Craig, - -	0	2	6
Mrs Gentle, - -	0	2	6
Mrs P. Lethem, - -	0	5	0
Miss Robertson, St. Enoch Square, per do., .	1	0	0

**** All Subscribers of 2s. 6d. and upwards per annum, are Members of the Ladies' Emancipation Society. Subscriptions and Donations will be gratefully received by the Treasurer, or Secretary; and by any Member of the Committee.*

THE TREASURER OF THE GLASGOW LADIES' AUXILIARY EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

Dr.

July 31st, 1839.			
To Donation from Darlington Ladies' Society, per Miss Pease,	£10	0	0
Do. from Aberdeen Ladies' Society, per Mr George Thompson,	12	10	0
Do. from Newcastle Ladies' Society, per Mrs Richardson,	20	0	0
Collection at Meeting in Rev. David King's Chapel, to Address the Queen,	4	10	4
Proceeds of Anti-Slavery Bazaar in the Monteith Rooms,	328	15	6½
Do. do. do. at Kilmarnock,	87	0	0
Contributions from Friends of Emancipation in the Country,	8	15	4½
Amount of Subscriptions, Donations, Sales of Miss Grimke's Appeal, the "Wrongs of Africa," Annual Reports, &c.	116	2	10½
Balance Due by the Society,	25	17	8½
	£613	11	10

Cr.

July 31st, 1839.						
By Balance due Treasurer at last Report,				£0	5	1
Donations to Glasgow Emancipation Society, viz.:—						
June 6th, 1837,	£10	0	0			
July 29th, do.,	12	10	0			
November 13th, do.,	20	0	0			
July 31st, 1838,	185	2	10½*			
				227	12	10½
Expenses of Ladies' Petition to the Queen,				86	11	5
Do. of Bazaar at Glasgow and Kilmarnock,				170	4	8
Do. of Committee Meetings, of Annual Meeting, 1837, and Meeting to Address the Queen,				4	19	7
Do. of Advertising, and for Newspapers sent to Correspondents at home and abroad,				8	13	8
Do. of Printing Committee Cards, 1500 copies First Annual Report, and 1st and 2d editions of "The Wrongs of Africa," each 1000 copies,				95	12	5½
Paid for 500 Copies Angelina Grimke's Appeal,				9	7	6
Do. for Howitt's "Colonization and Christianity," for use of Committee,				0	9	0
Outlay for Contributions to Anti-Slavery Fair at Boston, United States,				2	10	4
Do. for Ladies' Bazaar at Newcastle,				5	3	5
Postages and Carriage of Parcels,				2	1	10
				£613	11	10

Glasgow, 1*st August*, 1839.—We have this day examined the above Account, and compared the Vouchers produced, and found it correct; the Balance due by the Society being £25 17*s.* 8½*d.*

(Signed,) Wm. FERGUSON.
ANDREW YOUNG.

* These sums are acknowledged in the Gentlemen's Report for last year.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

(*Reprinted, with a few corrections, from the* GLASGOW ARGUS.)

THE Annual Meeting of this Society was held in the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel on Thursday evening, the 1st of August, being the Anniversary of the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies. To give readers at a distance an idea of the nature of this Society, we give the following statement of its objects, as laid down in the advertisement calling the meeting:—"The Glasgow Emancipation Society has for its objects, the Universal Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade—the Protecting of the Rights of the newly Emancipated and Aboriginal Classes in the British Colonies—and the Improving of the Condition of our Fellow-Subjects, the NATIVES of BRITISH INDIA; objects alike worthy of the support of the Christian, the Patriot, and the Philanthropist."

We observed on the platform around the Chair, which was occupied by Dr. Wardlaw, Major-General Briggs, George Thompson, Esq., Rev. Dr. Heugh, Rev. Messrs. Anderson, Baird (of Paisley), Harvey, and M'Tear; Thomas Grahame, W. P. Paton, J. M'Leod, one of the Magistrates of Gorbals; D. Macintyre, G. Watson, H. Langlands, J. Murray, W. Smeal, A. M'Keand, J. Reid, J. Beith, J. S. Blyth, W. Ferguson, and G. Thorburn, Esqrs.; Drs. Maxwell and Weir, and other friends of the Anti-Slavery cause.

Dr. WARDLAW, in opening the business, said it afforded him the greatest pleasure to be present on this interesting occasion—the Anniversary of the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies, as well as the Annual Meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society—though the pleasure would have been enhanced had he been allowed to be a silent spectator of the proceedings, and a silent listener to that information, important as he was sure it would be, which they were that night to receive. It was his purpose to have made a few remarks, retrospective as well as prospective, in reference to the cause in which they were engaged; but, in order to give full time to the reading of the Reports, and the addresses of the various speakers, in which all the points he might have referred to would be touched upon, he would abstain from doing so. They would no doubt receive much valuable information from an esteemed and valued friend (Mr Thompson) whom they all delighted to see once more among them. It was his (Dr. W.'s) earnest desire and prayer, that he might prove equally triumphant in the cause in which he was now embarked, as in that to which he had for so

many years devoted his talents and his energies. (Cheers.) The Rev. Doctor then stated that letters, in excuse of absence, had been received from John Dennistoun, Esq., M.P., the Rev. Drs. Thomson and Burns, Paisley, and Johnston, Limekilns. The letter from Mr Dennistoun, which was read to the Meeting, expressed his regret that attendance upon his duties in Parliament prevented him presiding at the Anniversary, and that Mr Oswald was also kept back from a similar cause. The Chairman said Mr Dennistoun was fully entitled to the notice of having his letter read, not merely as being their representative, but as being a very liberal contributor to their funds. (Cheers.)

John Murray, Esq., then read the Report for the year. It represented the prospects of the Emancipationists in a favourable light, and vindicated the character of the West Indian Negro population. It asserted that the enfranchised blacks had been peaceable in the extreme, that militia or police were not required in the West India Islands, that the Negroes are industrious where well rewarded, and that, where not well rewarded, they had a right to withhold their labour, or take it to a better market. A great deal of finesse had been put into requisition by the Planters, in order to make the people of this country believe that there would be a deficiency of crop; but this would be speedily effaced. So soon as a fair value was put upon labour, the plantations would be better cultivated than before. The Report then went on to notice the miseries of the Hill Coolies of Hindostan, imported into British Guiana under the "Gladstone Order in Council." After recapitulating some of the horrors endured by these people, which we have already detailed in our columns, it observes that the unfeeling remark of an attorney on one of the estates was that the misery endured was necessary to the "Apprentice's acclimation." The scene was then changed to Antigua, where full freedom had been enjoyed for five years. In that island the crops had equalled those of the last five years of slavery. Society was rapidly progressing. Schools and churches were being built in great numbers, and education was eagerly sought after. Such was the result of complete Emancipation in Antigua. The principle of Emancipation was, moreover, spreading widely. The Spanish slaveholders of Cuba were becoming alarmed; the French Institute had offered a prize for the best essay on the subject. Still what had been done was only an experiment. The Aborigines of our other colonies were to be protected, and their energies called forth, and the Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society had agreed to join efforts with the society formed for the advancement of those distant tribes and nations now subjected to British sway. Notwithstanding the example of England, the slave trade was still carried on to a shameful extent, and it was proposed to hold a conference of Anti-Slavery Delegates, assembled from all parts of the world, in London, in order to devise means by which the accursed traffic might be suppressed. Justice would in this case be profitable. Civilized Africa would become a mart for British manufactures. In the same way good government would enable India to consume and to pay for the commodities of this country. Instead of raising opium to poison the Chinese, cotton might be produced on the fertile plains of Hindostan, so as to strike a blow at American slavery, never to be withstood or recovered. With these views the Glasgow Emancipation Society had joined cause with the British India Society established in London, and they trusted that they would be enabled to go forward till Slavery and the Slave Trade were banished from the face of the earth.

Mr Murray next read extracts of a letter from the pen, we believe, of W. L. Garrison of Boston, in which the most cheering prospects were

held out for the abolition cause. Mr Garrison, in his own peculiarly fervent language, contrasts the position of the friends of Universal Freedom, in 1829 and in 1839. At the former period there was but one individual in wide America to lift up his voice in behalf of the slave; now there are hundreds of thousands engaged in the cause of liberty. In 1829 there was not one society with Emancipation for its object; now there are two thousand. In 1829 there was not a periodical publication that ventured to advocate the native rights of the black man; now there were scores of such works. Ten years ago, that scourge of the *coloured* race, and most inhuman association, the American Colonization Society, was flourishing like a green bay tree; now it was held in such mean esteem as that few were to be found to do it reverence.

The Report, with Mr Garrison's letter, received the hearty applause of the meeting.

Mr William Smeal then read an abstract of the accounts of the Society for the past year, from which it appeared that £154 of debt had been paid off. The same gentleman read a Report from the Ladies' Auxiliary Emancipation Society, in which a strong appeal is made to the Christian feeling of the Mothers and Daughters of favoured Scotland, in aid of the cause of education in our Colonial possessions; and concludes by expressing a confident expectation, that the friends and subscribers to the Society will, with their wonted liberality, sustain the Committee in their efforts to diffuse information, in reference, particularly, to British India.

The Rev. Dr. Heugh proposed that the Reports now read be adopted, printed, and circulated, under the direction of the Committee. They were to bear in mind that what had been read was only an abstract of the Reports. He regretted that he did not perfectly hear them; but he was sure that they would be very unlike all such documents that had gone before them, if they were not stored with an excellent supply of important facts and reasonings; and he was sure that sending these abroad over Glasgow, could not but give an impulse to the cause they all had so much at heart. He felt, and every member of the society must feel along with him, that they were under great obligations to the uncommon zeal, indefatigable labours, and very distinguished ability of their highly respected Secretaries, and for the pains they took in preparing these documents. (Cheers.) He should consider it absolutely criminal were he that night to make a speech, considering what they had already heard, and what they were yet to hear from the lips of one who had so often instructed and delighted them, and who would do so over again; and what they were also to hear from the lips of the gallant General, who had made himself singularly well acquainted with Indian affairs, and the all but incredible, he might say, absolutely incredible, condition of that country, were it not supported by evidence to which no mind could refuse assent. (Cheers.) They should bear in mind that they were only in the outset of their exertions, and should recollect the deplorable fact which Mr Buxton had made too evident in his book—a book he would recommend to the reading of all—that the Slave Trade was not in any degree diminished, but had additional horrors connected with it, and was in three-fold greater activity at this day, partly through British capital, than when Thomas Clarkson first commenced his career of benevolence. (Hear, hear.) Mr Buxton believes that no trade, however immoral, however debasing its character, or monstrously inhuman it may be, if it only insure a return of from thirty to forty per cent. can be put down, but is sure to drive its way, in spite of all the penalties which civil law can interpose to prevent it. (Cheers.) If he was not mistaken, this trade brought a return of 130 per cent. into

the pockets of its inhuman conductors. (Hear.) They were, therefore, only in the outset of their exertions; but he trusted they were in the outset, and that they would go forward in the good work. (Cheers.) If any thing was calculated to animate them more than another, next to the justice of the cause, and their impulses of humanity towards the oppressed and their oppressors, he would say that the splendid success of the cause in America, as shown by the heart-stirring document read from the pen of Garrison, was well calculated to influence every mind present, and to excite us to redoubled exertion. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr Anderson simply seconded the Resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Rev. Mr Baird of Paisley moved the next Resolution:—

"That the thanks of this Meeting are due to those Ministers and Congregations, who last year so cordially responded to the recommendation of this Society, both with respect to the observance of a time of Thanksgiving for the Abolition of Colonial Slavery, and the Collections in aid of our Funds; and this Meeting cherishes the hope, that these Friends will continue to co-operate with us in the great cause of Human Freedom."

The recommendation referred to in the motion he had just read, and for the purpose thus stated, was, he observed, well entitled to the cordial response which it had so generously and so gladly received.—Most of the towns and villages and districts of the western neighbourhood of this city, gave that response in the most cordial manner. It is true there were many—nay, it may be said, that with a few honourable exceptions, there were nearly all of the ministers of a certain denomination who had stood aloof from this struggle, carried on so long and so hotly between the friends and foes of freedom; and it is quite possible that many of them, though their hearts might rejoice with us in the result of the contest, might yet feel it awkward in taking part with the various sections of the Christian community in public thanksgiving, in reference to the issue of a struggle which they had aided so little, and with which they had sympathised still less. (Hear, hear.) Yet there were honourable exceptions; and it is with pleasure I say, that this recommendation was complied with in the town of Paisley in the most fraternal manner, by ministers of all denominations. (Cheers.) I have great pleasure in saying, that the ministers of the Established Church in that town, during the time of my residence there, have been, all and each of them, with a very rare exception indeed, the warm and steadfast friends of this cause, not merely in the hour of its ascendancy, but at a time when to stand forth in its defence subjected those who did so to deep odium and bitter reproach. (Cheers.) I may state, in reference to this matter, and I have pleasure in doing so, as a pleasing exposition of the state of matters in other places, that on the afternoon of the 1st of August, last year, Mr Brewster preached an appropriate sermon, in the Abbey church, to a crowded audience; and on the evening of that day a crowded assembly was convened in St. George's church, to offer up thanksgiving to Almighty God. The devotional services with which the meeting commenced were performed by Dr Thomson of the Relief; Dr Burns and myself delivered addresses from the pulpit, and the services were concluded by Mr M'Nair of the Abbey church; and there were not fewer than five or six of the Established ministers of the place present. This was an occasion well fitted to unite all hearts, and to lead the friends of humanity and religion to offer up thanksgiving to God, who had, in such a very signal way, overpowered the opposition of men to a cause so glorious—who had made the wrath of man to praise him, and who had restrained the remainder

thereof. It was fitting that they, the friends of humanity in that place, and in all other places, should, on such an occasion, say devoutly and publicly, "This also cometh forth from the Lord of Hosts, who is wonderful in counsel, and excellent in working." Yes! it was He who inspired the friends of this high and holy cause with that zeal which carried them nobly on in the face of appalling difficulties, and frequently apparently insurmountable difficulties—who sustained them amid the dispensation of frequent and sometimes apparently ruinous defeat—who gave them fresh energy at every renewed onset to look unshrinking on the power of their enemies, and to battle corruption in her strongholds, till every fortress gave way—till at last the accursed system fell in a moment—fell unexpectedly—fell, as if smitten by the thunderbolt of an unseen but Almighty arm. (Cheers.) The system thus overthrown, I need not say, was a system of atrocious injustice. (Hear.) The nature of civil association requires that those who place themselves under its protection, and who enjoy its many privileges, should relinquish a portion of their individual rights, in order that the good of all may be secured, and the protection and happiness of all promoted; but the institution of Slavery requires that the Slave should relinquish every right which is dear to man—that he should not only relinquish these, but relinquish them for the sole and exclusive advantage of another—who is to task him as a brute, and as a brute drive him to his labour by the sound of the lash. Is he a man?—he is told he has no property even in himself; his flesh, blood, and bones are the property of another. (Loud cheering.) Is he a parent?—his children are not his own. Is he a husband?—his wife is not his own; and the tender relation that binds them to each other, may be severed in a moment, not at the fiat of the Creator, but by the caprice and tyranny of his fellow-men. (Loud cheers.) And what are the fruits such a system may be expected to yield? Is there any thing so revolting in cruelty—is there any thing so loathsome in licentiousness—is there any thing so base in vice—is there any thing so fiend-like in violence—is there any thing so hostile in all its influences, to the progress of religion, and the triumphs of the gospel, which it may not be expected to yield, as its native and proper growth? (Cheers.) And in point of fact, are not these the very fruits which it has yielded? In every clime and era of the world, it has been the parent of crime, of ruin, desolation, woe, and death. (Cheers.) And under present circumstances, when the barren tree is rooted up—when the towering pyramid of evil is laid prostrate—when the compact system of crime is dissolved—when a way is opened up for the diffusion of the blessings of freedom and religion, to a long-suffering and much-injured race—when a mighty impulse is given to the movement of this noble cause in every land, where the bitter cup of Slavery is still drunk, and its heavy chain is still dragged—shall we not rejoice? Does it not become the friends of religion to assemble and give thanks to God—did it not become them then, does it not become them still to rejoice—to rejoice that, notwithstanding the wiles of human policy, and the force of human tyranny, the Lord reigneth, and that every system of iniquity shall at last be laid prostrate before Him? (Cheering.) I have just to notice, in one word, that this motion expresses the hope that its friends will continue to co-operate in the great cause of human freedom. Oh, how much need is there still of this co-operation! When we reflect upon the details this night laid before us in the Report—(Hear)—when we think of one thousand human beings still torn from the land of their birth—a land so long trodden down in ruin by the cupidity and tyranny of civilized man—a thousand human beings every day murdered, or sold into Slavery! there

is, indeed, much land to be possessed—there is many a bitter cup of Slavery yet to be dashed to the ground—many woes to be redressed. (Hear, hear.) If we look to the state of things in Europe, there, in defiance of solemn treaties, and of treaties into which those powers were induced to enter by large remunerative grants from the taxes of this country, the flag of many of the maritime states of Europe is still unfurled to protect the increasing and uninterrupted horrors of the African Slave-Trade: the star-bespangled banner of Republican America is red with blood—though we have reason to rejoice, from the accounts read this evening, that that foul stain will yet be wiped away, and that the echoes of the loud shout of her freedom that comes ever and anon over the western wave, shall yet not be stained with the groans of captive millions, and turned to bitter mockery and loathsome hypocrisy. (Cheers.) And turn we to our own empire in the East. Many of us foolishly imagined that the time had come when every yoke was broken in our own dominions; but it is not so. In a Bill introduced in 1833, and which passed through the Commons House, for the opening up of the India trade, there was a clause which went to give liberty to the millions in a state of Slavery in the Indian empire; but when it reached the House of Lords, true to their character of obstructives, they threw it out. (Hear.) And shall we permit that clause to be continually thrust out? Shall the friends of humanity not rally around the millions of our fellow-men kept in Slavery, and continue to give our aid, our sympathies, our energies, and our consecrated talents to a cause so great and so noble? (Cheers.) Yes, my friends, I trust we will do so till the great trumpet of civil and religious liberty has been blown in the ear of every human being, and every captive ear has rejoiced in its heart-thrilling sound. (Cheers.)

Bailie M'Leod seconded the Resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Rev. Mr Harvey of Calton, proposed the next Resolution:—

"That this meeting rejoices in the formation of the London Society for promoting Universal Abolition; that we renew the expression of our fervent desire for the success of our Anti-Slavery brethren and sisters in America; and whilst, in common with the friends of humanity everywhere, we deplore the continued existence and increased activity of the traffic in human beings, we feel called upon to reiterate our conviction, that so long as Slavery is suffered to exist in any quarter of the globe, the Slave Trade will never be effectually put down—and therefore resolve, under the Divine blessing, to promote, to the utmost of our power, the Universal Extinction of Slavery."

Mr Harvey said, I regard the cause in which we are engaged as one truly sacred, and involving alike the interests, the honour, and the happiness of mankind. The Christian can know no distinction of colour or class. If he has imbibed the spirit of his Divine Master, and has his heart thoroughly imbued with the principles of his religion, he must admit that God made of one blood, though not of one colour, all who dwell on the face of the earth. And every enlightened individual, though he has not imbibed the spirit of Christ, must venerate man as man, and not on account of some of those adventitious circumstances which he may have obtained in consequence of the peculiar situation in which Providence has ordered his lot. (Cheers.) I have always thought that the sacred injunction in Holy Writ has not been sufficiently attended to on this point. We read that honour is due to kings, and I fully admit that honour is due to those high in office, but at the same time, there is recorded in the same book, the injunction "honour all men." Honour them as men—(Great cheering)—honour them because they possess a common humanity with ourselves,

though perhaps not so highly favoured as we. Yet recollect, that were we in their circumstances, and not more favoured of Providence than they, our lot would have been theirs, and we would have been smarting under the very ills they undergo. (Cheers.) Is it not enough to make us blush for the privileges of freedom men enjoy, when, instead of employing their superior advantages for the good of their fellow-creatures, they employ their influence for the purpose of debasing, injuring, stealing, and insulting their fellow-men. (Cheering.) Mr H. then proceeded to speak in reference to the various clauses of the Resolution. He observed that they had reason to rejoice that in the metropolis the question of universal abolition had been taken up by a society lately instituted there. We cannot, however, he proceeded, give our London brethren the credit of originating the present movement. I believe that the idea of originating this great object was first mooted in Glasgow. (Hear.) A number of years ago societies were formed in this country; but we are, nevertheless, glad that the subject has been taken up in England, and, above all, in London, where they have more influence with those in authority, and more extensive communication with other parts of the world than we have; and therefore the influence they can bring to bear on this cause will be more directly and more immediately felt than in any other part of the kingdom. (Hear.) After expressing a hope that the London Society would pursue their object with energy and zeal, Mr H. referred to the progress of the cause of emancipation in America. They had said at their meetings years ago, that, if the Americans once took up this subject, it would go on with gigantic strides; and, though the cry of Liberty was at first heard amid blood and crime, yet he trusted they would hear no more of such outrages—that they would hear no more of the brick-bat, of mobs, or of Lynch-law to crush infant liberty. (Cheers.) Mr H. next referred to the slave trade. They had believed that an occasional pirate was now and then seen upon the coast of Africa, engaged in this horrible traffic; but till of late they had no idea of the extent to which the atrocious trade was carried. Instead of being diminished, it existed to a greater degree than ever, and with more cruelty than ever. Formerly the traffic in slaves was regulated by statutes; and, as a consequence of its being recognized by the law of the land, those statutes extended some kind of protection to the captured slave; but now the trade is carried on by desperadoes, who run double risks—who are liable to be seized as pirates, and therefore they were compelled to resort to cruelties formerly unknown. (Hear.) They have been known, when pursued, to stow hundreds of their victims into casks, and throw them into the sea, in order that the proofs of the horrid traffic in which they were engaged might not be found against them. (Hear.) After dwelling upon the necessity for crushing the slave trade, which, he observed, could never be done by treaties, but only by abolishing slavery, and thus stopping the demand for slaves, Mr H. impressively called upon his audience, by every motive which humanity and religion could furnish, to devote their entire energies to the promotion of the great and holy cause in which they were engaged, and concluded by moving the Resolution.

Dr. Maxwell seconded the Resolution, which was also carried unanimously.

The Chairman (the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw,) in introducing Major-General Briggs to the meeting, stated that the gallant General had spent thirty-two years in India—had administered the affairs of the Government in several provinces—had travelled over almost every part of British India—was the author of an elaborate and able work on the Land Tax of India, and a member of the Committee of the *London British*

India Society. He (Dr. W.) was most glad to invite their attention to so distinguished a coadjutor in the cause of humanity.

Major-General Briggs then rose, amidst much applause, and said:—After a long and dark night of ignorance, light is beginning to burst upon us from its natural quarter, and the condition of eighty millions of our fellow-subjects in the East has begun to attract notice in England. Those millions have been shut out from our attention by their vast distance, and from our sympathies by the great ignorance which has pervaded this country regarding them. Within late years, some of our countrymen have published their travels amongst these people; and in giving lively pictures of their habits, so different from our own, yet apparently so simple and so primitive, they have excited much interest. To admire the people of India, it is only necessary to have lived among them as I have done for more than thirty years, and to have studied their character through their own languages—(Cheers)—and I defy any one who has done so, to look back on them without kindliness, or to think on them without feelings of regard. Before I speak of the condition of the country, I shall therefore say a few words respecting the character of the Natives. The late Rammohun Roy, who visited you some years ago, affords a fair sample of a Hindoo of the Bengal Presidency; and the Prince of Oude, who is now in London, and who passed through Glasgow about this time last year, is a favourable specimen of a Mohammedan native gentleman from Upper India. (Cheers.) The Parsees of Bombay seem, perhaps, to exhibit stronger proofs of attachment to our countrymen, than the natives of any other portion of the East. They are an intelligent and an enterprising race, as may be supposed, when I tell you that some, who are in frequent correspondence with Sir Charles Forbes, became possessed of great wealth from slender beginnings. One of these, in particular, commenced his career by buying and selling empty bottles, till, from a small shop, he extended his concern to a warehouse. He afterwards engaged in other business, and eventually left off his mercantile pursuits in 1830. In that year he addressed a letter in English to his friend, Sir C. Forbes, which evinces an elegant as well as a devout mind, and to parts of which I shall now refer you. The paragraphs I allude to are as follow. The first has reference to a letter from Sir Charles Forbes to him, and the second to the sudden death of a mutual friend, Mr James Forbes, a partner in the house of Forbes & Co.:—

Extracts from a Letter dated 5th Jan., 1830, *from Jenesetjee Jujubehyr, to Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., M. P.*

"I feel greatly obliged by your kind expressions and good opinion of me, which are indeed highly flattering. I beg to assure you, my honoured Sir, that if I at all merit the encomiums which you have so profusely lavished on me, it is for the most part to be ascribed to the advantage I have derived from studiously adhering to the friendly and valuable advice which you condescended to give me on your departure from Bombay.

"It is with feelings of the deepest sorrow I take my pen to condole with you on the decease of our much-esteemed friend, Mr James Forbes, who met his death on the 2d ultimo, by an accident, producing a fracture of the skull, from which he shortly after expired. Having had the honour of great intimacy and friendship with him, I had frequent occasions to witness his nobleness of heart and social virtues. It is therefore by no means surprising, that your good self, as well as his other friends, require extraordinary fortitude on this melancholy occasion.

"But, as there are none exempted, in this transitory world, from dis-

charging this debt of nature, however severe the loss may be, the only alternative left for us is an entire resignation to the will of Providence, whose dispensations are always just, and unquestionably for our ultimate good." (Cheers.)

This good man, in the possession of considerable wealth, has lately given £10,000 sterling to endow a native hospital for his countrymen in Bombay—(Cheers)—and trusts that the Government will add the interest annually of a similar amount, which has been done. Since that he has, in addition, contributed £1000 more to aid in building the hospital. In a letter on the subject, written 4th September, 1838, he adds the following postscript:—

"If you find any difficulty to get the sanction of the Court for 6 per cent. (on the £10,000,) in that case I give you full discretionary power to increase my donation as you may deem proper to attain the object I have in view, for securing 6000 Rupees (£600) per annum to this institution for ever." (Cheers.)

The son of Jenesetjee, the well-known ship-builder in Bombay, who died, leaving a very small fortune, has lately sent two of his sons to the care of Sir Charles, in London, to be placed under the tuition of a clergyman in that vicinity, in order that they may be well grounded in the English language, and in mathematics. They are then to be sent to the English building docks, to study the science of naval architecture, before they return to their own country. In Madras, the late Ram Raja, a Brahmin, whom I had an opportunity of placing in the highest responsible judicial station in Mysore, was by no means inferior, in point of European acquirements, to Rammohun Roy, and wrote during his lifetime an interesting and learned work on the architecture and sculpture of the Hindoos, adorned with a vast number of plans and plates, indicating a high state of the art of building at a remote period of antiquity. This essay has been published in the transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. So much for their men; now let us say a word of their literature. Those who are learned in Sanscrit have pronounced some portions of the Ramayan and the Mahabharat, two of their heroic poems, to be not inferior to the Iliad and the Odyssey; and every day is developing histories which have not yet been translated, among the Hindoos. The Mohammedan historians are as faithful, if not so copious, as Livy or Tacitus. The commentaries of Baber, written by himself, like those of Cæsar, are little, if at all inferior to them in simplicity, and abound in reflections, the result of an acute and observing mind. With their kingdoms, the patrons of their literature have departed, and all composition, whether historical or rhetorical, has disappeared. The means of popular education, however, are still abundant; for no village in India is without its schoolmaster, who enjoys a portion of tax-free land from the village, in virtue of his office. Nor is there the son of a Brahmin, or of a merchant, banker, or tradesman, throughout all India, who has not been taught to read and write with ease, if not with elegance: the former, in order to perform his duties as a teacher of religion, or as a clerk in a public office: the latter, to conduct his business as a book-keeper and accountant. It is true, that at present this is the extent of their education; but what a mighty instrument is thus ready made to our hands, for conveying useful and general instruction through the village institutions, if the Government would, as it certainly might do, require that each village schoolmaster should in future undergo an examination, and obtain a certificate of qualification, before he was allowed to assume his office, whenever it devolved on him; but such measures must be conducted *through the agency of the natives themselves.* If we look at the progress made in

the arts and manufactures, before we came among them, we shall find they were little inferior to ourselves in almost all that is performed by manual labour. They were once deeply skilled in the sciences of astronomy, mathematics, and medicine; indeed, Dr. Royle (an author whose knowledge and experience is extensive, and whose authority is very high) is of opinion, that much that was known to the Greeks and to the Arabians, of pharmacy, was acquired from the Hindoos. It has been lately shown, that the people of the South of India alone possessed the secret of making steel in the time of Alexander the Great, and that they manufacture it at the present time on principles as scientific as any that have been adopted for the same purpose in Europe. (Cheers.) With regard to their knowledge of agriculture, I have myself witnessed it conducted (*on tax-free lands*) with as much skill as one sees here—aye, in Scotland—which is saying all that can be said for the art—(Hear, hear)—and in horticulture, as regards pruning, budding, grafting, and propagating by layers, they have nothing to learn from the West. It is of a people placed thus high in the scale of human knowledge, of whom I am now addressing you. (Hear, hear.) It is not for the savages of North America, the Negroes and Hottentots of Africa, nor the cannibals of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, that I ask your sympathy and claim your protection, though all these are justly entitled to those benevolent regards which I am happy to find you have bestowed on them. The people of whom I now speak, were in an advanced state of civilisation when our forefathers painted their bodies, and wore the skins of beasts. (Hear, hear.) It is the misfortunes brought on them by the natural effects of despotism and internal bad government, that have rendered them subject to foreign yokes during the last eight centuries. They have lost perhaps some of that high polish which literature imparts, and which belongs only to nations in a state of prosperity; but they have neither forgotten, nor have they lost, those venerable institutions which prevail, more or less, under their native princes, but which it is to be regretted that our ignorance, on the one hand, and the contempt in which we usually hold what we do not understand, on the other, have combined to disregard, to trample under foot, and to destroy. (Cheers.) Those institutions, of which Europeans in general know little, require only to be studied and comprehended, to form the ground-work of future good government; but, in our present state of information, we rule the country blindly and selfishly, and are the indirect, I might rather say the direct, cause of the dreadful calamities which, alas! too frequently visit it in the shape of dearth. I have said, Sir, our nation is ignorant of every thing regarding India, except some of the miseries which it occasionally endures; but it is owing to the exertions of such societies as this, that the people of this country are beginning to be informed. (Cheers.)

So much has been said lately on the subject of the famines that have desolated that beautiful land, that it will be unnecessary for me to dwell at large on them. I will, however, just glance at those which have occurred within the last twenty years of peace on the Indian continent, an event, it should be observed, without parallel in the course of our rule. In 1820-21, a famine raged in the southern part of the Deccan. In 1822-23, another famine prevailed over the same tract of country. In 1823-24, famine also prevailed from Caudeish in lat. 22, to Mysore in 14, an extent of nearly 500 miles. In 1833, a famine extended more to the eastward, over an area of 50,000 square miles; and during the months of March, April, and May, there were no fewer than eight thousand persons fed daily by the Government alone, in the city of Madras, besides those who shared the bounty of private establishments, formed for the purpose, all over the

country, to which natives and Europeans alike contributed. In 1835-36, the famine spread over the northern portions of the Madras provinces, and extended to Orissa. In 1837-38, the greatest of all the famines prevailed in the north-western provinces of the Bengal presidencies, which carried off, as we are told, 500,000 human beings; and, strange to relate, during the latter period, as much grain was exported from the lower parts of Bengal as would have fed half a million of people at a pound of rice a day for a whole year! (Shame.) In the last and present year, dearth has made its appearance again, within the Bombay and Madras presidencies, and threatens a repetition of a similar calamity. Of such things we are at length fully informed; and shall we not ask, How that land, which once was a land flowing with milk and honey, and as capable as our own beloved country, of becoming like it the garden of the universe, has so fallen off? Why these famines occur so frequently, and why they are not averted? (Hear, hear.) Does the Government do nothing to ward off these evils? I answer, nothing. (Hear, hear.) When the evil arrives it does exert itself. It opens the public treasury—it establishes alms-houses—it employs those who can work, but how long can any country continue populous, or even inhabited at all, with such frightful desolation, so frequently repeated? (Hear, hear.) Or what government can afford to dole out of the public purse food to its famishing subjects with one hand, while it is compelled to remit its revenue on the other? (Hear.) All this, too, has happened at a period when its rulers have engaged in a war, and have adopted a policy, which, in the West, will advance the frontier of our Indian empire to the very frontiers of the Russian dominions, since Persia may now be deemed an integral part of them. While again, we are only awaiting the success of that expedition to commence another war in the East on the side of Burmah, which cost the Indian people, a few years ago, sixteen millions sterling, and which, from the position it left us in, involves the necessity of this new evil. It is not on a political question we are met to-night; and this subject should not have been introduced, but that such military expeditions do materially affect the means, when there may be the inclination to do good to the inhabitants, who are bound to pay the expense of such wars. It is in that point of view only, I say, such extravagant political projects do indirectly affect the bettering the condition of our fellow-subjects in the East. (Cheers.) But unhappily for them, the improvement of their condition is the last thing that is thought of; and yet, if one reads the accounts of the money that is annually expended on public works, one might fancy that much is done. In order to elucidate this, I will take the liberty of reading an extract from a Bombay newspaper, dated 18th May, 1839, the channel of the Government panegyric:—

"We have often endeavoured to prove that one of the greatest obstacles to Indian prosperity, is the wretched condition of the roads, and other means of communication. We have shown, in a former number, that, until the year 1830, we derived no agricultural produce whatever from the vast and fertile plains of Berar, and supplied that district with but a single article, viz., salt, which, owing to the almost impracticable condition of the roads, was conveyed from this place on the backs of bullocks, a distance of 600 miles. In that year, one of the native salt merchants tried the experiment of conveying back to Bombay, upon his returning bullocks, some of the cotton which abounds in that country; the experiment was completely successful, and next year, 10,000 loads were brought by the same means. In 1836, 90,000 loads were received from that one district. The road, however, if it can be so called, is still in such a condition, that the

conveyance of the article to our market imposes an additional charge of 80 per cent. upon its original price; a sum, we need scarcely say, literally lost to the seller, the buyer, and the country. The subject has at length been taken up by the Government. Surveys have been made, and a plan for the construction of a good wheel carriage road has been sent home for the sanction of the Court of Directors, the estimated expense being upwards of thirty thousand pounds. The extension of this line to Calcutta would, we may observe, not cost more than forty or fifty lacs, four or five hundred thousand pounds, and would be attended with unspeakable advantages to both sides of India.

"The necessity of something deserving the name of road, between Bombay and Agra, is now felt by every one, and the Governments of both Presidencies have zealously entered upon its construction. The distance between the two places is stated to be 782 miles. The road is actually completed for 277 miles, and surveys of the remaining portion are in progress. We shall, at an early period, notice this subject more fully. Besides these two great lines, other shorter ones, in various parts of the Bombay presidency, are, some actually begun, others in course of survey: and others again, after having received the sanction of the Indian Governments, are under reference to the authorities at home.

"Such are the promises of a better system which we remark throughout the provinces;—the spirit of improvement is still more active at the Presidency. In proof of this assertion, we shall merely notice the various works, which, having met with the approval and sanction of Government, are at this moment under reference to the authorities at home.

"1. A large additional yard for shipping to be made near the saluting battery, with slips, capable of building ships of war of the first class. Expense estimated at three lacs.

"2. Lengthening the upper old dock for the admission of large steamers.

"3. Erection of three slips for steamers, to the eastward of the present dock-yard.

"4. Building extra coal-depots at Calaba, (estimate now in preparation.)

"5. Building of new Court-house and offices; estimate, one lac and 69,000 rupees, (£16,900.)

"6. Large public building, to include a Bank, Post-office, Exchange, and apartments for other public offices; estimate, one lac.

"Besides these, there are just finished, or are about to be finished:—

"7. An extensive sea-wall and quay, from Bhore-bunder to the Slaughter-house.

"8. The beautiful new tower to the Cathedral, to be finished, we understand, next month.

"9. The elegant Bazaar gates now completed."

Thus it is in every thing. When we ask what has the Government done for the direct benefit of the people in public works, there is exhibited, among others, a list of roads that have been made, and a few drains or ditches cut in the neighbourhood of the Presidencies, whose origin may be traced to the convenience of the European population. On referring to the Parliamentary returns, made by the East India Company, of public works executed in India, I find in the list a description of roads termed *military roads*, and of bridges denominated in Bengal *Shakspeare bridges*, so called after a gentleman who was once Postmaster-General, and who adopted a plan for transmitting the foot post over mountain torrents, which frequently impeded it during the rainy season. Then, of these

military roads, there is hardly one of them over which I have not travelled; and I say, without fear of contradiction, that there is scarcely ten miles of any part of them on which, during the rains, a carriage could be driven, or a loaded cart proceed without danger. (Hear, hear.) Roads are marked out, it is true, they are levelled for the time being, and, till the wet season sets in, they are tolerably good; but one or two years serve to break them up entirely; roads without metal, without drains, without bridges,—and, to be rendered available even for the march of an army with its stores, a detachment of pioneers is required to precede the troops. (Hear.) There is another description of roads, however, to which much attention and money is devoted. I mean the roads within and around the Presidencies, and the principal civil and military stations. Each road not extending beyond three or four miles in length, and used purely for European gentlemen and ladies to drive their carriages. (Hear, hear.) Another feature in the road-making of India must not be forgotten, and this is the practice of constructing roads to render places of retreat during the hot months conveniently accessible to governors, judges, and other Europeans, who are prompted to visit them on account of ill health or pleasure. I allude especially to those roads leading up to the salutary hill retreats of the Nilghirries from Madras, and the Mahableswur hills from Bombay. There, stupendous difficulties to the approach of hitherto inaccessible mountains, of 9000 feet in the one case, and half that height in the other, have been overcome for the purpose of conducting the European's palanquin with convenience suited to the luxuries of the East, to those hitherto unfrequented regions. (Hear.) The person who most devoted his attention to road-making in India, was your late honoured representative, Lord William Bentinck, than whom no one ever evinced a greater sympathy for our native population, or more desired to better their condition, provided always that it could be effected with economy. (Cheers.) It is to him the people owe the road of 227 miles in length, which is alluded to in the Bombay paper of the 18th May, an extract from which has been read. This road was finished in 1831, and it was then intended to carry it on to Omrawutty, in the heart of the cotton districts; but eight years have elapsed without fulfilling the intention, and we now learn, as if for the first time, that an estimate has actually been submitted to England for sanction. (Hear.) Such has been the effect of making this road, that although only *four hundred* wheel carriages passed to and fro during the second year that it was opened, there were, in 1837–38, no fewer than *six thousand* carts plying on it; but as the cotton has to be brought from Berar, the place of its growth, two hundred and fifty miles to the road, it is still dispatched on pack bullocks, and is so carried to its journey's end; and the road is, as far as that traffic is concerned, at present useless. (Hear.) As an instance of the resources of the country, both in the materials and in the skill of the natives, it will not be amiss to mention, that an iron suspension bridge, of two hundred feet span, over which carriages pass, was constructed by the officer who superintended this very road, at the trifling cost of £4,800 sterling, under his supervision by the natives, without the aid of any European artificer. (Cheers.) Dr. Spry, in his work, entitled "Modern India," thus speaks of this bridge:—

"This suspension bridge has been constructed entirely out of the resources of the district, and by an amateur mechanic, who had never seen an iron suspension bridge in his life! and yet we have an assurance from the visiting engineer for the north-western provinces and Central India, Major Irvine, C. B., that he had seen nothing superior to it in England. The undertaking was altogether an experimental one; for, as I have

elsewhere mentioned, there are no roads in this part of the country of any extent, and, consequently, little or no traffic between remote places ; its undertaking, therefore, originated in a desire to ascertain the capabilities of the materials and the workmen employed."

After a minute history of the progress and completion of the work, Dr. Spry says :—" Notwithstanding the countless extra expenses incidental to a first undertaking of this kind, and the distance to which all the materials were obliged to be transported, from the work-yard at Saugor to the place of erection, the bridge has been pronounced cheaper than those in Calcutta constructed of English materials. Here, then, we have a structure which, in elegance, in magnitude, and in durability, may vie with the most perfect specimens of the kind in civilized Europe; and yet, fashioned out of the oxydised metal as it lies embedded in the bowels of the earth, by the rude hands of a class of artizans, by no means as expert as their countrymen in Northern Hindostan ; and the whole emanating from the genius and unremitting industry of one master-mind! Does not this speak volumes ? Does it not satisfactorily show what India can do when her resources are properly drawn forth ? And is it not a reproof to all who would seek alike to depreciate the country and the capabilities of her people ? While an empire possesses engineers and artificers, who are able to accomplish such a work as the Saugor Iron Suspension Bridge, the infusion of capital is all that is required to render that country great among the civilized kingdoms of the world; and to this point must India arrive, if proper steps be taken to bring her capabilities into active exertion." (Loud cheers.)

After this, what might not be effected by the ingenuity and industry of the natives themselves. (Cheers.) Roads, and bridges, and canals, are so essential to the prosperity of a country, that the first thing every settler in the back woods of America thinks of is, how he is to convey the produce of his farm to market, and how he is to obtain the articles he may himself require from the nearest town. Now, unfortunately, the people of India are kept by our defective system of finance so poor that they cannot themselves afford to make roads; and the Government itself has hitherto looked upon their construction as an object to be attempted only after prosperity has been obtained, rather than as one of the first steps to accomplish it. (Cheers.) And what, Sir, do you think the roads and canals, which have been constructed throughout so extensive a region, has cost the state within the last forty years ? Why, less than was expended on the railway of thirty miles which connects Liverpool with Manchester. (Cheers.) Whenever a road is proposed by a public functionary, and recommended by the Government there to the Home authorities here —(the constituted Guardians and Protectors of India!)—they are told the finances do not admit of the expense ; but if government palaces are to be repaired or built—if court-houses are required for the convenience of European judges—or public offices for European collectors—or expensive barracks for European soldiers—or magazines for military stores—there are abundance of funds ; and if there are none, why, money is taken up in loans, so that the Indian public debt amounts, at this moment, to nearly forty millions of pounds sterling. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Nothing, however, is ever borrowed or expended to improve the condition of the people of India, who alone pay the interest of such loans. (Hear.) When the Americans require to make roads they come to London and borrow the money, rather than be without them. They justly consider such debts to be like those a farmer contracts for a time to purchase seed—(cheers) —but the Indian Government, less wise, keeps in its treasury, in hard

cash, from year's end to year's end, a sum of from eight to nine millions, about half the amount of the whole revenue, which lies idle and is withdrawn from currency, in a country where paper money is unknown, while it pays five per cent. on a debt of nearly forty millions contracted in making unprofitable wars. (Hear, hear.) If the Government would but put their specie into circulation instead of hoarding it up in their cash chest—if they would but expend the £400,000 or the £450,000 a-year they now pay in interest by this arrangement, in constructing useful public works for the benefit of the people, they would be sowing a fruitful crop which would yield to the State an abundant harvest. (Loud cheers.) I must now advert to another permanent, and, indeed, the most grievous calamity under which the afflicted people of India have been suffering, are suffering, and I fear are long likely to suffer, unless they be relieved by some novel and extraneous means, to which neither the Government here nor the natives of India have been accustomed,—exposure in regard to the former; and sympathy and English advocacy in favour of the latter. The subject I allude to is THE LAND TAX OF INDIA. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) It is a subject which, owing to the ignorance of Europeans, has been involved in intricacy, and is environed (in the present state of information, and mode of thinking of our Indian legislators,) with difficulties which they consider insuperable, difficulties which arise out of a perverseness on their own parts; originating partly in ignorance and partly in supineness. To explain this state of things, it would be necessary to enter into a detail of which the time does not admit, but it may be sufficient to say that the whole solves itself into these two questions—Are we, or are we not, proprietors or landlords of the soil in India? (hear, hear) and, if we are so, is it expedient that we should derive the full rent from our own lands? To this I reply, and I challenge the Court of Directors—aye, and the whole world—to contradict me, that by right the Government is not the proprietor of the soil (loud cheers); that we have assumed to be true that which is absolutely false; and that the main secret of the cause of the distress of the people, and of the Government as to its finances, originates in that erroneous, unjust, and cruel assumption. (Cheers.) A right unclaimed by our predecessors, and unheard of in history. I repeat, Sir, unheard of in history. Who ever heard of a state proclaiming itself an universal landlord (hear)—the proprietor of every man's field, to take from it what suits it? (Cheers.) Fields which have descended in India from father to son, and which have been tilled by the same family for generations; or fields which have been bought and sold hundreds of times, during hundreds of years, without so monstrous a claim put forth on the part of Government; but whenever any Government assumes a right to tax the soil to any amount that it chooses, then I admit that Government virtually becomes the owner, if it please, of the soil; but only in the same way that a robber becomes the owner of my purse when he has compelled me to deliver it up to him. (Great cheering.) This is no hyperbole. It is no figure of speech. It is simply true. When the Indian or any other Government shall tax my house or my land, so as to compel me to abandon either one or the other, it may call itself proprietor, and exercise that privilege by might, which right, if respected, would prevent. (Hear, hear.) Neither the Hindoo nor the Mohammedan Sovereigns, though arbitrary enough in all conscience, ever perpetrated this injustice. They never claimed a proprietary right in every man's field, but they did claim as a tax a *limited* portion of the crop, a barbarous exaction to be sure, and calculated to depress industry, as the clerical tithe did till lately in England; but still a certain portion, not less than three-

fourths of the remainder of the crop, was left to the farmer. When the native Government desired to convert its portion into money, it had to look out a purchaser, and usually endeavoured to sell it to the cultivator himself; but in most instances it was sold through the small country banker, or grain merchant, who paid the cash into the treasury; and, if required to advance the money, he received a bonus for the same, and made the best of his bargain. The British Government considered this practice objectionable on two accounts; first, as becoming a partner in the labour and capital of the farmer; and secondly, as being attended with all the inconvenience of converting the grain into rupees. So, without further ado, it fixed an assumed capability on every field to produce (hear); it fixed an assumed price on the produce itself (hear, hear); and it then fixed from thirty-five to forty-five per cent. of the money value of that produce as its share for ever; excepting, indeed, when the proprietor should lay out money and dig a well, so as to irrigate his land, when a new assessment was made in proportion to the increased value of the crop. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Now, as any person who ever cultivated a field in his life, or who ever sold its produce from year to year, knows that the same field does not yield the same quantity of corn every year, nor does corn fetch the same price in the market every year, so may he conceive what must be the condition of the landowner who has to make up, in money, to the Government at the end of every harvest, 45 per cent. of what his field was supposed to yield when corn is of only half the value that it was when the assessment was made. I hope I have made myself understood. (Cheers.) If I have, you will comprehend the condition of the Indian landholder, and the little chance there is, under the present system, of the millions of acres now lying waste ever being occupied to the benefit of the people, or to the advantage of the state. What is the result of this system? The land is abandoned by the owner. The Government makes a similar bargain with some one else who has no title to occupy the same land except that which an arbitrary Government gives after compelling the real owner to desert it; and this new tenant, entering on his farm with a favourable condition for the first three or four years, abandons it also when the time for paying the full assessment arrives. If there be any one present who can look on this picture with apathy, I envy not his feelings. (Cheers.) The lands are taxed till they are driven out of cultivation—the roads are neglected, and the produce, if raised, in excess of the demands on the spot, is left to rot—the abundance of one district cannot be conveyed to prevent famine in another—little else but edible grains is cultivated for want of markets, the people are excluded from all share in the administration of their own concerns; their institutions are neglected or overthrown; their punchayat, or trial by jury, in civil or in criminal cases, is withheld from them, and they are handed over to the justice of a foreigner, generally ill acquainted with their language, unacquainted with their habits, and who has no sympathy for, nor feels the least interest in, the whole race to which the parties belong. There is no injustice in the fiscal and municipal administration which India has escaped; nor in her commercial intercourse which she has not been made to endure. (Cheers.) Who is to blame? I answer, England, aye, all England! (Cheers) which transfers the destiny of a people and a country, little short in extent and population to Christian Europe, to the mercy of those few who are permitted to govern her, and who govern but with one view, the advantage of the mother country, to the ruin of India. (Hear, hear.) Who is it that refuses to listen to the appeals made from year to year, by the Governors on the spot, on the abuses of the land tax, but the Home authorities? (Cheers.) Who is it

that, in spite of justice, has imposed, and continues to impose, commercial laws, which compel India to receive, without duties, all the raw products of England, such as the metals, &c., and imposes from ten to twenty, nay, in some cases, one thousand per cent., on her raw produce when imported into England? (Hear.) Who is it that causes no higher a duty than two and a half per cent. on England's manufactured goods imported into India, to be levied, and lays from ten to twenty per cent. duty on some, and more than one hundred per cent. on others? The Parliament of Great Britain. (Loud cheers.) What other colony is treated in this way? Which of our colonies is wholly unrepresented, directly or indirectly, as is India? What protection has she against the grossest injustice, and to whom can she appeal with hope of redress? I reply, no where on earth. Her appeal is wafted in sighs, and is exhibited in tears at the throne of God. (Loud cheers.) Is this the way in which the people, whom we term free, should be treated? Is this the way in which those people, whom I have before described, deserve to be dealt with? What is the result of this absurd and even iniquitous conduct? Does India contribute a large revenue per head to the State? No. While England contributes £2, her colonies, aye, slave colonies, too, contributed from 30*s.* to 32*s.* 6*d.* per head; while the convict colonies of Van Diemen's Land pay £2 12*s.*, and Sydney £3 a head in taxes, what does the Government receive from the poor Indian? not quite 4*s.*! While the same colonies, which I have described, consume £5 of our manufactures per head, India literally consumes but sixpenny worth. Reflect on these facts; consider what these people would contribute in revenue, and take of our manufactures, if ruled with wisdom I was going to say, but I say with common sense and common justice. Shall these people continue to be so misruled? Forbid it justice—forbid it heaven! I feel that all which is required to set these matters right, is to place them in their true light before my countrymen of Great Britain. I know they only want to be informed correctly, and they will demand justice. India will not continue without representatives! She will be represented in the British India Society. I feel confident there is no philanthropic heart in this building, that does not at this moment beat with indignation and with sympathy at the picture I have drawn, and I look to the time when thousands, nay hundreds of thousands, of generous Britons will, when the true state of that fair land shall be known, unite and make themselves heard, whenever it becomes necessary, through their own representatives in Parliament, and that they will finally obtain—Justice for India! (Protracted cheering.) I move the following Resolution:—

"That it is established, by ample evidence, that there exists throughout British India—a country of vast extent and great fertility, whose inhabitants are intelligent and industrious, and whose ancient institutions might be made instrumental to good government—an amount of destitution and misery, which demand the immediate sympathy and succour of the people of Great Britain."

Wm. Craig, Esq., seconded the Resolution.

The Chairman said, after the important facts laid before them, in a manner that breathed such a spirit of humanity and freedom, and at the same time in sentiments so noble, he was sure that they would carry the Resolution with one heart and soul. (Cheers.) The Resolution was then carried unanimously.

Mr George Thompson rose amidst loud cheers, and said,—Sir, I congratulate you and this great meeting upon the arrival of the first Anniversary of the day which witnessed the bestowal of entire freedom upon the

coloured population of the West India Colonies. I congratulate you upon the admirable and irreproachable conduct of those upon whom this right was conferred by the justice of the British nation—they were unrevengeful while they were slaves, and they have been equally grateful and tractable as freemen. (Cheers.) Their conduct has been marked by prudence, firmness, reasonableness, and industry. (Cheers.) While they have not pliantly and submissively bent to the will of the planter, neither have they been unmindful of the interests and righteous claims of those above them. (Loud and continued cheering.) I congratulate you upon the freedom granted to the apprenticed bondsmen of Mauritius, on the 31st of March last. I congratulate you upon the progress of the cause of human rights in the United States, as depicted in the burning words of my unflinching and well-beloved friend, William Lloyd Garrison. (Cheers.) Finally, I congratulate you upon the prospect of a convention of the friends of the Slave from different parts of the world, to be held during the ensuing year, to consider the plans which remain to be adopted for the entire and universal overthrow of Slavery and the Slave Trade. (Loud cheers.)

And now, permit me to leave the language of congratulation, and, by an abrupt transition, to strike for a moment a mournful chord. I cannot resist a spontaneous impulse to embrace this, the first public opportunity, of expressing my deep sympathy with those around me, in the loss which this Society, this city, and the general interests of humanity have sustained, in the removal, by the hand of death, of one whom I loved as a friend, admired as a citizen, and venerated as a man of God,—one who was among the earliest, the warmest, and the steadiest friends of this Society. Need I pronounce the name of Patrick Lethem? We cherish his memory, we hallow his dust: may we catch his glorious spirit, and follow out his noble purposes!

I shall take the liberty, Sir, of adding, what I think will be deemed valuable, to the information already given respecting the state of the Anti-Slavery cause in the United States. It has been my privilege to receive, very recently, a number of letters from distinguished Abolitionists in America, and having several of their communications with me at present, I shall lay an extract or two before this meeting. My friend, J. G. Whittier, the well-known Quaker bard of America, thus writes:—"The struggle still goes on. Discussion, every where—in the churches, the parlour, the workshop, the stage, the steam-boat, and the rail-road car." [I heard this evening some honest friend exclaim, "We have white slaves at home." If such there be, behold the way to set them free! Let there be no unlawful outbreaks; but calm, rational, open discussion—discussion every where. The grievances will then soon become apparent; the remedy too, and the ends of justice will be obtained.] My friend continues—"Discussion goes on in the State Legislatures, and in the Halls of Congress. Discussion literally shakes the nation. We are struggling apparently against fearful odds—but our confidence is strong. The strength of God is pledged on the side of humanity. Some of us, who have been striving from the outset, occasionally grow weary—the harness of our warfare, worn day and night, sometimes galls with its links of iron, and we long for peace and quiet, but the cry of our brother in bonds is in our ear, and we cannot yield to this weakness of the flesh. We must fight on." My next extract is from the pen of H. B. Stanton, Corresponding Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. He says:—"The great cause is *onward* in the United States. Our Committee will make unprecedented exertions during the present year, to press our principles on the public consideration. We are to hold a National Anti-Slavery Conven-

tion on the 31st of July. On the 1st of August we shall celebrate the glorious Anniversary of West India Emancipation." (Cheers.)

I have now great pleasure in laying before this meeting a letter from a highly respected and noble-minded American citizen, now in this country —WENDEL PHILLIPS, Esq., of Boston. This accomplished scholar and warm-hearted Abolitionist, who has for a time relinquished the pursuit of an honourable profession, that he may devote himself to the cause of his enslaved countrymen, has done me the honour to address to me the letter which I hold in my hand, and which I shall submit entire, as a document well entitled to your consideration, not less on account of the importance of the topics which it discusses, than for the elegance and force of the language which it employs. I am particularly struck with the just and statesmanlike views which Mr PHILLIPS has adopted, in reference to the recent attempt to bring the subject of India before this country, by means of a British India Society. This letter will bring me, by a natural process, to the subject upon which I am particularly anxious to address you to-night, and upon which I shall dwell for a few moments, if you do not see cause to dismiss me. (Cheers.) The following is the letter :—

"LONDON, *July 29th*, 1839.

"MY DEAR THOMPSON,—I am very sorry to say *No* to your pressing request, but I cannot come to Glasgow, duty takes me elsewhere; my heart will be with you though, on the 1st of August; and I need not say how much pleasure it would give me to meet, on that day especially, the men to whom my country owes so much, and on the spot dear to every American Abolitionist, as the scene of your triumphant refutation and stern rebuke of Breckenridge. I do not think any of you can conceive the feelings with which an American treads such scenes. You cannot realize the debt of gratitude he feels to be due, and is eager to pay, to those who have spoken in behalf of humanity, and whose voices have come to him across the water. The Vale of Leven, Exeter Hall, Glasgow, and Birmingham, are consecrated spots—the land of Scoble and Sturge, of Wardlaw and Buxton, of Clarkson and O'Connell, is 'hallowed ground' to us. Would I could be with you, to thank the English Abolitionists, in the Slave's name, for the great experiment they have tried in behalf of humanity—for proving, in the face of the world, the safety and expediency of Immediate Emancipation—for writing out the demonstration of the problem, as if with letters of light on the blue vault of heaven—to thank them, too, for the fidelity with which they have rebuked the apathy, and denounced the guilt of the American Church, in standing aloof from this great struggle for freedom, in modern times. The appeals and exhortations which have from time to time gone out from among you, may seem to have fallen to the ground in vain; but far from it: they have awakened, in some degree at least, a slumbering Church to a great national sin, and they have strengthened greatly, hands which were almost ready to faint in the struggle with a giant evil. We need them still—spare us not a moment from your Christian rebukes—give us line upon line, and precept upon precept. Our enterprise is eminently a religious one, dependent for success entirely on the religious sentiment of the people. It is on hearts that wait not for the results of West India experiments—that look to duty, and not to consequences—that disdain to make the *fears* of one class of men the *measure* of the rights of another—that dread no evil in the doing of God's commands—it is on such that the weight of our cause mainly rests, and on the conversion of those, whose characters will make them such, that its future progress must depend. It is upon just such

minds that your appeals have most effect. I hardly exaggerate when I say, that the sympathy and brotherly appeals of British Christians are the sheet-anchor of our cause. Did they realise, that Slavery is most frequently defended now in America from the Bible—that when Abolitionists rebuke the Church for upholding it, they are charged with hostility to Christianity itself, they would feel this. If we construe a text in favour of liberty, it is set down to partiality and prejudice. A *European* construction is decisive. *Our* rebukes lose much of their force, when they are represented, though falsely, to spring from personal hostility—from a zeal which undue attention to a single subject has made to outrun discretion. *Your* appeals sink deep—they can neither be avoided nor blunted by any such pretence, and their first result must be conviction. Distance lends them something of the awful weight of the verdict of posterity. May they never cease. Let the light of your example shine constantly upon us, till our Church, beneath its rays, like Egypt's statue, shall break forth into the music of consistent action.

"England, too, is the fountain head of our literature. The slightest censure, every argument, every rebuke on the pages of your Reviews, strikes on the ear of the remotest dweller in our country. Thank God that in this the sceptre has not yet departed from Judah—that it dwells still in the land of Vane and Milton, of Pym and Hampden, of Sharp, and Cowper, and Wilberforce—

> 'The dead, but sceptred sovereigns,
> Who still rule our spirits from their urns.'

May those upon whom rests their mantle be true to the realms they sway. You have influence where we are not even heard. The prejudice which treads under foot the vulgar Abolitionist dares not proscribe the literature of the world. In the name of the Slave, I beseech you let that literature speak out in deep, stern, and indignant tones; for the press,

> 'Like the air,
> Is seldom heard but when it speaks in thunder.'

"I am rejoiced to hear of your new movement in regard to India. It seals the fate of the Slave System in America. The industry of the Pagan shall yet wring from Christian hands the prey they would not yield to the commands of conscience, or the claims of religion. (Cheers.) Hasten the day! for it lies with you, when the prophecy of our Randolph, (himself a Slaveholder) shall be fulfilled—that the time would come when masters would fly their Slaves, instead of Slaves their masters, so valueless would be a Slave's labour in comparison with his support. To you—to the sunny plains of Hindostan we shall owe—that our beautiful prairies are unpolluted by the footstep of a Slaveholder—that the march of civilization westward will be changed from the progress of the manacled Slave coffle, at the bidding of the lash, to the quiet step of families carrying peace, intelligence, and religion, as their household gods. (Loud cheers.) Mr Clay has cooly calculated the value of sinews and muscles—of the bodies and souls of men—and then asked us whether we could reasonably expect the south to surrender 1,200,000,000 of dollars at the bidding of abstract principles? Be just to India,—waken that industry along her coast, which oppression has kept landlocked and idle—break the spell which binds the genius of her fertile plains, and we shall see this property in man become like the gold in India's fairy tales—dust in the Slaveholder's grasp. (Applause.) You cannot imagine, my dear brother, the impulse this new development of England's power will give the Anti-

Slavery cause in America. (Hear, hear.) It is just what we need to touch a class of men who seem almost out of the pale of religious influence. Much as our efforts have been blessed ;—much as they have accomplished,—though truth has often floated further on the shouts of a mob, than our feeble voices could have carried it,—still, our progress has served but to show us more clearly the Alps which lie beyond. The evil is so deep-rooted, the weight of interest and prejudice enlisted on its side so vast—ambition clinging to political power, wealth to the means of further gain—that we have sometimes feared they would be able to put off Emancipation till the charter of the Slaves' freedom would be sealed with blood —that our day of freedom would be like Egypt's, when "God came forth from his place, His right hand clothed in thunder," and the jubilee of Israel was echoed by Egypt's wailing for her first-born. It is not the thoughtful, the sober-minded, the conscientious, for whom we fear. With them truth will finally prevail. It is not that we want eloquence or Christian zeal enough to sustain the conflict with such—and with your aid to come off conquerors. We know, as your Whately says of Galileo, that if Garrison could have been answered, he had never been mobbed—(Loud cheers)—that May's Christian firmness—Smith's world-wide philanthropy—Chapman's daring energy—and Weld's soul of fire—can never be quelled, and will finally kindle a public feeling, before which opposition must melt away. (Cheers.) But how hard to reach the callous heart of selfishness—the blinded conscience, over which a corrupt Church has thrown its shield, lest any ray of truth pierce its dark chambers! How shall we address that large class of men with whom dollars are always a weightier consideration than duties—prices current stronger arguments than proofs of holy writ? But India can speak in tones which will command a hearing. (Hear, hear.) Our appeal has hitherto been entreaty—for the times in America are those 'parsy times,' when

> 'Virtue itself of Vice must pardon beg—
> Yea, curb and woo, for leave to do him good.'

But, from India, a voice comes clothed with the omnipotence of self-interest, and the wisdom which might have been slighted from the pulpit, will be to such men, oracular from the market-place. (Cheers.) Gladly will we make a pilgrimage, and bow with more than eastern devotion on the banks of the Ganges, if his holy waters shall be able to wear away the fetters of the Slave. (Cheers.) God speed the progress of your Society! May it soon find in its ranks the whole phalanx of sacred and veteran Abolitionists! No single, divided effort, but a united one to grapple with the wealth, influence, and power, embattled against you. Is it not Schiller who says:—'Divide the thunder into single notes, and it becomes a lullaby for children—but pour it forth in one quick peal, and the royal sound shall shake the heavens;' so may it be with you—and God grant, that without waiting for the 'United States to be consistent'—before our ears are dust, the jubilee of emancipated millions may reach us from Mexico to the Potomac, and from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains!—Yours truly, and most affectionately,

"WENDELL PHILLIPS."

(Loud cheers followed the reading of this letter.)

Sir, if I should now sit down, no one here would venture to say I had not made a very eloquent speech. (Cheers.) I said the letter of Mr Phillips would bring me naturally to the subject of *India:* you perceive it has done so. Mr Phillips attaches great, but not undeserved importance,

to the question which, during the last twelve months, I have more than once had the honour of bringing before you. You are told that the successful prosecution of certain plans to raise and regenerate India, seals the fate of the Slave System of America. This is just—this is true. But do these projects respecting India admit of success—are they such as recommend themselves to reasonable and practical men? They are,—First, we point to the continents and islands of America. We say, see there, nearly six millions of human beings in Slavery, under a torturing lash and a vertical sun. Look next to Africa—hourly rent by wars, and plundered of her children.—Look at the irrefragable figures of Mr Buxton, which have demonstrated the soul-harrowing truth, that a thousand human beings are, during every four-and-twenty hours, butchered with steel, or bartered for gold, that the Slave Systems of Christian countries may continue. (Hear.) You ask, why this bloody and inhuman sacrifice of helpless beings—why this infernal machinery of whips and chains, and stocks and collars? I answer, that you may clothe yourselves in cotton—that you may drink coffee, and sweeten your draught with sugar—that you may dine on rice, or regale yourselves with tobacco. (Cheers.) Sir, were a man to drop from the clouds, and to be told these things, he would naturally infer that these articles were indispensable—that they could be grown only in America—that they could be produced only by Slave labour—that from Africa alone could Slaves be procured, and that they could only be kept at work by the inhuman means now employed. (Cheers.) What would he think—what would he say, if he were told that all these articles might be raised in the country from which the Slaves had been dragged—that an honourable and extensive commerce might be carried on without the necessity of wars, and without the horrors of Slavery? (Cheers.) What would he think, if told, that the people who are the chief consumers, and, therefore, the principal supporters of American Slavery, have an empire of their own—whose beauty cannot be exaggerated—whose extent is limitless—whose soil is exhaustlessly rich, and whose population is reckoned by scores of millions—from which they might obtain, without coercion, unbedewed with tears, unstained by blood, all that the wants and luxurious appetites of European—aye, and American nations, could possibly require. (Loud cheering.) What, I ask, would be the opinion of a visitant from another sphere, if told these things? (Hear, hear.) How do these things come to pass? Do the Americans, Brazilians, and French and Spanish colonists, instinctively delight in inflicting tortures? Is the love of chains and Slavery their ruling passion? No. They love money—they see that we are an enterprising, ingenious, and fabricating nation—that here is a market for their produce—that we ask no questions when we buy—that the price we give will support them in administering a system of forced labour, and they therefore adopt and follow the trade of planters in cotton and brokers in blood. (Cheers.) Scourges and fetters, bolts and thumbscrews, men-stealers and drivers, are but the instruments they use to accomplish a grand end, which is the reaping of gain by the supply of our unceasing demands. (Cheers.) And yet we are an Anti-Slavery nation—(Ironical cheers)—and yet we paid twenty millions to get rid of the abomination of Negro bondage in our own colonies—(Cheers)—and yet we have societies for the conversion of other nations to Abolition principles! Is there no inconsistency here? Are not our professions justly liable to reproach, and to be branded as insincere and hypocritical? While we are assembled here, to point our appeals across the Atlantic, that they may reach, if possible, the conscience of the American, might not a voice of thunder speak from every warehouse in this city, gorged

with the produce of the Slave—from every spinning jenny and loom employed in the service of Slavery—"Woe unto you, Scribes, Pharisees, Hypocrites, for you send memorials, and missionaries, and remonstrances, over sea and land, to denounce the crime of holding men in bondage, while you yourselves stay at home to raise the wages of unrighteousness — the price of blood — and feed to fatness the cupidity of those who are willing to sell themselves to you in the service of sin." All this we should deserve if India were not ours—or if the country were blotted from the map of the world. How much more, while India is in existence—while India is an integral portion of our own dominions? Why prefer New Orleans to Calcutta—Mobile to Bombay—Cuba to Madras? Why leave freemen famishing by millions on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna, that you may steal men from the banks of the Gambia and the St. Mary's, and lash them to their hated task on the banks of the Mississippi and the Potomac? (Great cheering.) But enough; you see, you feel the crime of despising that splendid country and that interesting race, on whose behalf so eloquent an appeal has been made, in the honest, fearless, admirable speech, of my gallant friend Major-General Briggs. (Cheers.) You are not called upon to cease your remonstrances against Slavery; you are not required to forego any of the comforts or luxuries of life, or to circumscribe your trading operations, or to go to war with piratical nations, or to levy discriminating duties, or to enforce forgotten treaties; or to call together Congresses of nations; but quietly, consistently, but energetically, to improve your own territory—to employ your own husbandmen—to reap your own soil—in a word, to put into operation a principle of political economy, which would as surely work the destruction of Slavery and the Slave Trade, as the produce of the labour of fifty millions of freemen, procured at the rate of twopence per day for each man, must drive out of every market, where fair competition is permitted, the produce of six millions of Slaves, whose support averages from eighteen to thirty pence per day. (Cheers.) How truly unexceptionable, how simple, how patriotic, how certain, is the course thus pointed out! Let me, Sir, specify, in the fewest possible words, the principal grounds on which I deem it the duty of this nation, and of such a meeting as this, in particular, to take up the cause of India. India, in itself considered, is worthy of our regards. It is the largest, richest, and most available portion of our territory. The people, eighty or a hundred millions in number, are civilized, ingenious, docile, acute, and industrious—they are, besides, in need of our interposition to save them from an oppressive system, which is breeding discontent, and occasioning disease, and famine, and death. Their intellectual condition requires our consideration and aid. Various kinds of Slavery exist, which have to be inquired into and abolished, if within the legitimate sphere of our authority in that country. (Hear, hear.) The inhabitants of India, if raised from their present state of poverty, would become the best and largest consumers of the surplus manufactures of our own country. The political condition of India must be affected beneficially by every philanthropic effort, inasmuch as our tenure of dominion is the attachment of the people to our sway. Look then at India by itself. Half a million of square miles of territory! Ought not its resources to be explored? One hundred millions of inhabitants! Ought not their wants to be considered? They are poor, they must be fed—they are naked, they must be clothed—they are disaffected, they must be conciliated—they are industrious, they must be employed. Our humanity, our patriotism, our justice, are appealed to in behalf of British India. But my next ground is the Anti-Slavery aspect of the question. I see

the battle of freedom for the degraded Slave transferred to the plains of India. (Cheers.) I see that we are every moment guilty of great inconsistency, if not crime, while we neglect India, and support the Slave Systems of America. I see that, in the circumstances of India, we have inexhaustible materials for Anti-Slavery appeals to this country;—appeals to every class of motives by which men are moved to pity or impelled to action. I see that we possess, as a nation, the power of immediately diminishing, and ultimately destroying the Slave Trade and Slavery, by improving the condition of the natives, and developing the physical resources of India. (Cheers.) I see that we are placed in circumstances of fearful responsibility, and that we cannot justify our profession before men, nor clear our consciences before God, unless we use the means that are placed in our hands. I see, finally, that by calling attention to India, and exhibiting our pacific, yet powerful principles of action, we secure the attention and support of thoughtful, practical, and reasoning men—men who would turn from us if we professed to rely solely upon moral machinery against Slavery, *while our capital and trade were sustaining it,* but are ready to join us when our precepts and practice correspond, and the truth of our doctrines is recommended by the performance of our duties. I have no time to dwell, as I intended, upon the openings for commerce, and the acquisition of wealth which India presents—nor to trace, which I might have done most clearly, the extraordinary progress which has been made in the growth and exportation of every article which has received the least encouragement—such as indigo, linseed, &c. The elucidation of these and other topics must be deferred to another opportunity. I must, however, go back to the points mentioned by our distinguished visitor, General Briggs. It must not be disguised that there is a great work to be done before India can reward the industry, or obtain the benefit of the capital and enterprise of this country, and it is to this work that I want you and the country at large to gird yourselves. I remember the admonition given me by a friend to-day, who said,—"Pray, do not deal in the stale, vague talk about 'good government,' which means any thing or nothing, as folks please to interpret it, but tell us what India wants, and how we are to get it." I say then, that the Government of India, which shall deserve the name of *good,* will reduce and for ever fix the land-tax, which is now the curse of the country—blighting its produce—spreading sterility over the soil, and reducing the cultivator to the state of a beggar. When India is blessed with good government, her ancient institutions will be respected, her municipal machinery will be employed, her native teachers will be sent to their original and appropriate occupation, her rivers will be rendered navigable, roads and connecting canals will be made, and the produce of the lands will be admitted to these ports upon the principle of reciprocal duties. You will ask—how are these things to be obtained? I answer, by agitation, by discussion, by petition. India, it is true, has a Board of Control, but India wants another Board. The Board of Control she wants is a Board consisting of the whole British people—alive to the claims of misery—awake to their own interests—sensible of their responsibility, and determined to do their duty. (Loud cheers.) Let these things be brought to pass, and the spell which has bound India shall be broken—a voice shall be heard crying from the banks of the Indus and the Ganges to the myriad population of our Eastern empire, "Arise, shine, for your light is come!"—the Hindoo shall raise his head and smile—the earth shall yield her increase—the riches of the East, not "barbaric gold and pearl" alone, but the bountiful crop of the industrious cultivator, shall find their way to these islands, and all who have laboured to succour and illuminate

India, shall rejoice in the reflex influence of their own benevolence. Sir, I will conclude. I rejoice in the prospects which are opening for India. I triumph by anticipation in the results which will, through India, be wrought out for the rest of the world. I call upon the Slave in America and the children of Africa to rejoice—but especially do I call upon my country to awake to a sense of her dread accountableness to God, for the use of the mighty power by which she can control the fortunes and the fate of so large a proportion of the whole human race. (Loud cheers.) To her I say,

> Britain! thy voice can bid the dawn ascend,
> On thee alone the eyes of Asia bend.
> High Arbitress! to thee her hopes are given,
> Sole pledge of bliss, and delegate of Heaven;
> In thy dread mantle all her fates repose,
> Or big with blessings, or o'ercast with woes;
> And future ages shall thy mandate keep,
> Smile at thy touch or at thy bidding weep.
> Oh! to thy god-like destiny arise!
> Awake and meet the purpose of the skies!
> Wide as thy sceptre waves let India learn,
> What virtues round the shrine of empire burn.

Mr Thompson moved the following Resolution, and sat down amid long-continued cheering:—

"That, considering the value of our Empire in India—the destitute and helpless condition of the many Millions of our Fellow-Subjects in that Country, and the intimate connexion between their Improvement and Prosperity as an Agricultural Population, and the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade—this meeting regards with the purest satisfaction the formation, in London, of the BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY, and pledges itself to assist in promoting the great object which that Society has in view."

J. S. Blyth, Esq., seconded the Resolution, which was carried with unanimous approbation.

Thomas Grahame, Esq., proposed the last Resolution, viz.:—"Thanks to the Office-Bearers of both Societies—to the Ladies, for their valuable co-operation—to the Trustees, for the use of the Chapel; and to Dr. Wardlaw, for his conduct as Chairman"—which was carried with acclamations.

The meeting then broke up. The Chapel was crowded in every part, and, notwithstanding the length of the proceedings, the great mass of the people remained patiently till the end.

AMERICAN SLAVERY AS IT IS:

TESTIMONY OF

A THOUSAND WITNESSES!

No. II.

THE American Anti-Slavery Society has lately published, under the above title, says the *British Emancipator*, "a thick pamphlet of two hundred and twenty-four pages, closely printed in double columns, (containing therefore much more matter than many a portly octavo volume,) pourtraying, on indisputable authority, the actual condition of the Slaves, and the prevailing conduct of the Slaveholders, in the United States. It has been called for, not only by the want of specific and authentic information among those to whom American Abolitionists make their appeal for support, but by the incessant and vociferous boastings of Slaveholders themselves. Being the only parties to do so, they are eminently unscrupulous in sounding their own praise. Hence the occasion of the work before us, and most powerfully is it adapted to its end. An extract from the introduction will clearly explain the scope of it.

"As Slaveholders and their apologists are volunteer witnesses in their own cause, and are flooding the world with testimony that their Slaves are kindly treated; that they are well fed, well clothed, well housed, well lodged, moderately worked, and bountifully provided with all things needful for their comfort, we propose, first, to disprove their assertions by the testimony of a multitude of impartial witnesses, and then to put Slaveholders themselves through a course of cross-questioning, which shall draw their condemnation out of their own mouths. We will prove that the Slaves in the United States are treated with barbarous inhumanity; that they are overworked, underfed, wretchedly clad and lodged, and have insufficient sleep; that they are often made to wear round their necks iron collars armed with prongs, to drag heavy chains and weights at their feet while working in the field, and to wear yokes, and bells, and iron horns; that they are often kept confined in the stocks day and night for weeks together, made to wear gags in their mouths for hours or days, have some of their front teeth torn out or broken off, that they may be easily detected when they run away; that they are frequently flogged with terrible severity, have red pepper rubbed into their lacerated flesh, and hot brine, spirits of turpentine, &c., poured over the gashes to increase the torture; that they are often stripped naked, their backs and limbs cut with knives, bruised and mangled by scores and hundreds of blows with the paddle, and terribly torn by the claws of cats, drawn over them by their tormen-

tors; that they are often hunted with blood-hounds, and shot down like beasts, or torn in pieces by dogs; that they are often suspended by the arms, and whipped and beaten till they faint, and when revived by restoratives, beaten again till they faint, and sometimes till they die; that their ears are often cut off, their eyes knocked out, their bones broken, their flesh branded with red hot irons; that they are maimed, mutilated, and burned to death over slow fires. All these things, and more and worse, we shall *prove*. Reader, we know whereof we affirm, we have weighed it well; *more and worse* WE WILL PROVE. Mark these words, and read on; we will establish all these facts by the testimony of scores and hundreds of eye-witnesses, by the testimony of *Slaveholders* in all parts of the Slave States, by Slaveholding Members of Congress and of State Legislatures, by ambassadors to foreign courts, by judges, by doctors of divinity, and clergymen of all denominations, by merchants, mechanics, lawyers, and physicians, by presidents and professors in colleges and *professional* seminaries, by planters, overseers, and drivers. We shall show, not merely that such deeds are committed, but that they are frequent; not done in corners, but before the sun; not in one of the Slave States, but in all of them; not perpetrated by brutal overseers and drivers merely, but by magistrates, by legislators, by professors of religion, by preachers of the gospel, by Governors of States, by 'gentlemen of property and standing,' and by delicate females moving in the 'highest circles of society.'"—*Introduction*, p. 9.

"The promise here made is amply fulfilled both in letter and spirit.

"The Southerners, of course, are mad enough" at the galling exposures contained in this work; "but *disproof* is the thing required, and this is out of the question. Alas! poor Republicanism! O land so boastful of liberty and the rights of man, thine own sons have justly named thee 'SCORN OF THE NATIONS!'"

ASSEMBLIES, CONFERENCES, CONVENTIONS.

(*From the* NEW YORK EMANCIPATOR.)

"WE said, two numbers since, that 'among the most formidable enemies of the Slave, must be reckoned at present, the General Assemblies, General Conferences, and General Conventions of Christian churches.' We meant all we said.

"These bodies, it is understood, represent the best piety and intelligence of the several churches. The General Conference of the Methodists, particularly, is composed exclusively of preachers, who are presumed in general to have a more just appreciation of Christian truth, and to feel a deeper interest in its success, than the laity.

"Their great object is, the preservation and extension of sound doctrine and pure morals; all moral and religious subjects come legitimately under their notice. Whenever a heresy starts up that threatens the integrity of the church, it is their business to sound the alarm, and testify against it. Whenever a particular sin, lifting its head above the rest, endangers the purity of the church, they feel it to be their duty to point it out to special

reprobation, and show its utter hostility to right principle. In a word, they are called upon to guard the health and purity of the church, set their faces against all error and sin, and especially to act not only against those heresies or sins which, under the circumstances, threaten the most serious encroachments on the kingdom of Christ; but also in favour of those institutions or practices, which, from existing causes, may be peculiarly necessary for the promotion of some vital interest.

"So well is this understood, that no one is surprised when these bodies pass solemn resolutions, denouncing lotteries, gambling, intemperance, and sabbath-breaking, and recommending sabbath-schools, temperance societies, &c. The duty of such action is manifest to all.

"Suppose one-third of the members of the Presbyterian church were addicted to the practice of sabbath-breaking. Many of their brethren, scandalized at such conduct, memorialize the General Assembly on the subject, earnestly praying it to pass resolutions, setting forth the duty of observing the sabbath-day, and condemning its violation as sin against God. Year after year similar memorials go up, but the Assembly, in some cases, will not act upon them; in others, is shaken to its centre by excited debates as to the propriety of considering them; and in every instance, steadily refuses to express any opinion with regard to their object. We ask what would be the effect, the necessary effect, of such conduct? Plainly, *to secure the sanction and support of the whole church to the practice of sabbath-breaking.* Thus the Assembly would be doing every thing in its power to destroy the obligation of sabbath observances, short of an Act expressly affirming the non-existence of such obligation.

"We have given a supposed case; we advert now to a real one.

"Slavery has taken up its abode in the American churches. It finds a welcome home in the southern portions of nearly all the large denominations. In the church, as in the state, different opinions concerning it are expressed. Some call it an evil; some, a great moral evil; some, a sin; some, one of the vilest sins under the sun: others will have it a Bible institution. Whatever it be, it has rapidly extended itself in form and spirit, and is now exciting discussion every where. It is emphatically the question of the age and country, and since the church is so deeply involved in the practice of Slaveholding, it is time its constituted authorities should give their opinion upon it.

"Memorials, praying that it may be recognized as a sin, and some action be taken against it, have of late years been repeatedly sent up to the bodies alluded to, but they have steadily refused to answer the prayers of the memorialists. Sometimes the memorials have been treated contemptuously, sometimes they have been acted on just far enough to show that, whatever might be the opinions of free State members, they have suffered themselves to be subjugated by southern dictation. In no instance, have these bodies, representing the piety and intelligence of the church, been induced to say that Slavery was wrong.

"As before in the case of sabbath-breaking, so now in this instance, we ask, what must be the effect of such conduct? Clearly, *to secure the sanction and support of the moral power of the church, to the practice of Slaveholding.* Is it not, then, true, that these bodies, whose decisions, whether expressed or implied, upon moral and religious subjects, must have weight proportioned to the amount of integrity and information which men concede to them, are among the most formidable enemies of human liberty?

"To be more particular, the evils which flow from such recreant conduct are these:—

"1. With a certain class of persons, the character of ministers of the gospel for fidelity to their principles is greatly depreciated, and their influence curtailed.

"2. In the estimation of another class, Christianity itself is made to suffer detriment; for if those who are fairly presumed to enjoy most of its light and favour, can thus find nothing in so unnatural a crime as Slavery to deserve their reprobation, surely the religion they preach is a worthless one. Absurd as such reasoning is, still that there are many who do thus reason, and by the immoral time-serving of Christian professors are taught to despise Christianity, is a well known fact.

"3. But a large majority are influenced in a different way. Retaining their confidence in these bodies, and their hold on Christianity, they learn gradually to look upon Slavery as a kind of misfortune, which, though not exactly right, God somehow or other tolerates, and therefore, had better be let alone. Thus, the Slaveholder is encouraged, the public conscience quieted, sympathy for the Slave abated, and the few who still struggle to bring about the year of jubilee, are pressed down by additional odium, and find new obstacles thrown in their way.

"For the blood of the poor, suffering captive, God will hold these religious bodies largely accountable."—*Philanthropist.*

BRETHREN, ARE THESE THINGS SO?

"It is said and reiterated every day that the north is in no way responsible for the continuance of Slavery at the south: and that the churches at the north are not exerting any influence to uphold the system. The reader will see in the following article how, in one mode, *Northern Baptists* are keeping the Slaveholders in countenance. We have no doubt of the correctness of Brother Colver's statement; and do consider 'the pledge' in good keeping with one given by I. M. Allen, at that time Agent of the Baptist General Tract Society, some years ago, and with the general policy of many who exert some influence in the denomination. How long Baptists will be kept *mute* by such policy we know not. Let the facts be known.—Mr Allen is now the General Agent of the Baptist Bible Society. Let us have our minds, brethren, from every quarter of the land, on the propriety of the course pursued by the Board and Agent."—*Editor Reflector.*

"The Shaftsbury Association held its 59th Anniversary with the first Baptist Church in Shaftsbury, on the 5th and 6th inst. It was a good and profitable session. Most of the churches have enjoyed the quickening influences of the Spirit during the year. About 150, in the whole, have been added by baptism. Resolutions were adopted in support of the various benevolent operations of the day—among others, strong ones against Slavery. In regard to the *American and Foreign Bible Society,* Brother Nathaniel Colver introduced the following preamble and Resolution, which after remarks from Brother Colver and others, were adopted by a strong vote, no one dissenting:—

"Whereas we have learned, through the southern Baptist press, that a pledge has been given to the Slaveholders of the south, by the General Agent of the American and Foreign Bible Society, that the Society shall

never in any way interfere with the institution of Slavery; and whereas said avowal has not been contradicted by the Agent, nor condemned by the Board; and whereas such pledge is a violation of the constitution of the Society—inasmuch as that declares the field to be the world—while such pledge makes an exception of [near] 3,000,000 of brethren in bondage, by pledging the Society to their oppressors beforehand, that we will not interfere with their unholy usurpations by giving to their victims the word of life—therefore,

"*Resolved,* That we have learned the above with great grief, and we do affectionately, as we desire the purity and harmony of our holy enterprise, entreat the Board to take early measures to cancel and repudiate such pledge.'"

"Brother Colver, in the course of his remarks supporting the Resolution, stated that the church in Greenwich, N.Y., raised a sum of money (100 dollars, I think,) for the Society, and forwarded it by him when he went to New York to attend the Anniversaries in May, instructing him to ascertain, if possible, whether the facts stated in the above preamble were founded in truth; if they were, to withhold the money and return it to the church, unless the Pro-Slavery act could be undone. Brother Colver, on inquiry and investigation had, was satisfied that the pledge had been given to the Slaveholders, and being unable to procure reaction in the Board on the subject, he returned the money to the donors.

"This was right and highly proper. It is just what ought to be done by all friends of the Slave. What! are we to be told by the Society that their field is the world—and then the Society make a bargain with the robbers of God's poor, stipulating that a part of the field shall be left unoccupied? Shall those whose legitimate business it is to supply the famishing with the bread of life, strike hand with cupidity and robbery, and make a bargain that certain millions shall starve and perish? Let those who have any bowels of compassion think of these things, and say whether they will ratify the foul bargain."—*Vermont Telegraph.*

HONOUR TO MR STEVENSON, THE AMERICAN MINISTER!

LETTER FROM JOSEPH STURGE, TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.

(*From the* British Emancipator.)

I observe in the Report of the proceedings at a dinner of the members of your body, on the 29th ult., at the Town-hall, in this place, where the Marquis of Northampton presided, Andrew Stevenson, the American minister, was treated with distinguished honour, and that in addressing the company he said:—

"America and England were bound together by strong and glorious ties—they were allied in blood, religion, habits, and associations—they worshipped the same God, and in the same manner."

While according, on this occasion, to the American minister that attention to which you might deem his position entitled him, you might be little disposed to criticise too closely the equivocal congratulations conveyed in this sentence, or to remember that there were "habits and associations" in Slave-dealing America, which it would be the deepest insult to insinuate applied to yourselves—I mean the American Slave Trade and Slavery, with which Andrew Stevenson is alike politically and personally identified.*

We may indeed lament, if the Atlantic should cease to sever us from the "habits" of iniquity and the degrading "associations" which this system involves. It would be an outrage to the feelings of Englishmen to suppose, that any ties could make them one with a community whose moral sense is so utterly extinguished as to insert advertisements similar to the following, in their public newspapers:—

"Twenty dollars reward.—Ran away, a negro man, named Harrison. It is supposed that he will make for South Carolina in *pursuit* of HIS WIFE, in possession of Captain D. Bird.

"CORNELIUS BEAZLY."

(From the *Florida Watchman*, Tallahasse, May 12, 1839. Motto,—"Principle and the People.")

"100 dollars is subscribed and will be punctually paid by the citizens of Onslow, to any person who may safely confine in any jail in this State, a certain negro man, named Alfred. The same reward will be paid, if satisfactory evidence is given of his having been KILLED; he has one or more scars caused by his having been shot.

"THE CITIZENS OF ONSLOW."

"Ran away, my negro man, named Richard. A reward of twenty-five dollars will be paid for his apprehension, DEAD OR ALIVE. Satisfactory proof will only be required of his being KILLED. He has with him, in all probability, his wife Eliza, who ran away from Colonel Thompson, now a resident of Alabama, about the time he commenced his journey to that State.

"DURANT H. RHODES."

(From the *Wilmington (N. C.) Advertiser*, June 1, 1838. Motto,—"Be just and fear not.")

The only charge against these Negroes is endeavouring to obtain that liberty which they have never forfeited, and to which they have as much right as the American minister himself.

I rejoice in believing that the "mighty power of steam walking over the waters," making "neighbours of people who had never seen each other

* On the 1st of August last year, at a meeting to commemorate the Abolition of British Colonial Slavery, held in the same Town-hall, Daniel O'Connell said:—"It is asserted that their very ambassador is a Slave-breeder—one of those beings who rear and breed up Slaves for the purpose of traffic. Is it possible that America would send a man who traffics in blood, and who, if he do, would be a disgrace to human nature." This has not been denied by the American minister, and a letter from the Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, dated from New York the 22d of November, 1838, states:—"The conduct of Mr Stevenson, of whom it is undeniable Mr O'Connell spoke only the truth, has been a standing subject of debate, even in the Slave States, and in the course of the discussion it cannot fail to have been seen by some, how intolerable is an institution which, though honourable at home, disgraces all connected with it abroad."

before," so justly the theme of Andrew Stevenson's praise, and the result of that skill and science it is the laudable object of your association to promote, will bear across the Atlantic such correct information of the horrors of the prison-house, that the actors in these scenes ere long will be regarded in the same light as the public robber or the midnight assassin. There is, however, a noble and rapidly increasing number in America who claim our aid, our sympathy, and prayers, associated in upwards of sixteen hundred societies, making strenuous efforts for the liberation of more than two millions five hundred thousand of their countrymen, found by the Slave-owner

"Guilty of a skin
Not coloured like his own; and having power
To enforce the wrong, for such a worthy cause
Dooms and devotes him as a lawful prey.
Chains him, and tasks him, and exacts his sweat
With stripes, that mercy, with a bleeding heart,
Weeps, when she sees inflicted on a beast."

We have happily lived to see the destruction of this accursed system in the British dominions, and every man of humanity would wish to lend all the legitimate aid in his power to those who are struggling for the same great object in other parts of the world. Are we not bound by this consideration to show all who are implicated in it, whatever station they may fill—that the only condition upon which they can share our hospitality, and receive from us the right hand of fellowship, is to let the "oppressed go free?"

I am, very respectfully,

JOSEPH STURGE.

Birmingham, 9th month, 7th, 1839.

FORMATION OF ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES IN JAMAICA.

No. III.

No sooner had the Negroes tasted the sweets of Freedom, than they set about measures for extending the benefit to others. In Jamaica, a number of Societies have been formed, for promoting, in conjunction with the "British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society" in London, the Abolition of Slavery *throughout the World.* The first of these—that at Falmouth—has already subscribed and remitted One Hundred Pounds to this country, for the furtherance of the general object; and on the 1st of August last, the Society celebrated their first Anniversary. At the same date, other Societies of a similar description were instituted. At Kingston, the Mayor presided; and respecting the Meeting, the amiable and Christian-minded Captain Stuart, says:—" It was a well attended, a very animated, and a very cordial meeting. All seemed fervently to sympathize in abolishing Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the world. The spirit evinced exceeded the best expectations of the most thorough friends of Freedom, and of the best informed in the island. I think there is reason to hope that it will be an efficient Auxiliary. Two gentlemen, long not on speaking terms, shook hands heartily at the end of yesterday's meeting, and all this without the least compromise of principle. Indeed, I never heard Slavery more emphatically characterized as it is in other nations now, and was until recently here, than on that occasion; its guilt and horror were vividly depicted. These Auxiliaries, I trust, will spread throughout the island; and will, I am persuaded, powerfully exert a healing and purifying influence *here,* besides bearing importantly upon the question all over the world."

At the formation of the St. Catherine's Branch Anti-Slavery Society, the Chair was occupied by Captain Stuart; and the following are the Patron and Office-Bearers:—*Patron,*—SIR LIONEL SMITH, Bart. *President,*—The Hon. Thomas James Bernard. *Vice-Presidents,*—The Hon. Alexander Bravo, Walter George Stewart, William Thomas March, and Charles Henry Darling, Esqs. *Secretary,*—Larchin Lynch, Esq. *Treasurer,*—The Rev. J. M. Phillipo, Baptist Missionary.

Extract of a letter from the Rev. John Clark, Baptist Missionary, dated Brown's Town, August 27th, 1839:—

" On the 1st of August, we formed the Brown's Town Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. The meeting was a spirited one; Mr Simmons, the Wesleyan Minister, spoke eloquently on the subject. Mr Wheeler, of the Bible Society, gave an interesting address, and some of our *emancipated friends,* with much propriety of expression and ardent

feeling, pressed upon their brethren and sisters the importance of their uniting with their good friends in England in attempting to bring about the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade. The meeting was adjourned until September, when we hope to have Capt. Stuart and other friends with us, and to make a collection for the Anti-Slavery Society."

Of the formation of the St. Jago de-la-Vega Branch of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the able Editor of the Jamaica *Colonial Reformer*, Dr. A. L. Palmer, (lately Editor of the *British Emancipator*,) thus writes:—

"The chapel was more crowded on this occasion than we ever recollect to have seen it. There could not have been fewer than fifteen hundred persons present: an assembly so varied was certainly never before within its walls; all classes of society existing in this town and neighbourhood; all colours, all ages, all religious persuasions, and both sexes, were seen enthusiastically vieing with each other who should be foremost in the glorious career of humanity, justice, and brotherly love. We were particularly pleased at seeing many of the most respectable managers of properties in the parish rendering their aid in the great cause, not only by their presence and by their voices, but most liberally from their purses also! Who, then, shall say that there is no hope for Jamaica? It was one of the most heart-cheering and gratifying scenes we ever witnessed. We find ourselves, however, quite unable to give an adequate description of the animated proceedings—of the enthusiasm, unanimity, and good-will displayed by all parties at the meeting."

That lion-hearted defender of the coloured man, the Rev. William Knibb, amidst all the annoyances and persecution of the foes of Liberty, continues undauntedly to plead for the rights of the deeply harassed, though legally enfranchised Negroes. The following speech will be perused with the liveliest interest by every friend to the cause of Universal Freedom:—

SPEECH OF THE REV. WILLIAM KNIBB,

At the First Anniversary of the Falmouth Anti-Slavery Society, August 1st, 1839.

"The Rev. W. Knibb rose to move the fifth Resolution, and said:—Mr Chairman and my Christian friends, there are very few ministers who can preach without a text, and I am glad you have given me one. I did not make this Resolution, but I am glad it has been made, and before I proceed to speak about it, I shall read it. It is as follows:—'That this meeting repels with indignation the false and atrocious accusations made, during the first year of freedom, against the labouring population by the slave tyrants of Jamaica, and dares the enemies of the Negro race to substantiate even one of those foul slanders which they are continually heaping upon it.'—Now, Mr Chairman, I am prepared to support this Resolution, and I do dare our enemies to substantiate any one of the numerous charges they have made. The fact is this, we have arrived at the time when the state of society is such that we must combine energy of character with calmness of manner. An opinion prevails that I am a violent man, and that I take hold of every straw that floats upon the stream of time to keep alive agitation. The truth is, I have come to the conclusion, after fifteen years' calm reflection, that Slavery is entirely destructive of every social tie. It is destructive to the temporal—it is destructive of the spiritual—and it is destructive of the intellectual state of man. It is from

a firm conviction of this nature that I have done whatever I have done for you. It is not for me now to speak of the private virtues and the public acts of those benevolent individuals who have laboured, and have laboured successfully, to obtain you your freedom; but this I will say, I have done all that lay in my power to secure you that freedom which I hope you will have energy enough to keep. (Yes, yes.) I dare say some burlesque will be made at our having a black man in the chair to-day, on account of his want of education, though he can both read and write; but the charge of ignorance among the emancipated peasantry comes with a bad grace from those who were the *causers* of that great ignorance, and whose forefathers, a few centuries ago, were equally unlettered. And I can also tell you, there was a time when many of the clergymen of the Established Religion could not read their A, B, C; that this was the case in England, aye, and in happy Scotland too, and that this state of ignorance was that of the most prominent of the clergy. But it is not education alone (though none can prize it more than I do,) that qualifies a man to fill the chair at a public meeting like this. If education does not do more for the black man than it has done for the white men of this country—at least, for four out of every five white men in the country, it would prove a curse rather than a blessing. The same God that made the white, made the black man. (Hear, hear.) The same blood that runs in the white man's veins, flows in yours. (Hear, hear.) It is not the complexion of the skin, but the complexion of character, that makes the great difference between one man and another. (Cheers.) But to the Resolution—one charge brought against you is this. Your enemies say the Baptists won't work. (It's false.) If the Baptists never work, who helps to make all the sugar that is made? (The Baptists.) Who helps to make all the rum? (The Baptists.) Yet the Baptists never work. ('Tis a lie.) If the Baptists never work, I should like to know where you got those fine bonnets and coats from, so many of which I see here. Did you steal them? (No, no, no.) Did you buy them? (Yes.) And pay for them? (Yes.) And with your own money, (Yes,) which you worked for? (Yes.) But Mr Dyer says you don't work. Mr Dyer says you won't work. (He is a liar.) Well, I don't understand how you manage to get on so well, unless you worked, and worked hard too for it. Indeed, I will defy the world to produce a more respectably dressed peasantry than fill this chapel at this moment, and out of the good staunch Anti-Slavery men and women within these walls, I fearlessly assert, that there is not one who either stole the clothing he wears, or who has not paid, by his own industry, the merchant of whom he purchased it.

"But who is this modern Solon, who is for ever traducing the honest and industrious labourer? What are the qualifications he possesses, who, in this town, sends out his weekly bulletin of the state of public morals?—The immaculate William Dyer!!! On his noble structure nature has exhausted her energies, while his mind, fraught with every lofty sentiment, has ever disdained the least semblance of falsehood or detraction. Whether we view his private character, or his public acts, we are lost in admiration. Purity sits enthroned upon his majestic brow, and vice recedes as she witnesses his magnanimous career. Talk not to me of Demosthenes, speak not of the noble-minded Milton—let all the mighty spirits of by-gone days retire! Where worth is respected, where manly courage is revered, there let William Dyer's name be as a talisman to whom youth shall look with respect, and age itself revere. (Roars of laughter.) Who dares even whisper that such a person could err, that malice could rankle in his breast! What! Mr Dyer says that which is not true? Impossible! Mr Dyer

never told a falsehood. And yet Mr Dyer said that Richard Williams, who committed the robbery at Sievwright's, was a Baptist. ('Tis false.) Mr Dyer said I would even receive stolen money. (He lies.) But Mr Dyer says so in his paper, and his is really a choice paper; the articles in his paper are as refreshing to me as so many mouthfuls of ice cream. (Laughter.) I have one of his papers here now, and I'll tell you what he published only yesterday.—Here it is—pray listen to it.—'*Knibb, formerly a baker in Devizes, and Oughton, a decayed upholsterer, appeared to be the leading men of this mischievous sect, and now keep their carriages and live in great splendour in Jamaica. Upon two occasions Knibb brought* 10,000 *men into a small town, to the great alarm of the inhabitants, without the Governor interfering or checking his audacity.*' Now, to think of printing this in the very town where every one knows it is false! It is such an act of folly and absurdity that I wonder any paper in England would insert it. Yet, Mr Dyer is a good man—an honourable man—a truth-telling man—a respectable man—and let him gainsay it who dare.

"Another question I shall refer to, is this. Your enemies say you won't pay rent for your houses; but let us see what is the rent they wish to charge. Why, they charge the husband, the wife, and every one of the children in a family, rent for a miserable hut and patch of land. I should be happy if you could enter into arrangements at once to pay a fair rent for your houses and grounds; but I should say, if you pay the rent they wish to charge you would be great fools. If the attorneys will come forward in a spirit of fairness, I will recommend you to pay rent at once. But if John Jackson, and Mary Jackson, and Wilberforce Jackson, and Buxton Jackson, and Sir Lionel Smith Jackson, and all the rest of the little Jacksons, are each to be charged rent for a house and an acre of land, they would be great fools indeed to pay it. (Cheers.) I say, let the Planters know you are freemen, and that you wish to be treated as freemen. (Yes.) Tell them you must be treated as every other freeman is. (Yes.) I should say, you ought not to engage to rent your houses for a short time; but quarterly or yearly. You may pay the rental weekly, or monthly, or quarterly, for short accounts are best, but you must not suffer yourselves to be taken in by any arrangements which you do not fully understand: ask advice, and I am sure you will get it. If the Planters acted properly I am sure there would be no necessity for me to say one word to you about it; the fact is, they do not wish to act properly. There are some honourable men, I know, among them, who will act fairly; but it is my firm conviction that there are attorneys in Jamaica, who would bring you back again to Slavery if they could. (Yes, yes.) And are we always to be persecuted thus, and are we never to speak? They say every thing they like against us, and are we never to stand on our own defence? The senior Magistrate of this parish went last week to the commanding officer at the garrison, and insulted the whole population, by asking him to prepare the troops to turn out against us, *for there was to be a rebellion.* (Oh! oh!) And are we never to be allowed to speak? And if I don't stand up to defend you, who in Falmouth will do it for you? (None!) Well then, since we have no protection to expect from them, we must combine our energies, constitutionally to protect ourselves. (Cheers.) There are infamous laws existing in the Island, which we must try to get abolished. One of them was alluded to in the House of Commons not long ago, by the Secretary for the Colonies. It is to this effect:—'All rogues, vagabonds, or other idle persons found wandering from place to place, or otherwise disorderly, may be apprehended by the constable, and taken before a Magistrate, who is empowered to order him or her to be whipped

on the naked back, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes.' (Hear, hear.) Another clause makes it lawful to send any coloured person who comes within the description of the Act to the parish work-house, to be set to work any time not exceeding six months; but all white persons committed shall be fed, lodged, and worked, separate and apart from the free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Slaves. Suppose a person like one whom I could name, who is so well known for the tender mercies he possesses, were to see my deacon, Mr Brown, or his wife, upon his property, some day just after he had had his dinner, and should order his constable to take hold of them as idle vagabonds, and lay them down, and give them each thirty-nine lashes, would that be right? (No.) Is that the way freemen are to be treated. (No, no.) Ought such a law as that to exist? (No, no, no.) No, my friends, it ought not; and I will never rest till it is repealed. You will bear in mind that this statute makes it lawful to send any coloured person, who comes within this description of the Act, to the work-house, to be set to work for any time, not exceeding six months;—but all white persons committed for the same offences are to be fed, lodged, and worked, separate and apart from the free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Slaves. This law, my friends, makes the distinction of complexion the rule for the measure of punishment. The white man, or the white female, who is taken up as a vagrant, is to be fed, lodged, and accommodated, with comparative comfort; but the black man, or the black female, is to be subjected to the withering influence of cruelty, and to all the agonies that may be inflicted by the accursed cart-whip. (Oh! oh! Hear, hear.) But this law was never made for freemen; it was made for the Slave. Send it to Cuba;—send it to America, or anywhere else you please, but it won't do for Jamaica! If it is good for the black man, it is good for the white man. My opinion is, that every law that makes any reference to colour at all, ought instantly to be repealed. But if they are so fond of it, let the white man be tried by it. Let one of them try it, and let one of my drivers lay it on; and then let him say whether it is fair, and just, and proper. (Laughter.) But the law says, it is the black man and the Mulatto who is to be so treated—is that justice? (No, no.) Yes, it is Jamaica justice. (Hear, hear.)

"They will perhaps ask: how does it happen that these laws are not enforced? I will tell you, it is not from any leniency on their parts, but from the prudence and foresight of our esteemed Governor, Sir Lionel Smith. I have it from good authority, that Sir Lionel Smith said he would dismiss the first magistrate that made use of this terrible engine to oppress the people. The fact is, there is no chance of our obtaining justice in Jamaica. In the case of myself, my church, and Mr Dyer, the Attorney-General told the Jury I had no wish to punish Mr Dyer, nor any other individual, by legal penalties. I only wished to vindicate myself and my church from the foul and atrocious assertion made against us by Mr Dyer, the organ of the Planters. But there was no justice to be obtained: what confidence, then, can we have in prejudiced, political, perjured Juries? (Hear, hear.) Now, our confidence is at home. In England we have powerful influence, if not here: I have sent the Report of the trial of Mr Dyer home, to vindicate my character, and the character of my people, and to prove to the British public that there is no justice in Jamaica for any man that hates Slavery.

"Your enemies say there is no sugar made this year: then I should like to know what were those ships loaded with that sailed out of the harbour during the last two months? ('Sweet sand, sweet sand,' accompanied by roars of laughter.) *I am informed that there will not be a sufficient number of ships to carry home the sugar that has been cultivated;* if so, what

becomes of all their loud complaints? The Planters raised a terrible hue and cry about the estates being all turned into ruinate. I should like to know how it is there are no estates to sell? (Laughter.) I want to buy a fine estate, do you know any ruined estates for sale? (Cheers, and cries of 'No, no.') Well, then, let them say on. I defy them all to substantiate one single charge which they have made against the Baptists. I tell them fearlessly that there is not a more peaceful, clean, orderly, and industrious people on the earth: and I challenge them to prove the contrary. It is not in this Chapel alone I would face them. Let them have a public meeting at the Court-House, and let them have their say, and let me have mine; and I'll pledge myself to prove every assertion I have made, and I defy the whole of the calumniators of the Baptist Church to prove a single charge they have made against us. O, that they would come forward in their proper persons, and not under the assumed garb of 'Spectators' and 'Natives,' and I know not what! (Laughter.) Never was there a single soul of them who came forward to contradict our statements, but one who suddenly jumped into the matter, and as quickly jumped out again. (Immense laughter at this allusion to Mr Jump.) They perhaps think themselves so important, and ourselves so unworthy of notice, that they will not stoop to answer us; then, upon their principles, I should like to know why they do take so much notice of us? (Hear.) There is not a paper in the island but what teems with my name. (Hear.) If you look over any of them you find a few thousand Knibbs, (A laugh,) and you will find that Knibb is dubbed a Pope, a Mahomet, an Agitator, a Dan O'Connell, and I know not what. (Immense cheering.) If we are so insignificant, why do they then notice us? Why do they not let us alone? I'll tell you what it is. They know that we have power. They know that we have influence here and power at home. I am not afraid to tell them all my mind. They shall not taunt me and say, that I said in England what I dared not to say here. I met the advocates of Slavery in England. I met and faced their great champion, Mr Peter Borthwick; and now I am here, and am not afraid to say here what I said in England. Where are my enemies? Let me see them—let them come forward. Why don't they do this? (Because they are afraid.) One thing that you will have to think of is this, that you provide yourselves with medicines and obtain proper medical advice, and from gentlemen of proper character. I hope the members of my church will choose men of moral character to visit their families; there are such men to be found, whom I hope they will always prefer. I do not choose for you—choose for yourselves. There is thrown around this soul of mine such a love of liberty, that were I to have my will I would have every one free; and my most fervent wish is, that wherever the sun shines every one should be emancipated, and made as free as I am. I cannot conclude without congratulating this meeting on this first Anniversary of their freedom. I wish you joy, and I hail you happy in the enjoyment of this great blessing. When I reflect upon the circumstance, that 300,000 human beings have been set free in this island, and not one has ever raised his hand to strike a white man, I cannot but rejoice that the moral influence of religion has been so manifest. Do not, my dear friends, ever allow yourselves to be betrayed into any acts of violence. Continue to act consistently and honestly, according to the word of God. If you want advice under any circumstances, ask it, and depend upon it you will get it. Under the present circumstances in which you are placed by the laws to which I have alluded, you may depend upon it that the lion of Great Britain has only to lay his paw upon these iniqultous laws, and they shall be annihilated at once. All that we want is

equal justice; the same justice for the black that there is for the white man; that a man is not to be punished because he is black. I here pledge myself that I will not rest till you are placed upon the same footing as I am. I will not be satisfied till your wives are placed upon the same footing as my wife. (Cheers.) If I were a black man, I should not be ashamed of the colour of my skin. (Hear him.) There is no disgrace in being black. (No, no.) I did not make myself white. God made me as I am, and he made you as you are. (Yes.) There are some persons, I am told, who have been what is termed white-washed: that is, they paid a sum of money to the House of Assembly, and were christened white, but the colour would not stand, and they soon turned yellow again. (Great laughter.) Well, then, my friends, I again hail you free, and I wish you joy on this Anniversary of your freedom. I do rejoice that you have not only borne calumny and reproach, with a Christian spirit, but that you have learnt to forgive your enemies.—Now, then, three cheers for the Queen."

Three cheers being given with all the ardour of their hearts, the Rev. Gentleman sat down amid the loudest acclamations of the people.

NOTE.—The following is from the *Colonial Gazette*, of Aug. 28th, 1839, published in London, a Journal devoted exclusively to the interests of the Colonies, and may therefore be deemed pretty good authority on the subject quoted. Under the head "Colonial Markets," it is said—"The Stock is now approximating that of last year at this period, and there seems to be little doubt but that at the end of the year *there will be more West India Sugar in the warehouses than for many years past;* arising from the great decrease in the consumption of the article, occasioned chiefly by high prices which have been supported under the impression that there would be a very material decrease in the production of Sugar in the West Indies this year. Of Mauritius, the stock is very large, and greatly exceeds that of last year."

The *North British Advertiser*, of Nov. 30th, says, "The Gazette average price (of Sugar) is now 38*s.* 6*d.* In 1838, it was 31*s.* 3½*d.*; and in 1837, 41*s.* 11*d.*—The Stock of British Plantation Sugar is now 39,198 hhds. and tierces, which is 2,294 more than last year at the same period."

So much for the Negroes not working! The falling off in crops!! and the *ruinous effects* of Emancipation!!! so assiduously propagated and promulgated by the Plantocracy—while, as regards the *price* of Sugar, it appears it is *not so high* as in 1837, the last year of the glorious Apprenticeship, or British Enacted Imperial Slavery.

Surely these statements, independent of any other, are an effectual contradiction to Colonial falsehoods.

ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

No. IV.

On Tuesday evening, the 15th October, 1839, a public meeting was held in the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel, chiefly for the purpose of hearing an Address from Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Bart., on the Objects of the Aborigines Protection Society; but likewise for addressing Memorials to Government relative to the Negroes captured in the Amistad, and praying that the Independence of Texas should not be recognised.

On the motion of the Rev. Greville Ewing, W. P. Paton, Esq., was called to the Chair. In opening the business,

The Chairman thanked the Meeting for the honour they had done him in calling upon him to preside on the present occasion. It always gave him great pleasure to meet with the inhabitants of Glasgow on a subject so interesting as the Emancipation of the Negro race. He had, however, no expectation of such an honour as that now conferred upon him, and was therefore unprepared with any address. He might state that the Glasgow Emancipation Society had taken the opportunity of a visit made to this quarter by Sir C. E. Smith to request him to address them on the objects of the Aborigines Protection Society. About twelve months ago, the inhabitants of this city were addressed on the same subject by Mr Montgomery Martin and Mr George Thompson, and it was then resolved by the Emancipation Society to co-operate with the Aborigines Society, and to give it all the aid in their power. Since that period, however, it has been but little that the Committee could do for the support of that institution, owing chiefly to the Glasgow Society being in debt to a large amount, arising from the struggle they were called upon to maintain against the Negro Apprenticeship system in our colonies. (Cheers.) The Committee, however, had no doubt that they would be supported by the approbation of the people of Glasgow, and trusted that it would be in their power to render more efficient assistance to the Society in London. (Cheers.) In addition to the Hon. Baronet, they would that night have the pleasure of hearing a gentleman from Canada (Dr. Rolph,) who took a deep interest in their proceedings at Glasgow. (Cheers.)

Sir C. E. Smith then addressed the meeting. He expressed the great pleasure he felt in being called upon to address so respectable a meeting, on so interesting a subject as the Aborigines Society. He wished, however, that the gentlemen who had taken the management of the meeting had not, in so prominent a manner, announced that he was to deliver "an address," for the expression seemed to imply that he was better prepared with details than he really was. He had not had the opportunity that Mr George Thompson had of making himself acquainted with the whole of the details, and was therefore not so well prepared to address them as the announcement which had been made might lead the meeting to suppose.

The Aborigines Society was one in which he took a deep interest, and whose meetings he had occasionally attended; and when it was known to that Society that he was proceeding to Scotland, a wish was expressed that he should put himself in communication with the local committees, a request which he complied with most willingly, and was therefore ready to lay before them such facts as were in his possession, connected with the objects of the Society. (Loud cheering.) It might be necessary for him to state that the general object of the Aborigines Society was the protection of the aboriginal inhabitants not only of our own colonies, but, so far as their influence could be brought to bear, of the original inhabitants of other colonies also. (Cheers.) If he were to use another word in place of the aborigines, he would say the "unprotected," for their society was intended to protect those who had no means of protecting themselves. (Cheers.) And if any subdivisions of that great class, a class which always had, and ever would command the sympathies of the British public—if any subdivision of that class were put out of the sphere of their operations, it was not because they did not feel an interest in these classes, but because they had already recognised protectors of their own. For instance, when Mr George Thompson was advocating the cause of the Aborigines Society throughout the country, he found, and others also found, that, not only from the number of the persons affected, but from the greatness of the interests affected, and the way those interests came home to the bosoms of the inhabitants of this country, that the Aborigines of India involved a subject so large that it prevented him from sufficiently alluding to the other classes included in the objects of this Society; and the result of that circumstance had been, that, so great was the interest felt in reference to British India, that a separate Society was formed with regard to India alone. (Hear.) He was far from regretting this circumstance—indeed he rejoiced in it; and if, therefore, he did not allude at length to India that night, it was not because he did not feel a great interest in the affairs of India, but because the people of India had already protectors of their own. He thought they had a peculiar claim upon us, and that a strong case of cruelty could be made out against the Government in relation to India; and he regretted to see within these two days that the argument about the land-tax, and in behalf of the people of India, had been met by portions of the press, designed liberal, with the statement that the original tenure of Land in all countries was, that it was the property of the Government, and that the Government considered it a fund from which all the necessities of the State should be drawn. He was sorry to see a statement like that put forth, and the tenure of property in Europe contrasted with the tenure of property as it existed in India, as if they were very different things. (Hear.) There was another class who, in the strict understanding of the term, might be included under the name of Aborigines—he alluded to the Negro inhabitants of the West Indies; but their interests had too long had a claim on the sympathies of the British people—they had too long found unyielding and ardent defenders in the people of Glasgow, and the circumstances of that class were too well known to the inhabitants of this city to render it necessary for him to dwell on the subject. (Hear, hear, hear.) But, as he said of India, so he said of the emancipated Negroes—it was not because they were not included in his subject—it was not because he had not a deep interest in their welfare—it was not because, that from Slaves they had become apprentices, and from apprentices freemen—it was not because of their transition from one name to another, that, therefore, this class should cease to command their sympathies, or to require their assistance to the uttermost. No. When the defenders of that class found,

that though no longer Slaves, they were yet harassed by every description of litigation—though no longer oppressed in the name of Slavery, yet were oppressed by every means in the power of their former taskmasters—having their wages violently depressed, deprived of their provision grounds, and difficulties of every kind thrown in the way of their emigration from one island to another—obstacles thrown in the way of the administration of justice—the exertions of Parliament, for the improvement of the people, thwarted by those who, though they had ceased to be the enemies, had not ceased to be the oppressors of the Negroes—when the defenders of the Negro found this, they could not cease to take a deep interest in his protection. They would perhaps now ask him, who were those whom the Society undertook to protect? He would say, in general terms, that the classes they sought to protect were those in every locality where civilized came into contact with uncivilized people. (Loud cheering.) If they had not history to tell them of the danger to which these classes were exposed, they might, with great saftey, draw *a priori* an argument, as to the usage they would receive, from what they knew of human nature. The Hon. Baronet then went on to show more fully that, on the principles of human nature, the uncivilized portion of mankind might be expected to be exposed to oppression; and this was fully borne out by the facts of history. After a reference to the atrocities committed by Europeans in South America, he said he might direct them to the colonies now peopled by the recently emancipated Negroes, and remind them, that that race had succeeded another race, of whom not a single individual now remained—that, in short, not one of the original race in the West Indies now existed on the soil. Again, he might refer to Newfoundland, where, literally, within the last six years, the last aboriginal inhabitant was shot by a colonist, so that not one of the original inhabitants of Newfoundland was now to be found. He stated these facts with a view to show that the inference they might deduce from their knowledge of human nature was completely borne out by the facts of history. (Hear, hear.) But perhaps he would be asked if there were no facts more recent than these—"these statements are no doubt of deep interest—you allude to topics heart-rending in their character, but the races of which you speak are exterminated, the circumstances have ceased to exist, and have now no particular interest:"—But, unfortunately, history not only recorded the extermination of tribes, but the intelligence received from month to month, and from year to year, distinctly showed that human nature was the same still, and that where public opinion and the influence of righteous laws were not brought to bear, uncivilized tribes were subjected to the same oppressions, and the same foul influences which they had read were inflicted in the worst times of Spanish and Portuguese oppression. (Cheers.) If it should be said, that the tone of society in the world was now so much improved that it would be only reasonable to expect that similar atrocities as before would not now be perpetrated, he had simply to ask, if the South Sea Islands had found that the boasted character of modern European nations had preserved them from acts of oppression, the contemplation of which made the blood run cold. He would quote the authority of Mr Williams to show that not only before that excellent missionary went to the South Sea, but since, acts of the kind he had referred to had often been committed in these islands. A European vessel touches at one of the South Sea Islands, and lands some of the crew for the purpose of barter. Perhaps the very thing they import, the intoxicating liquors they bring with them, become the cause of a quarrel, and the origin of all the evils that follow. In a state of intoxication a dispute arises—blood flows, and the remainder of the crew returns

to their ship. What would be the conduct of a really civilized Captain in such circumstances? To detect the criminal, whether among his own men or among the natives, and see that justice is done; but instead of this, in nine cases out of ten, the ship sails round the island, perhaps a distance of 20 miles, finds a lot of harmless individuals collected on its shores, and the crew of the ship fires upon these, and kills a number of them. (Hear.) Another ship visits the island; and the natives, less irrationally than might be supposed, connect this ship with the last, take the initiative in the quarrel, and attack the ship; feelings of irritation thus begun, are kept up, and often end with the extermination of large tribes of the inhabitants. He was not there to defend savages, because they took vessels and committed acts of outrage upon the crews; but he must observe, that if the civilized would only act as Christian and civilized men ought to do, the evil would, in a great measure, be averted: and it was to cases of that sort that the Aborigines Society desired to bring the influence of local colonial governments to bear, as well as the moral influence of all who were likely to be concerned for the perpetration of such atrocities. (Cheers.) But it might be said that he only spoke of the South Sea Islands, over which our Government had no colonial control; he would, therefore, come nearer home, and refer them to Van Diemen's Land, where, within the last 20 years, there were four distinct aboriginal tribes of inhabitants. Within that period more than one half of these inhabitants had been exterminated by European violence, a small remnant of them only remained, and these few had been removed by an excellent and philanthropic individual to a place of refuge in Bass's Straits. Even within the last three or four years—nay, within the last 12 months—similar atrocities had been committed in the populous colony of Eastern Australia. He now quoted the authority of a gentleman who had recently returned from Australia, he meant Dr. Lang, who stated that, in consequence of the Government of Australia having taken notice of attacks made by convicts and others on the natives, it was notorious that some of the leading colonists there had said that, if their servants were prohibited taking advantage of the inhabitants in the way they had previously done, they would do so by mixing poison with their bread. (Sensation.) This threat had been made within the last 12 months, and he stated it on the authority of Dr. Lang. He would not longer dwell upon these isolated cases, but direct them to two or three points in which the Society had been specially interested within the last few weeks, and therefore he requested them to follow him to the colony of the Cape. He should also have directed them to Canada, were it not that another gentleman would afterwards speak with more knowledge on that subject, so interesting to the inhabitants of Glasgow. He (Sir C. E. Smith) would likewise refer to a subject that could not fail to interest the inhabitants of this city: and in which he believed the views of many right-minded philanthropists in London entirely coincided with the views entertained in Glasgow—he alluded to New Zealand. He was happy to know that the colony about to be carried to that country would be conducted on principles not only conducive to the welfare and safety of those who go there, but also for the protection of the natives. (Cheers.) Perhaps he might be addressing some who were not acquainted with the circumstances of the Cape colony, and for their information he would allude to matters which might perhaps be familiarly known to others. The Cape was originally a Dutch settlement, though it had now become the property of the English, and had a mixed population, partly of Dutch, British, and other nations—besides uncivilized tribes with whom they were brought into contact. Of the capacities of these tribes, under right training and civilizing influences,

he had had ample proof from conversation with missionaries from that country. Within the last few months he had seen Mr Moffat, a missionary, who had returned from the country, and who assured him that, among the young men connected with his Christian society, there were persons with abilities and talents calculated to make them shine in any civilized society, and every inquiry that could be made into the character of the natives of South Africa, much as their appearance might lead superficial observers to think otherwise, proved that they were capable of doing what any other class of men could perform—as much so as were the inhabitants of the West Indies, whose capabilities had been so satisfactorily proved. (Cheers.) For many years, the Dutch farmers, or boors, at the Cape Town settlement, had been discontented with the English Government. He was not going to call up old sores, or to inquire whether these discontents were justifiable or unjustifiable, but so it was, they were much dissatisfied with the Government; and with one thing, he grieved to say, they were especially dissatisfied—the emancipation of the Slaves—though for these Slaves the most ample compensation had been made. One circumstance conspiring with another (observed the Hon. Baronet) had induced large bodies of men to go from the colony and commit acts of outrage and riot on the native tribes; and not only had they committed these acts of aggression upon the natives, but they had carried off a large number of Slaves, for whose emancipation they had received an ample recompense from the British public. A flagrant case of this kind had occurred within the last three months, a report of which was given to the Aborigines Society by a gentleman, whose name was familiar to all, and one who was revered and respected wherever known, he meant Sir John Herschell. (Cheers.) It appeared that a body of these men, while proceeding to another part of the country, invaded the territory of a tribe, whose chief, being apprised of the emigration, had threatened that, if any body of men, from whatever quarter, should enter his territory, he would regard it as an act of hostility. A collision took place between the invaders and the subjects of this native chieftain, and the consequence was, that the tribe had been all but exterminated. To show how completely the tribe had been ruined, an African mission established in that country had been obliged to quit, because the population had actually disappeared before their eyes. (Hear.) The emigrants passed through the country and occupied the country of Port Natan, the territory of another native Prince. He believed they would all be acquainted with the history of Capt. Gardiner, who took a large tract of land in the country from this chieftain, and who, it appeared, put up the land for sale at different prices, and made some conveyance of the land to these emigrants. However, these boors had taken possession of this country, and were perpetrating great acts of cruelty and outrage towards the natives. Now, the Aborigines Society felt that the English Government were bound to interfere in this case. Within our territory, the natives were exterminated, and if there was one thing more than another called for in international law, it was, that protection should be given in all cases where there was submission to British law. The Hon. Baronet next briefly adverted to Canada, and expressed his satisfaction that, according to the latest intelligence, the Colonial Government was now persevering in an improved course of policy towards the natives. The old practice of removing the natives whenever it suited European policy, was now altered, and measures were taken for the protection of the natives, and for promoting their civilization. This part of the subject would, however, be much better laid before them by the gentleman who was that night to address them. Passing over Canada, then, and

going to New Zealand, he must repeat that he rejoiced to find there was now a probability of that difficult problem being settled, how it was possible for emigration to be beneficial, combined with the due and proper protection of the natives. If he was addressing any who were likely, in a few days, to go to New Zealand, he might say that they were going to a colony to be conducted on a principle as sound as any in the British dominions. He trusted that, if the proposition were made to send a colony, in violation, or in defiance of natural rights, to New Zealand, there would not be held up a hand in its favour. But in New Zealand it was very different from this. We had no longer there, as it were, a sheet of white paper, on which any thing might be marked, but we had a place, where, like it as we might, European influence would be brought to bear. We had to deal with a colony where already a good many settlers were located: and here he would quote from the authority of Dr. Lang, who left Australia early this year, whose accounts come down as late as the month of February, and whose statements must therefore interest all who were anxious for the prosperity of the natives of the country. Dr. Lang states that among the settlers of New Zealand there are many persons of respectable character, but many also of the worst character, some of them run-away sailors and convicts from the penal settlements of Australia, runaway debtors, and mere adventurers known in the phraseology of the country by the name of land-sharks,—persons who endeavour to extort land at the cheapest rate from the natives, that they may sell it again at an extravagant profit. It was no longer possible to say that Europeans shall not settle there. The only question was, how shall you deal with a society where such injurious materials exist? Dr. Lang related many cases of cruelty, oppression, and contempt of law among the settlers. In these circumstances, and when it was considered that there was no strong government there, it was not matter of surprise that such excesses as had been stated should occur. He mentioned one instance of a French Captain of a vessel hiring some English sailors, with whose character he was not acquainted. These persons, it appeared, had incurred some heavy debts in a public-house of the lowest description; the owners of which seized the captain's whaling boat, and carried it away, and thus kept him from putting to sea. In these circumstances, the only means that could be resorted to in the absence of law was to proceed to the public-house, and threaten that, if the whaling boat was not given up, the house would be pulled into the sea. The means of gaining land in that colony was very commonly this:—A person arrives, perhaps from Sydney, with muskets, powder, &c., and with a small stock of articles of this sort, in a few years he becomes master of large tracts of country; so that the natives are literally wheedled out of their land for the veriest trifles. And this kind of extortion is, unfortunately, not confined to those from whom such acts might have been expected, but is also practised by persons whose professed object is the improvement of the natives. Before mentioning who they were to whom he alluded, he must state that he had a sincere respect for, and attachment to, the Society which sent these individuals to that country, and he believed that such acts had been committed without the knowledge of those by whom they had been commissioned. He alluded to the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society; and he must observe, that he could not have believed the statements given, had they not been stated on such high authority as he had referred to. These missionaries had, however, been to a great extent the cause of the evils existing in New Zealand. (Hear.) They had become possessed of considerable tracts of land; the case of Mr Sheppard was mentioned, who, for a small consideration, had become the possessor of

an estate having four miles of frontage along one of the rivers of New Zealand; and another gentleman, named Fairbairn, a missionary, was in possession of an estate with 35 miles of frontage. (Hear.) He was astonished that missionaries should so far forget the true policy, and the proper course to be pursued by them under their circumstances, and proceed in a way so much calculated to throw obstacles in the way of their own usefulness. When they so far forget their duty as to appropriate large tracts of land in this way, it was not surprising that persons of inferior character looked upon it as a warrant for them to proceed in a similar manner. (Great cheering.) He knew that there were societies whose instructions to their missionaries prevented them taking part in these transactions. (Cheers.) When he mentioned that the Wesleyan Missionaries, whose usefulness had doubled, ay, trebled that of the other, because they abstained from such acts; and when he knew that societies acting upon this principle had been able to associate with them far more members than the Church Missionary Society, which was carried on at an expence of £15,000 a year, had been able to do, he could see that that society had not only been acting contrary to every principle of justice, but to the policy that ought to have regulated its missionaries. (Cheers.) After referring to the great fertility and capabilites of New Zealand, the Hon. Baronet said, he was glad to find that her Majesty's Government, concurring in the recommendation of Dr. Lang, had decided to pursue a course which, while it would protect honest settlers, would also protect the interests of the native inhabitants. (Cheers.) After stating the established maxim, that the discoverers of a country were, by the laws of nations, first entitled to settle there, and that they had the right of preemption in all such cases, the Hon. Baronet observed that, in reference to New Zealand, Government had the right to interfere and insist on this right; and he rejoiced that it was the intention to do so, not to the injury of the honest settlers, who would be provided with better titles, but in the case of those who had acquired land in a nefarious manner, by the sort of transaction he had described, and who would be compelled, if they retained the land, to pay a fair price for it. (Cheers.) He rejoiced to think that a colony was likely to proceed from Scotland. Under the circumstances he had just stated, such a colony would not only be beneficial to our own country, but would be conducive to the interests of the native inhabitants. (Cheers.) It would fail him to tell all that the Aborigines Society was interesting itself about; but there was one thing he could not omit. It had long been a principle making way in this country that persons who could not, in a court of justice, conscientiously take an oath, should be allowed to give evidence with an affirmation. Such had been the case with the Society of Friends, who were always found at their posts when the cause of philanthropy was concerned, and the same benefit had been extended to other religious professions in the country; but the same privilege had not been given to the native inhabitants of our colonies, who, from their want of knowledge of the Scriptures, were unable to take an oath in a court of justice. The inconvenience of this had been often felt, even by Europeans, where the protection of property was concerned; and he had heard of a case of murder where the criminal escaped because a native witness was unable to take an oath, though no doubt existed as to his guilt. He trusted, therefore, that a measure would be obtained to enable the natives of our colonies to give evidence by affirmation. (Cheers.) Perhaps it might be asked, in what way the Aborigines Society interfered with such cases of oppression as came before them. They had, he would answer, frequent occasion to memorialise the Government, and had inter-

views with the heads of departments in the Government on such questions as they took up, besides communicating with Members of Parliament, and inducing them to attend to the discussion of these matters in the House. They had also made use of the Press, and from time to time had promulgated special papers on particular subjects. The Hon. Baronet then pointed out the claims which the Aborigines Society had upon Scotland and the North of England, from the circumstance that considerable expenditure had been made in advocating the views of the Society over the country, while that very advocacy, as in the case of Mr Thompson, had been followed by the institution of British India Societies. He rejoiced that such societies had been formed, but still their very formation gave the Aborigines Society a claim upon their cordial support. In conclusion, he showed the propriety of such a society existing in London, and called upon the people of Glasgow to unite, with the same energy, in behalf of the Aborigines of our other Colonies, as they had exhibited in the case of the Negroes of the West Indies. The Hon. Baronet then sat down amid loud cheering.

Dr. Rolph, from Canada, was then called upon to address the meeting. He spoke nearly as follows:—Having recently arrived in this country from Upper Canada, and having been intrusted with an important negociation with her Majesty's Government, on behalf of an interesting, improving, and valuable class of persons in that province—I mean its coloured population—I trust I shall stand excused for directing the attention of this meeting to some matters intimately connected with its philanthropic objects.—(Cheers.) They are, perhaps, the most interesting fragment of American people to be found on the Continent of America. It has been long my happiness to watch their progress, and observe that, when treated with humanity and justice—as fortunately they have been in that colony—they have proved a grateful, honest, industrious, temperate, independent, and loyal people. (Cheers.) It may be interesting to this audience to know that their number, in the province of Upper Canada, is not less than 10,000, and chiefly from the great prison-house of Southern bondage. Since the foul and atrocious usurpation of Texas, the most daring and abominable robbery ever perpetrated, they feel their situation in Upper Canada unsafe; they see that the same means have been put into operation in that province as was pursued in Texas, and with the view to produce the like results. Kidnapping has been resorted to—they have been claimed under forced construction of international law, and they feel convinced, as every one must who has resided on the American Continent, that the annexation of Texas to the Southern States is not only contemplated, but resolved on, with a view to the rigid and permanent ascendancy of the Slave States. A few years ago, a number of Americans emigrated to the Mexican territories, under the specious pretence of settling there—called themselves Texians—declared themselves an oppressed people—well knowing that "the sympathy" of the vast Republic would be enlisted in their favour. (Hear, hear.) Although every other people wondered where the oppression was, the Americans, with an eagle eye, perceived it, and sent hundreds and thousands of their people, in organised bodies, to rescue from such unheard of tyranny the poor inoffensive Texians of from eight years to two months' standing. Previous to wresting that province from the Mexican States, the Southern press, for some time prior to the outbreak in that province, declared, and it has ever since unblushingly declared, that but for the Anti-Slavery law of Mexico that country would furnish an excellent market for their surplus—that the breeding state of Virginia would become more valuable—and it held out constant inducements to the speculators in human flesh, the man-merchants of the South, to open a trade

direct from the African coast to Mexico. The great, the immediate cause of the chivalry of the South, was to make a slave-market of Texas. This object having been now partially obtained, they looked with abhorrence on the British possessions in Upper Canada, where the fugitive slave was kindly welcomed and safely guarded. For some years past, the wretched being whom the Christian master of the land of liberty

> "Finds guilty of a skin
> Not coloured like his own; and having power
> To enforce the wrong, for such a worthy cause
> Dooms and devotes him as his lawful prey:
> Chains him, and tasks him, and exacts his sweat
> With stripes, that Mercy, with a bleeding heart,
> Weeps, when she sees inflicted on a beast,"

has found a city of refuge in Canada, under the banner of Britain. Canada has, therefore, long been an object of jealousy to these man-dealers, in order to prevent it from existing as a place of security to their pseudo-property. It was from this circumstance they strived to make of Canada a second Texas, knowing well that whilst it owned the British power, Slavery received a check on the North American Continent. (Hear.) Nor is the prejudice against colour, or persecution of the coloured race, confined to the South; it exists, and in a formidable degree, in the North; and were the British sway to cease in North America, if we lost our sovereignty on the St. Lawrence, the United States of America would become one large bazaar of Slaves. I need but refer you to the riots and destruction of property at Boston—the conflagration and destruction of the Pennsylvanian Hall at Philadelphia—the foul murder of Mr Lovejoy at Illinois—and the exclusion of coloured persons from society and the professions, to prove my case. (Cheers.) From these facts, I think you will come to the conclusion, that the unfortunate beings taken on board the Spanish schooner Amistad, and committed to gaol, and the unfortunate beings now immured in a dungeon to give evidence against them, are but too conclusive proofs of the treatment they may look for at the hands of Americans. But, to turn from this topic, on which I could descant for hours, I proceed to the treatment of the Aborigines in the United States, as contrasted with those in her Majesty's dominions in North America. I am not going to speak of the scandalous violation of the flag of truce, with the concomitant murder of the brave and deceived Osceola—and which all the waters of the Mississippi will never wash away or efface from the long catalogue against the United States—but I will tell you boldly, that, whilst our efforts in Upper Canada have been sedulously directed to raise to the highest scale of being the poor benighted savage of distant parts, the American Government is adopting still more vigorous measures to cut off the Indians from all happiness, whether mental or bodily, and repulsing every advance they may make towards that state in the scale of being man is appointed to enjoy. Every compact made with these much oppressed sons of the soil, appears to be an experiment of how far American duplicity and avarice can be carried on the one hand, and Indian credulity and endurance on the other. In short, all treaties entered into between the Executive and the Indians, are, on the part of the latter, a contract by which they engage to lose much and gain but little; and, after ratification, with a fatality attending all engagements between a wolf and a lamb, some obstacle arises to the white man's performance of his treaty. Oh! how emphatically may the poor Indian exclaim, with reference to the Americans, "Timeo danaos et dona ferentes." That such cause of dread, on the part of the red man of the forest, is not groundless, witness that bloody and unhallowed war which

has so long been waging against the persevering Seminoles, at such immence sacrifices of life and treasure—a war, by which victory gained by the bayonet and sword, or by the tomahawk and scalping-knife, must weaken the power of the commonwealth—a war, in which aggression and tyranny are contending against moral right and natural justice. (Shame.) The poor persecuted Cherokees, who cast one fond, long, lingering look behind, as they were driven from the homes of their sires to the far West, is another of the flagrant enormities perpetrated against these simple aborigines of the American Continent. Now, contrast the Indians under the British sway;—view their noble, faithful conduct at Caughlawaga: themselves unarmed, and surprising and capturing a band of armed men arrayed against the British authorities—(cheers)—and the conduct of the Indians and coloured people of Upper Canada also must prove to you how earnestly they entreat of you to resist, by all means in your power, the dismemberment of the empire, and the downfal of that dominion, on the Continent of North America, on which the social happiness, freedom, and prosperity of so interesting a people is completely and inseparably interwoven. They pray of you to maintain the colonial empire of Great Britain, full, entire, and inviolate, on every ground of justice, goodness, patriotism, and humanity. (Much cheering.)

The Rev. Dr. Heugh adverted to the magnitude of the objects which the Aborigines Society had in view, and stated a variety of reasons to show why the vastness of the subject, and the obstacles which lay in the way of success, should not operate in making them shrink from the labour of overpowering them, but rather should incite them to redoubled diligence. He pointed to the fact that in this, as in every other work of Providence, great minds were rising up to bestow their energies in the cause, and that, backed by the influence of public opinion, and the blessing of God upon their endeavours, they could not fail to be successful. He reprobated the idea of individuals keeping back from the struggle, on the ground that their individual labours could be of little or no use in the great contest. They should recollect that the shower was made up of drops, that the river was swelled out by the flow of small streamlets, and that the host was composed of units. They never ought to despair of a good cause. The first thing in allying themselves with any cause was to ascertain its quality. If the cause was a bad one, let them leave it off, and it will come to nothing; but if it was a good cause, let them prosecute it with confidence, in the divine approval, and with the certainty of victory. After asserting the principle, that error could not always maintain its sway, but that ultimately it must give way before the force of eternal truth, and that, in the cause of humanity and justice, the Christian might ever calculate on the favour of God, the Rev. Doctor pointed out the benefits which their efforts were calculated to confer upon the millions of our fellow-subjects in India—benefits of great temporal value, but still more valuable as affecting their eternal destiny. He observed, that great blame attached to the people of this country on account of the injuries inflicted on the aboriginal inhabitants of our Colonies—it was formerly a sin of ignorance, but now no such plea could be brought forward; and awful would be the responsibility, if the country did not exert its authority to put an end to the atrocities committed in its name. The honour of Christianity required that they should support the Aborigines Protection Society. He did not know how the honour of Christianity could be hurt more than by associating injustice with it. It was truly said in the case of individuals, that that man did more injury to Christianity than any Infidel could do, who lived in sin under a profession of Christianity; but if this was the case in regard to individuals, how

much more was it the case in regard to nations. If a nation professed Christianity, and, as a nation, practised wickedness, did it not do much to prejudice the Christian name in the eyes of other nations? The Rev. Doctor moved the first Resolution, which was seconded by JOHN REID, Esq., viz.:—

"That this Meeting, having heard the highly important and interesting statement now given by Sir C. E. SMITH, Bart., respecting the Objects of the Aborigines Protection Society, and the details he has now communicated, regarding the condition of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of our Colonies—together with the information so obligingly and voluntarily furnished by Dr. THOMAS ROLPH, from Canada—renews the pledge formerly given, that, approving of the Objects of the Aborigines Protection Society, they will co-operate with, and aid that Society to the utmost of their power."

Dr. WATSON moved a vote of thanks to Sir C. E. SMITH and Dr. ROLPH—which was seconded by Mr SMEAL:—

"That the best thanks of this Meeting are due, and are hereby tendered, to Sir C. E. SMITH and Dr. ROLPH, for the very able, and interesting, and eloquent Addresses they have now delivered, on the Subject of the Aborigines in the British Colonies."

Sir C. E. SMITH, in acknowledging the compliment, concurred in the remarks made by Dr. Heugh, relative to the injury done to Christianity by nations as well as individuals, in acting contrary to the Christian rule. He spoke of the great interests, in relation to the eternal welfare of the Aborigines of our colonies, which their present efforts were subserving, and observed, that in promoting the good, both temporal and eternal of others, we were at the same time promoting our own; for it held as true now, as it did at the time it was written, that "he that watereth will be watered again." The more of spiritual benefit we gave to them, the more we would be benefited ourselves—for, if principle spoke true—if Scripture spoke true—if history spoke true, there never was a nation that did so, but that nation received, in the providence of God, tenfold more benefit to itself.

Dr. ROLPH also acknowledged the honour done him, in a few appropriate remarks.

Mr JOHN MURRAY then read a Memorial to Government on the subject of the Amistad, which was unanimously agreed to:—

"Unto the Right Honourable VISCOUNT MELBOURNE, the Right Honourable VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, and the other Members of her Majesty's Cabinet:

"The MEMORIAL of the GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, and other Inhabitants of Glasgow, in Public Meeting assembled, the 15th October, 1839:

"Showeth,

"That your Memorialists are deeply interested in the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the world, and in every thing connected with that subject, or with the interests of Africans, wherever or however they may be oppressed.

"That your Memorialists have lately heard through the public prints—especially the *New York Emancipator*—of the singular and peculiarly interesting case of the Amistad, Spanish schooner, bound from Havanna to Port-Principe, in the Island of Cuba, with a cargo of Africans lately imported there as Slaves; who, to regain their liberty and return to Africa, rose upon the Whites, and after having, as is alleged, killed the Captain,

took possession of the vessel, and ordered the remaining Whites to steer for the coast of Africa: but, being betrayed by them, the Amistad was navigated to the coast of America, and, on the 26th August last, was captured off Culloden Point, near New London, by the United States brig Washington, Captain Gedney. The Africans, then amounting to 40, were imprisoned in New Haven on the charge of piracy and murder, and the survivors, except four children who were retained as witnesses, were brought up for trial at the Circuit Court at Hartford, Connecticut, on the 17th ultimo; while Jose Ruiz and Pedro Montes, who were transporting them as their property from Havanna to Principe, knowing them to have been, only a few days before they sailed, illegally imported, and were thus guilty of felony, were, it appears, allowed to go at large, the Spanish Minister residing in the United States taking no cognisance of their offence.

"The Court, it appears, decided that it had no jurisdiction in the charge against the Negroes; but it is said, that the Spanish Minister Plenipotentiary, Don Anjel Calderon de la Barca, demanded that they should be given up to the Spanish authorities in Cuba, which there is great reason to fear will be complied with; for it is not likely that, following the very liberal example of Great Britain in regard to American Slaves put ashore on British territory, they will free them and then pay for them.

"Fearing this result, and seeing that they were illegally imported into Cuba, contrary to the Treaty entered into by Spain with Great Britain for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and therefore that they were not Slaves, but freemen—and, as 'malice prepense' could not be imputed to them, they cannot, in the eye of the law, be deemed guilty of murder, but, at the utmost, justifiable homicide, if not rather, under all the circumstances, and by the practice of law, exonerated entirely from all criminality and accountability, as being illegally held in captivity, they were entitled to effect their escape by any means in their power.

> "Your Memorialists, therefore, entreat the British Government to interpose its power and influence, by every legitimate means, with the American or Spanish Governments, to have these Africans set at liberty, if possible, in America, where they may be taken care of as they have already been, by the American Anti-Slavery Society; or, if too late to secure that, that they be liberated at Cuba by the Mixed Commission Court there, and handed over to a British ship of war, to be carried back to Africa, if possible to the port from whence they were taken, and escorted to their homes, and that the whole transaction be properly and distinctly explained to them, so that none of the criminality connected with their case may be imputed to Great Britain, but that they be made to understand that Great Britain is entirely opposed to the Slave Trade, and is desirous that every Tribe in Africa would oppose it also, and would trade in the productions—not the *people* of Africa."

Mr Wm. Smeal proposed a Memorial praying the Government not to recognise the independence of Texas. Before reading the Memorial, Mr S. read the following Resolutions, passed at a meeting of the Glasgow Emancipation Society in March, 1837, which evince that the Society has long kept a watchful eye upon this important question.

"Resolved:—That it appears fully evident to this Society, that the struggle to achieve the independence of Texas is not a struggle for the acquirement or maintenance of civil and religious liberty, but for the privilege of *holding Slaves*, and carrying on the *Slave Trade;* and that the

triumph of the Texian arms would, therefore, be calamitous to the cause of universal freedom.

"That the 9th Section of the Constitution, adopted by the revolted Texians, demonstrates the inconsistency and falsehood of their profession of attachment to the principles of righteous liberty—is an infamous and wicked document, reflecting the deepest disgrace upon its framers, and deserving the unmitigated execration of mankind.

"That the offer made by the Texians to the United States, of an exclusive monoply of the Trade in Slaves, should have been resented as a gross insult to the moral sense of the nation; and that its acceptance is a melancholy proof of the deadening and demoralising influence of the Slave system.

"That we regard, with the highest admiration and respect, the exalted and independent conduct of the Honourable John Quincy Adams, in the United States' Congress, in pleading for the Emancipation of the Slave, and in exposing the very suspicious conduct of the United States' Government, in regard to Mexico and Texas."

The Memorial proposed by Mr Smeal was then read and agreed to, amid cheers:—

"Unto the Right Honourable VISCOUNT MELBOURNE, the Right Honourable VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, and the other Members of Her Majesty's Cabinet:

"The MEMORIAL of the GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, and other Inhabitants of Glasgow, in Public Meeting Assembled, the 15th October, 1839:

"Showeth,

"That your Memorialists are deeply interested in every measure which may affect the Universal Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade, and, being informed that a Minister from Texas, the revolted province of Mexico, has arrived at the British Court, for the purpose of prevailing upon Her Majesty's Government to acknowledge the Independence of that Territory as a separate State or Republic, they feel themselves called upon to enter their protest against a measure fraught with such imminent danger to the cause which the British people have, for many years, struggled to promote, and made so great a sacrifice to obtain.

"Although in their present character principally concerned for the effect the proposed measure may have on the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade, your Memorialists may be permitted to remark, that, as British subjects, they are not indifferent to the political bearings of the question upon British interests—whether Mexico, after setting such a noble example by freeing her own Slaves in 1829, shall remain an Independent Republic of Freemen, or be partitioned out piecemeal—as Texas has been permitted to be—into Slave States, and be united in succession to the Southern Slave States of America; for your Memorialists have no doubt that the recognition of the Independence of Texas by Great Britain, and other European Powers, is only a prelude to its annexation to the United States, and is particularly desired by the Slave-holders, that they may be the better able to overpower the Abolition movements in the Northern States.

"Your Memorialists deem it superfluous to detail to the British Cabinet the various processes of fraud and violence, by which it has but too successfully been attempted to sever that Province from Mexico, and in which the Revolters have been treacherously aided by the Republic of the United

States of America; while Great Britain looked indifferently on. Had General Gaines' stratagem been acted on the Canadian frontier, the British Government would have felt keenly the treachery, but she permitted Mexico to suffer, when a simple Remonstrance,—as suggested and received with cheers in the House of Commons,—would probably have prevented the separation of Texas.

"Your Memorialists observe that, by the ninth section of its Constitution, Texas is constituted a Slave State—for it declares that all Slaves emigrating to Texas shall remain in that State; that the Congress of Texas shall pass no laws to prohibit Emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their Slaves into the Republic, and holding them as they were held in the United States. Nor shall Congress have power to Emancipate Slaves—nor shall any Slave-holder have power to Emancipate his or her Slaves, without the consent of Congress, unless sent without the limits of the Republic; and no free person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall be permitted to reside permanently in the Republic; and, it is added, the importation of Africans or Negroes into the Republic, excepting from the United States of America, is prohibited and declared to be piracy.

"Such being its Constitution, the Inhabitants, who now desire the recognition of its Independence, are not native Texians, but Slave-holders, with their Slaves, principally from the United States, and land speculators; and it thus holds out a ready market for the superabundant Slaves from Virginia, and the Slave-breeding States of America.

"Your Memorialists have had too much experience of the result of Laws made in Slave States, to restrain Slave-holders, to believe that the last clause above cited can, in the least, prevent the importation of Slaves from Africa, and are persuaded that various means will be devised to evade it, and that it is evaded by Slavers touching at the extreme outports of the United States, whence the Slaves are transported to Texas; and also by false clearances and otherwise. And your Memorialists may be permitted to cite the authority of Mr Buxton, that, 'in the last twelve months, 15,000 Negroes were imported from Africa into Texas;' and he adds, 'I can conceive no greater calamity to Africa than that Texas should be added to the number of Slave-holding States—it is a gulf which will absorb millions of the human race.'

> "Your Memorialists, therefore, entreat that, for these important reasons, and many others which might be adduced, and in consideration of the earnest desire so prominently and permanently evinced by the British People, for the Universal Extinction of Slavery and the Slave Trade, that you will be pleased to refuse to recognise the Independence of Texas, unless the Texians consent to Emancipate all the Slaves at present there, and so to alter the Constitution as to prohibit for ever the holding of Slaves in the Territory of Texas."

Mr Langlands then proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Wardlaw and the Trustees for the use of the Chapel, and observed, that the Rev. Doctor would have been present but for other engagements. He also moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

The Chairman acknowledged the compliment, and the meeting separated.

BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY.

"THIS IS NOT THE CAUSE OF FACTION, OF PARTY, OR OF ANY INDIVIDUAL, BUT THE COMMON INTEREST OF EVERY MAN IN BRITAIN."

No. V.

COMMITTEE ROOM, GUILDHALL HOTEL,
September, 1839.

SIR,—The accompanying Papers will explain the circumstances under which the Committee have the honour to address you,—will make known the names of the gentlemen who compose it, and the authority by which they have been constituted.

Encouraged by the confidence placed in them, and supported by the unanimous Resolutions passed on the 6th July, at Freemason's Hall, the Committee desire to state, that their object is to interest you, and all others within the circle of your influence, in promoting the great cause proposed as the end and aim of this Society, namely, "the bettering of the condition of our fellow-subjects, the Natives of British India."

Deeply sensible of the moral strength and importance to the cause, arising from the disinterested advocacy of persons like yourself, the Committee earnestly hope to enrol your name as a member, and will thankfully receive an intimation of your intention to join the Society.

We have the honour to be,
SIR,
Your most obedient Servants,

On behalf of the Committee, F. C. BROWN, GEORGE THOMPSON, } *Secs.*

P.S. Since the Meeting above alluded to, intelligence of another famine which is afflicting Western India, has been published. "Famine still continues to desolate the Province of Kattywar. The inhabitants are flying in great numbers, and parents selling their children for a few measures of grain.—*Asiatic Journal, Sept.* 1839, p. 67.

A Donation of Ten Guineas, or an Annual Subscription of One Guinea, constitutes a Member. Donations and Subscriptions will be received by the "LONDON AND WESTMINSTER BANK," at Lothbury; 9, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall; 213, High Holborn; 12, Wellington Street, Borough; 87, High Street, Whitechapel; 155, Oxford Street, and by their correspondents throughout the country; or by Mr Thomas Boulton, Collector.

RESOLUTIONS

Unanimously passed at a Numerous and Most Respectable Public Meeting, held at Freemasons' Hall, on Saturday, 6th July, 1839.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD BROUGHAM, IN THE CHAIR.

I. THAT the present Condition of our Native fellow-subjects, in British India, estimated at a hundred millions,—wholly excluded from the privileges of representation, and under the dominion of a government, in whose appointment they have no voice, and over whose acts they have no control,—demands the active sympathy and constant vigilance of the British People.

II. That it is established by ample evidence, that there exists throughout British India a great amount of poverty, misery, ignorance, and discontent;—that immense Tracts of Land are suffered to lie waste;—that the Revenue is declining;—that the People are oppressed by grievous Monopolies, extending even to the Necessaries of life; that the ancient public works are perishing;—that the Internal Communications have been neglected; and that dreadful Famines frequently devastate the land.

III. That these evils exist in a Country of vast extent and great fertility, whose Inhabitants are docile, intelligent, and industrious; whose ancient Institutions might be made instrumental to good government—a Country capable of supplying many of our demands for tropical produce, and the desire and capacity of whose population to receive the manufactures, and thus stimulate the Commerce of Great Britain, would, under a just and enlightened rule, be incalculably developed.

IV. That for the purpose of obtaining and diffusing information—of directing more efficiently the public attention to a subject involving no less our commercial and political interests, than our social and moral duties—and of suggesting and giving effect to such measures as are likely to improve the circumstances, and provide for the happiness of the people of British India, an Association be now formed, to be called, "THE BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY, FOR BETTERING THE CONDITION OF OUR FELLOW-SUBJECTS—THE NATIVES OF BRITISH INDIA."

V. That a Committee be appointed, consisting of the following Gentlemen, (with power to add to their number,) who are requested to draw up the necessary rules for the government of the Society, and to direct its proceedings for the year ensuing:—

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT,

With power to add to their number.

WILLIAM ADAM, Esq., late of Calcutta.
WILLIAM ALDAM, jun., Esq., Leeds.
JONATHAN BACKHOUSE, Esq., Darlington.
W. THOMAS BLAIR, Esq., Bath.
HENRY BLANSHARD, Esq.
JOHN BOWRING, Esq., L.L.D.
MAJOR-GENERAL BRIGGS, (Treasurer).
LORD BROUGHAM.
F. C. BROWN, Esq., Tellicherry.

Thomas Christy, jun., Esq.
Thomas Clarkson, Esq.
John Crawford, Esq.
Sir Charles Forbes, Bart.
Thomas Frankland, Esq., Liverpool.
John Harford, Esq., Bristol.
William Howitt, Esq.
John Hull, Esq., Uxbridge.
Joseph Pease, Sen., Esq., Darlington.
John Stewart, Esq.
George Thompson, Esq.

REASONS

WHY IT IS THE INTEREST OF EVERY PERSON IN THE UNITED KINGDOM TO PROMOTE THE OBJECTS OF THIS SOCIETY.

SUGAR.

		Annual Loss.
The present annual import of Sugar into the United Kingdom, was, in 1838, 235,700 tons, which cost, freight and charges included, in bond, at £42 a ton, ...	£9,899,400	
If the Natives of India were allowed to hold their own land on the same terms as British subjects elsewhere, the same quantity of sugar could be there produced, and sold in Great Britain at £18 a ton, in bond, ...	£4,242,600	
Consequent annual loss to Great Britain, . .		£5,656,800

Note. The import of Slave-grown Sugar into foreign Europe, in 1838, was 281,000 tons; the whole of which might be produced in India.

COTTON.

The present annual import of Cotton, is, . lbs. 411,286,783			
Deduct E. Indian, ,, 55,577,197			
Leaves of Slave-grown Cotton,	355,709,586 cost, at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per lb.	£11,115,925	
Cost of the same quantity of East Indian Cotton, if the Natives were allowed to produce it on their own land, on the same terms as American, at 2*d.* per lb., would be, ...		£2,964,246	
Annual loss to Great Britain, ...			£8,151,679

Note. The Cotton papers, published by the Court of Directors in 1836, establish the fact, that freed from Land Tax, Cotton can be grown in almost every province throughout India, at 1*d.* per lb.; see also evidence which follows.

SILK.

The present annual import of Silk, is, lbs. 6,000,000 cost of which at 15*s.* per lb.		£4,500,000	
Deduct East Indian, „ 1,500,000			
Leaves of foreign Silk, 4,500,000			
Cost of this quantity of good East Indian Silk, if the Natives were allowed to produce it free of Land Tax, would be, at 12*s.* per lb., .		£2,700,000	
Annual loss to Great Britain, ...			£1,800,000

RUM.

The present annual import of Rum is 4,993,942 galls.		
Of which taken for home consumption 3,324,709 „		
The present price of this quantity of Rum in bond, at 3*s.* a gallon, is, ...	£498,706	
The same quantity of East Indian Rum could be delivered at 1*s.* 6*d.* a gallon, . . .	249,353	
Annual loss to Great Britain, ...		£249,353

COFFEE.

The present annual import of Coffee is, lbs. 40,000,000		
Of which Ceylon and East Indian, is, „ 9,000,000		
31,000,000		
Cost of which, at 100*s.* per cwt., is, . .	£1,383,925	
Cost of the same quantity of East Indian Coffee, if the Natives were allowed to grow it, Land Tax free, on the same terms as British subjects elsewhere, would be, at 44*s.* per cwt., .	608,927	
Annual loss to Great Britain, ...		£774,998

TOBACCO.

The present annual import of Tobacco, is, ... lbs. 50,000,000		
Of which is East Indian, . „ 50,000		
Leaves of Slave-grown Tobacco, „ 49,950,000		
Cost of which, at 6*d.* per lb., in bond, is, .	£1,248,750	
Cost of the same quantity of East Indian Tobacco, if the Natives were allowed to produce it, Land Tax free, would be, at 1*d.* per lb, in bond, ...	208,125	
Annual loss to Great Britain, ...		£1,040,625

LINSEED.

The present annual import of Linseed, is, ... bushels,	3,500,000		
Of which is East Indian, . .	300,000		
Leaves of foreign Linseed, . .	3,200,000		
Cost of which, at 40*s.* per qr. of 8 bushels, in bond, is,		£800,000	
Cost of the same quantity of East Indian Linseed, if the Natives were allowed to grow it, Land Tax free, 3*s.* for 84 lbs., or 14*s.* 3*d.* $\frac{3}{7}$ the qr., in bond, ...		£285,714	
Annual loss to Great Britain, ...			£514,286

NOTE. "The annual consumption of Linseed in Great Britain, on an average of 5 years, is 2,500,000 bushels, of 50 lbs. each, which would be dead weight of 300 ships: that double this quantity, (yielding 5 per cent. more oil than Russian,) might be supplied by India, there cannot be a question."—*Bell's View of the Commerce of Bengal, for* 1834-35.

FLAX.

The annual consumption of foreign Flax for three years, to 1839, is, . . tons,	69,255	
Average value at £50 per ton, is, . .	£3,462,750	
Flax, (which is the stem of the plant producing the Linseed,) in India rots on the ground!		
If the Natives were suffered and encouraged, there is no doubt that the same quantity could be prepared in India, and sold in Great Britain at £18 per ton: the cost, therefore, of 69,255 tons of Flax would be, . . .	£1,246,590	
Annual loss to Great Britain, ...		£2,216,160
Total annual loss, or excess in price paid by Great Britain, on the foregoing eight staple articles alone, exclusive of Rice, Indigo, Hemp, Oils, Wool, Tea, Drugs, Dye Stuffs, &c., &c., all produceable in India, at the same proportionate low prices, exclusive also of the loss to British Shipping, is, ...		£20,403,901

NOTE. The length of the coast line of the British Isles is 2800 miles. The length of the coast line of India, from the mouths of the Indus west, to Mergui east, cannot be less than 7000 miles.

	Ships.	Tons.
The total shipping of India in 1838, was	321	95,301
The total shipping, inwards and outwards, from the one port of Stockton upon Tees, was, in 1838, ...	8,027	993,578

REVENUES OF INDIA.

The annual revenues of India are stated to be, Parliamentary Return 1837,—Land Tax,	£11,317,017	
Opium, Salt, and Tobacco Monopolies, Inland and Sea Customs, and other Taxes, .	£6,741,395	
Total, ...		£18,058,412

The charges for conducting the Government of India at home and abroad, Interest of Debts, &c., equal the sum total of the revenue. If, therefore, Great Britain defrayed the whole amount of those charges, paid the dividends on East India Stock, and the Interest of about Forty Millions of Debt owing in India, leaving the Native Tax free, to produce in return all that she requires for her commerce and manufactures, the clear gain to the country would amount to several millions a year.

NOTE. Indian Debt in 1837, £39,766,478.—*Mont. Martin*, p. 346.

MANNER IN WHICH IS EXPENDED MORE THAN ONE HALF OF THE ABOVE SUM OF £20,403,901, LEVIED ANNUALLY UPON THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN; OR, REASONS WHY IT IS THE DUTY OF EVERY PERSON IN THE UNITED KINGDOM TO SUPPORT THIS SOCIETY.

SUPPORT OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

It is now proved that 375,000 Africans are annually sacrificed as follows:—

			Dollars.	
Perish in the passage,	37,500			
Die from seizure, march, detention, &c.,	187,500			
Survive and are sold in the Slave States and Colonies of America, &c., . .	150,000	at 150 ds. a head	22,500,000	
At 4*s.* 6*d.* to the dollar, ...				£5,062,500

This fact is attested by two testimonies published by Mr Fowell Buxton: one a letter to himself, dated May, 1838, from Governor Maclean, of Cape Coast, stating that the net profit upon a Slave is from 150 to 200 dollars, when sold in Cuba and the Brazils: the other, the calculation of the Sierra Leone Commissioners, who give for an outlay of 100 dollars, a return of 280.—*Buxton on the Slave Trade*, pp. 89 and 90.

The trade yields, therefore, a profit so enormous, as to make it morally certain, that, so long as this profit can be got, no power on earth will put down the traffic; nor can any Princes or States, however well intentioned, enforce Slave treaties.

East Indian free labour costs 3*d.* a day, African Slave labour, 2*s.* The fund for paying Slave labour, and the fund required for buying Slaves, must, it is evident, be the money paid for Slave-grown products. This fund is mainly derived, *directly and indirectly*, from the excess of price paid by Great Britain to the Slave Cotton-

growers of America for their Cotton, amounting, as shown above, to, ...	£8,151,679	
To the Slave Tobacco-growers for their Tobacco,	1,040,625	
To the Slave Coffee-growers for their Coffee,	774,998	
Add annual cost, in money only, of the Squadron fruitlessly employed on the Slave coasts,* .	650,000	
		£10,617,302

But Cotton in the United States being more profitable than Sugar, the United States resort to Cuba and the Brazils, for one half of the Sugar required for the population. This quantity now amounts to about 50,000 tons annually, costing, at £42 a ton, ... £2,100,000

As the wants of America will keep pace with her doubling population, and as she will never want the means of paying for their supply with the money she is sure of receiving from Great Britain for her Cotton, it results that a constant, regular, and rapidly increasing demand is created for the Slave-grown Sugar of Cuba and the Brazils, and with this demand, a regularly increasing demand for more Slaves, by whose labour alone the Sugar required can there be grown. Hence the vast increase of the Slave Trade, proved to have taken place of late years, and hence the known aggravated condition of the Slave.

PROOFS OF THE FOREGOING STATEMENTS.

TAXATION AND TREATMENT OF THE NATIVES OF INDIA.

LAND TAX. December, 1821.

Orders of the Court of Directors to the Government of Madras, 12th Dec., 1821. *Para.* 99.

The Court of Directors order the Government of Madras to demand the whole rent of the land as land-tax.

"We are aware that the difficulty lies in ascertaining the degree in which, in all the variety of cases, the surplus produce already is, or is not, absorbed by the Government demand. But this is the difficulty which exists in forming or adjusting the settlement everywhere. Minute accuracy cannot be obtained; but in making the best approximation to it in our power, we shall avoid all material evil if the surplus produce (i. e., the whole rent of the land,) is, in all cases, made the utmost extent of our demand."

Orders of Sir Thomas Munro, afterwards Governor of Madras, to his Assistants, the Land-Tax Collectors, and Assessors.

1812. Fifth Parliamentary Report, Appendix

"The ryots (cultivators) when left to themselves, always pay their rent (land-tax) in preference to every other debt.

* Mr M'Queen rates the expence connected with the suppression of the Slave Trade, at between £600,000 or £700,000 per annum to this country, and he calculates, that the total expence since 1808, exceeds £20,000,000, independently of the compensation money of £20,000,000.

xx. pp. 748, 749. Sir Thomas Munro's orders to his assistants.

—Bad crops are the chief cause of failures.—Whatever may have been the crop, *should it have even been less than the seed sown*, they (the cultivators) should always be made to pay the full rent if they can.—Whether or not a ryot, who asks a remission, can pay his rent, may, in most cases, be discovered, by ordering the amount of his failure to be assessed upon the village.—In the same manner, when a village fails, the balance upon it is (to be) assessed upon the neighbouring villages.—The amount of this second assessment ought seldom or ever to exceed 10 per cent. of the rent of the ryots of the inferior village, on which it is imposed. If a balance still remains, it should be assessed upon all the villages which constitute the mouza (the hundred,) but not in a greater proportion than 10 per cent. of the rent. Should a part of the balance yet remain unextinguished, it ought to be remitted."

Ibidem, p. 786, para. 12. Sir Thomas Munro to the Board of Revenue.

"The increase of these articles (Indigo and Sugar) is occasioned by an extra land-rent, *amounting to twice or three times the ordinary rate*, to which all land employed in their cultivation was subjected, and this increase is likely to go on progressively, as the demand for them is great."

20th June, 1838.

Bombay Government Gazette, 20th June, 1838.

The permission to cultivate land with fine cotton and the Mauritius sugar cane in Bombay, annulled by the Court of Directors.

"The Honourable the Court of Directors having been pleased to disapprove of the Notifications of the 24th of February and 1st August, 1835, and of the 1st and 17th November, 1836, issued under the authority of Government by the Revenue Commissioner, granting certain exemptions from assessment (land-tax) to land cultivated with cotton and the Mauritius sugar-cane, and to direct that such notifications be immediately recalled; the Right Hon. the Governor is pleased hereby to cancel the said notifications from this date."

18th Jan., 1839.

Bombay Government Gazette, 18th January, 1839.

"It is hereby notified for general information, that in conformity with section 18, of Act 1, of 1838, the Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to exempt the following articles, the produce of the Bombay Presidency, from (sea) customs, viz. :—

Onions, pot-herbs, and garden stuff, eggs, poultry, and fish, exempted from sea customs in Bombay for the first time, in 1839.

1. Onions, Potatoes, Greens, Pot-herbs, Garden stuff generally, and Fresh Fruits in the ordinary acceptation of the terms. 2. Eggs and Poultry. 3. Fish, fresh and salted, with the exception of Shark's Fins and Fish-maws."

1830.

Testimony of a Committee of the House of Commons, 1830.

House of Commons Report.

"The whole system (of land-tax) resolved itself, on the part of the public officers, into habitual extortion and injustice; whilst what was left to the ryot (cultivator) was little more than what he was able to secure by evasion and concealment."

1837. Rev. Howard Malcom.

Testimony of an American Eye-witness, the Rev. Howard Malcom, of Boston, U. S.

Beauty of the country from Cuddalore to Tanjore. Taxes and other causes keep down the labourer to a

"Feb. 1837. A more beautiful country than that from Cuddalore to Tanjore (Madras) cannot possibly be imagined. The dense population and rich soil give their energies to each other, and produce a scene of surpassing

state below the southern slaves of America.

loveliness; *but the taxes, and other causes, keep down the labourers* TO A STATE BELOW THAT OF OUR SOUTHERN SLAVES.

Government share of the rice crops about 50 per cent., but the collection amounts to three-fourths of the crop. Other taxes are monopolies, duties on exports and imports, licenses, fees on judicial proceedings, stamps, &c.

"The Government share of rice crops is, on an average, about 50 per cent.! But the mode of collection (in money) causes the cultivator to pay about three-fourths of his crop. The public treasury is further replenished by monopolies, by duties on exports and imports, for the most part heavy; by licenses for the sale of arrack and toddy; by stamps; by fees on judicial proceedings, &c., &c."

Moisture alone necessary to constant cropping in India.

Every variety of season produced by irrigation.

Employment of the ryots, and mode of cropping.

"As there is always power enough in a tropical sun to produce vegetation, moisture alone is necessary to constant cropping. Districts, therefore, furnished as this is with tanks and rivers, present continually all the varieties of seasons in Europe. The eye wanders over large fields, in some parts of which men are ploughing, in others planting, and in others harvesting, at the same time. Most of the lands are cropped twice a-year, sometimes with rice, but more frequently with rice first, and then some other grain or pulse. *The scene is beautiful; but squalid poverty and miserable mendicants constantly intrude,* and remind one of Pope's lines—

But squalid poverty every where intrudes.

> "In vain kind seasons swell the teeming grain,
> Soft showers distil, and suns grow warm in vain;
> The swain, with tears, his frustrate labour yields,
> And famished dies, amidst his ripened fields!"

India asserted to be in a state of progressive poverty and depression.

Hamilton, author of the Gazetteer, his testimony to the fact and causes.

"All the writers I have been able to consult, and most of my friends in various parts of Hindostan, declare India to be in a state of progressive poverty and depression. The following observation of Hamilton embodies the general idea. After stating many facts, and adducing public records to prove his assertion, he says:—"All the offices of emolument, civil and military, and the highest lines of commerce, are in the hands of strangers; who, after a temporary residence, depart with the capital they have accumulated. Under native rulers, even the extortions of rapacity, and the drains of tribute, returned into circulation, and promoted in some degree territorial industry. Under its present constitution, the remittance, or rather tribute to Britain, carries off every year a large share of the produce, for which nothing is returned."—*Travels in South Eastern Asia, including Hindostan,* Vol. ii., pp. 69 to 90.

Bishop Heber.

Testimony of Bishop Heber, an Eye-witness.

The land-tax occasions the poverty of the natives.

"The natives of India are just as desirous of accumulating wealth, as skilful in the means of acquiring it, and as prone to all its enjoyments, as any people on earth. It is the LAND-TAX THAT CONFIRMS THEIR UNALTERABLE POVERTY."

Mr Rickards.

Testimony of Mr Rickards, a Company's Servant in Bombay.

The Government seizes every where upon half the pro-

"From the impure fountain of the (Mahomedan) financial system, did we, to our shame, claim the inheritance of

duce of the land as tax, upon the pretence that the Mahomedans so did.

a right to seize upon half the gross produce of the land as a tax; and wherever our arms have since triumphed, we have invariably proclaimed the savage right."

Hon. F. J. Shore. 1836.

Testimony of the Hon. F. J. Shore, a Company's Servant in Bengal.

The Government not by right, but by might, assesses the land-tax at pleasure, and in default of payment, offers the land at public auction.

The Government fixes the assessment on the new occupier at its own valuation.

Districts compared to an apple in a cider press, each succeeding collector feeling his prospects and reputation depend upon the amount of revenue he extracts.

"The Government possesses, not by any right or justice, but by the assumption of might, the power to assess the revenue (land-tax) at pleasure; to demand what it pleases from the owners, farmers, cultivators, or whatever they may be denominated; and in default of payment, it offers the land at public auction, to realize the sum demanded, at the same time fixing the assessment on the new occupier at its own valuation, and treating him in the same manner, if he fails to pay it.

"Every district has been like an apple in a cider-press, while the collector turns the screw; and when he has squeezed it to the extent of *his* power, makes over the handle to another, and he to a third, and so on. *A collector, is, in various ways, made to feel that his reputation and prospects depend upon his realizing a large revenue, and that a recommendation for a reduction in the amount of the assessment, is only considered in the light of a register of his own inefficiency.*"

Mr W. Adam. 1838.

Testimony of Mr W. Adam, an Eye-witness, and official Reporter upon Education in Bengal, in 1838.

Fear inspired by the appearance of Europeans in native villages: the language of kindness unintelligible to the people.

"The sudden appearance of a European (Englishman) in a village often inspired terror, which it was always difficult, and sometimes impossible, to subdue. The adoption of such a style of address by a Government functionary (as consulting their wishes and feelings) was apparently new to them, and scarcely intelligible."

1832. Francis Warden, Esq., an East India Director.

COTTON.—*Testimony of Francis Warden, Esq., an East India Director. Appendix to Report of Select Committee,* 1832.

States the Government land-tax in Guzerat on the Cotton there grown is 1¼*d.* per lb.

"It requires fourteen beegas of land (about seven acres) to produce a kandy of 864 lbs. of (Guzerat) Cotton, on which the Government assessment (land-tax) therefore is, rupees 56, or, at 1*s.* 9*d.* the rupee, 4*l.* 17*s.*, averaging 1¼*d.* per lb.—In the Surat division it averages 1.55*d.* per lb., in Kaira 1.13*d.*, in Ahmedabad 1.53*d.*, in the S. Mahratta country 1.14*d.* In Kattywar the assessment exceeds 5*l.* a kandy."

16th Dec. 1838.

Testimony of an Eye-witness, an English Cotton Merchant, addressed to the President of the Chamber of Commerce, Manchester.

MANCHESTER, 16*th Dec.*, 1838.

SIR,—During my stay in Guzerat, in the spring of 1837, I was occupied several months in purchasing, cleaning, packing, and shipping East India Cotton.—The Cotton grown in Guzerat (the best in India) is taxed by the Honourable Company at a rate which often

Guzerat Cotton taxed 50 per cent.

Often injured before cleaning.

Land-tax levied in the seeded state.

Every pound is brought by the tax-gatherers into the Government yards; if the cultivator is not then able to pay the tax, the Cotton is all buried in holes dug in the ground, and lumps of earth piled upon it.

proves 50 per cent. of its market value. The Cotton, with the seed in it, (called kupass) as it is taken from the plant, is often very much injured before cleaning. It is in this state that the Honourable East India Company levy their land-tax on it. Immediately after it is gathered, it is brought (by the tax-gatherers) into the Government kullies (yards); and if the growers, or owners, are not immediately prepared to pay the tax upon it, the kupass is buried in the ground, as a farmer would his winter potatoes in England, except that there is no straw or matting placed between the earth and the Cotton. The top is covered with large lumps of earth. I presume this method has been resorted to on the part of the Hon. East India Company to avoid the slight expense of building sheds, and has been connived at on the part of the dealers and cultivators, because the moisture to which it is thus exposed strikes through the Cotton, and very much tends to increase its weight, and improve its appearance for the time being; but when it is packed in a moist state, mildew naturally follows, and before the Cotton reaches England, the colour is very much deteriorated.

Hence the moisture strikes thro', and when packed, the Cotton becomes mildewed.

Difficulty in taking out seed, in consequence of the earth thus mixed with it, and impossibility of separating the earth.

The kupass (unseeded Cotton) also becomes mixed with lumps of hard earth, and, as it cannot be passed through the seeding machine without being beaten out, to facilitate the fibres leaving the seed, to which they are very tenacious, these lumps of dirt are broken up into a fine brown powder, which cannot afterwards be extricated from the Cotton.

Omrawuttee Cotton is grown at the rate of 2 lbs. for twopence; Government takes one half for land-tax, hence the remaining one pound costs the grower twopence.

I am informed that the Omrawuttee Cotton is grown at the rate of two pounds for twopence, in moderately favourable seasons, but as Government, who neither sow nor reap, take one-half of this as their land-tax, the remaining *one* pound stands in twopence to the grower.

The Patells, or heads of villages, to whom Government look for the payment of all demands, oppress the poor ryots (cultivators,) in the same ratio as Government is arbitrary in its exactions upon the Patells.

Irrigation beneficial to Cotton.

I am convinced, in my own mind, that the effect of judicious irrigation would be exceedingly beneficial. For five months, until the plant comes to maturity, it has no rain. The nature of the plant, consequently, does not fully develop itself.

Indispensable to the finer varieties.

In support of my idea regarding irrigation, I would call your attention to the fact, that no good Cotton from warm climates is imported to Great Britain, that has not been irrigated, as Egyptian Cotton, for instance; and in Peru, Cotton could not be grown at all without artificial irrigation. Even in India, many articles are irrigated, such as Sugar, Tobacco, and Chilies.

All lands in India that are irrigated, whether naturally or artificially, pay double land-tax; consequent effect upon the prices of raw produce.

But I am informed, on undoubted authority, that all irrigated lands in India are doubly taxed, (sometimes trebly and quadruply;) so that, supposing that with the expences of irrigation, three pounds of Cotton could be grown for fourpence halfpenny, the Honourable East India Company would take, under such circumstances, two pounds as their share; and consequently, the remaining one pound would cost the cultivator fourpence halfpenny.

Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1837.

Testimony of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

To the Chief Secretary to Government.

Bombay, *4th March*, 1837.

Delay in fixing the amount of land-tax on Cotton.

Sir,—I am requested by the Chamber of Commerce most respectfully to bring to the notice of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, the situation in which the Cotton-dealers in the Broach Collectorate are now placed, owing to the annual Assessment (land-tax) on the Cotton for the Revenue not having been yet fixed.

Prevents the shipment of the Cotton to Bombay, also the cleaning, seeding, and preparing.

Until this assessment has been made, *the Cotton cannot be shipped* for Bombay, nor, unless under certain restrictions, not available to all the dealers, *can the Cotton be cleaned and prepared for shipment.*

The nature of the climate, making the time very short for these processes.

Under the most favourable circumstances, the time for effecting all this is, from the nature of the climate, necessarily very short.

Which any delay curtails, and is felt as a great hardship.

Any delay in fixing the Assessment, still further curtails the very short period the climate allows, and is felt as a very great hardship.

Rt. Hon. Holt Makenzie. 1838.

Testimony of the Right Honourable Holt Makenzie, a Company's Servant in Bengal.

India capable of producing the best Cotton, witness its past produce.

"India would not be found wanting in any essential requisite for the production of the best Cotton. The vast extent to which Cotton has long been grown, and the exquisite beauty of some of its manufactures, are only additional reasons for prosecuting inquiry."

Dr. Spry. 1838.

Testimony of Dr. Spry, a Company's Servant in Bengal.

India sealed against the enterprize of Britons in order to prolong the abuses of patronage.

Had the peninsula been open, England would not now depend on America for Cotton.

"It is certainly without a parallel in the annals of the world, that a country possessing such capabilities as India, should have been so long hermetically sealed against the enterprise of Britons, in order to prolong the abuses of patronage. Had the peninsula been open, we should not now be dependant upon America for raw Cotton, nor would the country have been brought, as it was four years ago, to the very verge of bankruptcy and revolution, when the stock of Cotton was not adequate to three week's consumption. To this astounding blunder the Southern division of the United States owes its Cotton plantations, and its rice fields, and also the blighting curse of Slavery. Evidence confirms the fact, that Cotton can be grown in India, fully equal, or rather superior, to the bulk of American." *(Modern India.)*

Slavery in the United States the consequence.

That Cotton equal to American can be grown in India proved by evidence.

Testimony of American Cotton Merchants.

1839.

(Extract from a New York Circular.)

American Cotton Circular; danger apprehended

"It is however advisable not to draw the cord too tight by these financial arrangements, (alluding to the plans in

to American Cotton if the cord be drawn too tight.

discussion for holding the coming crop of Cotton,) lest by the attention of Great Britain being turned to the cultivation of Cotton in India, *from which, doubtless, exhaustless supplies can be obtained,* we may be in danger of losing that market."

The New York Evening Post, Aug. 1839.

The New York Evening Post, Aug., 1839, *quoted in the Money Article of the Times of Sept. 6th.*

American explanation of the rise in the price of Cotton.

"The cupidity of John Bull has been excited by our State Stocks bearing, as they do, a greater interest than his Consols, and for the last three years he has poured out his substance in loans to us, by which means we have artificially raised the price of Cotton.

Its effects, as manifested in the present state of England.

"At length a disastrous season forces poor John to pay out the solid stuff to the sturdy farmers of Germany, for bread to eat; and as he had no remittances for account of our importers from the continent of Europe, or elsewhere, as of old, to countervail this new drain, he was soon in the state of a man who has loaned out his money on such security, that he cannot avail himself of it, when most needed, and, at the same time, has a large and expensive family to maintain and provide for, without any receipts from the sale of his merchandise, which has suddenly fallen on his hands to a merely nominal value.

The probability of another commercial crisis, as in 1825, anticipated.

"The continental markets reject honest John's manufactures; we drain his ready money; and between the two, he is likely to enlarge a second edition of the purging of 1825, much to his improvement, and eventual restoration to health."

W. Felkin, Esq. 1839.

SILK.—*Testimony of W. Felkin, Esq., F.R.S.*

The following paper was read at the British Association at Birmingham, in August, 1839. Extract:—

Capacity of India to produce Silk in any quantity required by Great Britain.

"But the chief object in view in bestowing the time and labour, necessary to bring about the results which establish the interesting and important fact, that SILK of the best quality could thus be grown here, (in England,) was to show how the produce of this article, so well adapted to the soil and climate of that country, (India,) and the condition of its multitudinous inhabitants, (and so necessary as raw material to one of our chief manufactures,) might be greatly improved in quality, and indefinitely increased in quantity, in Hindostan. There, labour is cheaper than anywhere besides, and land, unoccupied and waste, but perfectly suitable for the Mulberry, is plentiful; so that, by introducing into Hindostan the superior kinds of silk-worms, and Mulberry trees, so long grown in the south of Europe, and recently brought forward with such vast enthusiasm in the United States of North America; the whole might be supplied from India with raw Silk at half its present cost, a cost increased by the demand greatly exceeding the supply, so as to have compelled us to pay four, instead of three millions sterling a year, during the last four years, for the same weight of material, and thus greatly to limit the extent, and even to risk the safety of the Silk manufacture itself."

TEA. TEA.—*The present annual Import of Tea is* 40,000,000 *lbs., costing, upon an average, at* 1*s. per lb., in Bond,* £2,000,000 *sterling.*

This Tea has hitherto been chiefly paid for, by smuggling into China, a poison there prohibited by the Government on pain of death—that is to say, Opium.* This Opium, the natives of India are compelled to produce, it is then all taken from them, under severe penalties, at a price fixed by the Government, and retailed by the Government at a monopoly price to purchasers, who smuggle it into China. The past consequences of this monopoly have been, that the British consumer has paid at least one-fourth more for his Tea than its natural price, and that British manufactures have been thereby excluded from China. The present consequences are, that the Chinese Government has confiscated three millions sterling of Opium, (British India property;) and hence has annihilated capital to that amount; it further stopped the trade, and made prisoners of all the European residents at Canton, as Opium smugglers.

* "The Chinese Emperors have suppressed it, (Opium) in their dominions, by condemning to the flames every vessel that imports this species of poison, and every house that receives it."—*Raynal's Indies*, b. iii., p. 413, ed. 1777.

The future consequences to Great Britain will be, to be drained annually (in the absence of the cheap staples of manufacture to exchange with the Chinese,) of about two millions in bullion, being the prime cost of the Tea required for the population.

To India the consequences will be, to be further taxed to the extent of a million and a half a year, in order to make good the loss produced by the monopoly Opium being unsaleable. It is now known that 100 chests of Tea, produced in India, are on their way to England, leaving not a rational doubt, that if the natives had been encouraged to produce Tea, Land Tax free, forty years ago, Great Britain would be now receiving her supply from her Indian dominions, guiltless of the enormous losses sustained by British merchants, guiltless of the enormous evils entailed upon India by the monopoly, and upon China by the traffic in that drug.

OPIUM MONOPOLY.

Thelwall's Iniquities of the Opium Trade. 1839.

Testimony of an Eye-witness in Bengal.

The culture of the Poppy forced upon the Natives. Surveillance of the police over them, and consequent sufferings.

"The evils of the cultivation (of Opium) do not end here. In consequence of being obliged forcibly to cultivate this highly taxed drug, the peasant is constantly exposed to a suspicion of retaining some part of the produce for private sale; the surveillance of the police is, therefore, especially directed to these unhappy creatures; and the oppressions which they are subjected to in this way surpass belief. They are exposed to every sort of annoyance which the ingenuity of these authorized plunderers (the police, and the custom-house searchers) can devise, in order to extort bribes. The privacy of their miserable abodes is intruded upon by these harpies of Government, and no redress can be given by the Government unless they abolish the production of this accursed drug. When the Government itself is virtually the defendant, an appeal to its justice is a mockery.

Bribes extorted from them.

Hopelessness of appeal to Government.

Vast tracts of land now covered with Poppies, which are not cultivated on waste or barren lands; the reason why.

"Vast tracts of land, formerly occupied with other articles, are now covered with Poppies, which require a superior soil to produce Opium in perfection. Hence its cultivation has not extended over waste and barren lands, but into those districts and villages best fitted for agricultural purposes, where other plants, grown from time immemorial, have been driven out before it."

Famines.
Famine of 1838.

The inevitable consequences resulting, are, periodical famines. Last year, (1838,) one of these visitations destroyed 500,000 persons, (or about three times the entire population of Liverpool,) in North Bengal; while, at the same time, nearly 156 millions of pounds weight of rice only were being exported to foreign parts from South Bengal. The English Magistrate of Agra, the capital of North Bengal, states, in his official return, (*Bombay Times*, June, 1839,) that 144 children had been carried off by wolves; so completely had the famine annihilated every thing eatable in the country, but the children that were left to the survivors.

144 children carried off by wolves, as stated by the magistrate.

RESULTS TO GREAT BRITAIN.

Results to Great Britain.
* *M'Culloch's Dictionary*, p. 443.

Three millions of persons now depend for subsistence upon receiving the Cotton of America.* Upon the security of this Cotton and of other crops, many millions of British capital are freely lent, serving to raise and keep up the prices of produce. This rise prohibits British manufacturers from executing their orders, and stops their mills. Idleness and hunger in the starving operatives, who are the immediate victims, breed disaffection to the Government, and hatred to all established institutions. The retail tradesman, who lives by their industry, suffers and feels with them. Men see the vast and complicated evils, and under the delusion that has been propagated relative to India, confess the impossibility of applying any legislative remedy. Foreign nations believe the heart of the country to be diseased. Foreign navies are created and forced into existence. High profits abroad enable a high interest to be paid for capital, borrowed in order to establish manufactories designed to rival, and one day certain to supplant those of England.

RESULTS TO THE WORLD.

Results to the world.

Africa is made day by day, and year by year, a more gigantic, appalling scene of man-stealing, war, and human butchery: America is cursed with unmitigated and unmitigable Slavery: India is beggared and re-barbarized: China is defied and demoralized; and Europe, Asia, and America, are all being sown with the seeds of wars and contentions, in which England's best heart's blood will be poured out.

This Exposition is submitted, for dispassionate inquiry and examination, to every lover of his country and friend of his kind.

Committee of the British India Society. London, Sept., 1839.

NOTE.—As the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* is pledged to sustain the British India cause, contributions to the Funds of the Glasgow Society, *will effect the same object* as if remitted to London.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

No. VI.

The attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten, not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the County of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay, in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings, were a clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the Magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the Jurors have decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression had rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local Newspaper, for grossly defaming a Baptist Minister, was tried, and the Jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the Island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negroes behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The Juries, on these occasions, were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the Abolition of Slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses, in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

COMMITTEE.

The following Gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote Subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected:—

LONDON.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., Treasurer.

Charles Lushington, Esq., M.P.
T. F. Buxton, Esq.
William Allen, Esq.
Rev. John Dyer.
George Stacey, Esq.
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Rev. I. J. Freeman.
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W. B. Gurney, Esq.
Joseph Cooper, Esq.
John Scoble, Esq.
Jacob Post, Esq.
Rev. J. Woodwark.

HENRY STERRY, Secretary.

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Thomas Clarkson, Esq., Playford Hall, near Ipswich.
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J. T. Price, Esq. Neath.
James Whitehorn, Esq., Bristol.
Rev. Thomas Scales, Leeds.
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G. H. Head, Esq., Carlisle.
Joseph Eaton, Esq., Bristol.
Richard Rathbone, Esq., Liverpool.
Joseph Marriage, jun., Chelmsford.
Henry Sparkes, Esq., Exeter.
Jona. Backhouse, Esq., Darlington.
C. Hindley, Esq., M.P.
Anthony Wigham, Esq., Aberdeen.
Thomas Pewtress, Esq., City.
William Smeal, Glasgow.

The following Subscriptions have been already received:—

Samuel Gurney, Esq.,	£100	0	0
Mrs Darby and Family, Coalbrook Dale,	100	0	0
Joseph Sturge, Esq., Birmingham,	50	0	0
G. W. Alexander, Esq.,	50	0	0
James Cropper, Esq., Liverpool,	50	0	0
John Cropper, Esq., do.	50	0	0
W. B. Gurney, Esq.,	50	0	0
G. H. Head, Esq., Carlisle,	50	0	0
J. T. Price, Esq., Neath,	50	0	0
Edward Smith, Esq., Sheffield,	50	0	0
Mrs A. H. Smith, Olney,	50	0	0
John Bell, Esq., Wandsworth,	25	0	0
W. G. Gibson, Esq., Saffron Walden,	25	0	0

Jonathan Backhouse, Esq., Darlington,	£20	0	0
Joseph Eaton, Esq., Bristol,	20	0	0
Miss Margaret Pope, Staines,	20	0	0
Thomas Clarkson, Esq., Playford Hall,	10	0	0
Richard D. Alexander, Esq., Ipswich,	10	0	0
Edward Pease, Esq., Darlington,	10	0	0
John Sturge, Esq., Birmingham,	10	0	0
Charles Sturge, Esq., do.,	10	0	0
Francis Gibson, Esq., Saffron Walden,	10	0	0
Mary Gibson, do.,	10	0	0
Ann Gibson, do.,	10	0	0
John Backhouse, Esq., Darlington,	5	0	0
William Backhouse, Esq., do.	5	0	0
Joseph Cooper, Esq.,	5	0	0
Charles Lushington, Esq., M.P.,	5	0	0
Joseph Pease, Esq., M.P.,	5	0	0
J. B. Pease, Esq., Darlington,	5	0	0
George Stacey, Esq.,	5	0	0
Henry Sterry,	5	0	0
John Penny, Esq.,	3	0	0
Ann Backhouse, Darlington,	2	0	0
A Friend, per Joseph Sturge,	2	0	0
Captain C. R. Moorsom, R.N.,	2	0	0
A Friend, per Rev. J. Woodwark,	1	0	0
T. Pewtress, Esq.,	5	0	0
Robert Grahame, Esq., of Whitehill, Glasgow, now residing at Weymouth,	10	0	0
William Allen, Esq., Plough Court,	5	0	0
D. Anderson, Esq.,	5	0	0
N. W. Bromley, Esq.,	1	0	0
Charles Burls, Jun., Esq., 19, Bridge Street,	0	10	6
Baptist Church, South Silver Street, Aberdeen,	4	11	0
John Thomas Bigg, Esq.,	10	0	0
J. J. Cobbin, Esq., Stock Exchange,	2	2	0
Mrs Davies, Walthamstow,	2	0	0
Rev. John Dyer,	1	1	0
Robert Forster, Esq., Tottenham,	3	0	0
Friends at Buckingham, per Rev. J. H. Hinton,	2	10	0
W. F. Lloyd, Esq., 56, Paternoster Row,	1	1	0
Joseph Neatby, Esq., Kennington,	5	0	0
Richard Peek, Esq., Haselwood, Devon,	10	0	0
Miss Phillips, Wandsworth,	10	0	0
Price of Sugar, 112, Strand,	5	0	0
Do. & Co., Mincing Lane,	5	0	0
Jacob Post, Esq., Islington,	2	0	0
William Peckover, Esq.,	10	0	0
E. Prentis & Co.,	10	0	0
Willian Risden, Esq., Burlingham House, Pershore, Worcestershire,	21	0	0
Rachel Stacey, Tottenham,	3	0	0
Rev. James Smith, Astwood,	5	0	0
Joseph Sharples, Esq.,	20	0	0
John Tawell, Esq., Southwark Bridge Road,	2	2	0
Sarah Wedgwood, per Joseph Sturge, Esq.,	10	0	0
Josiah Wedgwood, Esq., London,	20	0	0

John Wilkinson, Esq., Wycomb,	£5	0	0
W. Wailes, Esq., Leeds,	5	0	0
Thomas Wontner, Esq.,	2	0	0
Benjamin Young, Esq., Hatfield, Herts,	5	0	0
Thomas Brewin, Esq., Birmingham,	2	0	0
John Childs, Esq., Bungay,	1	0	0
Rev. J. A. James, Birmingham,	1	0	0
G. Newman, Esq., Leominster,	5	0	0
John Pritchard, Esq., do.,	5	0	0
Nathaniel Roberts, Esq., per Rev. J. Woodwark,	10	10	0
Samuel Southall, Esq., Leominster,	5	0	0
T. & W. Southall, Birmingham,	2	0	0
J. Bird, Esq., Oakhampton,	0	10	0
C. Bowley, Esq.,	5	0	0
J. Buller, Esq.,	10	0	0
W. Flanders, Esq., Woburn Place,	2	0	0
R. Holborn, Esq.,	1	0	0
Richard Porter, Esq., Deptford,	1	0	0
G. Pearse, Esq., Stamford Court,	1	0	0
W. Pearse, Esq,, do.,	0	5	0
J. Pearse, Esq., Oakhampton,	0	5	0
Rev. G. Richards, Stamford Court,	0	10	0
C. J. Tosswell, Esq., Torrington Square,	2	0	0
Edmund Waller, Esq., Lowton,	5	5	0

Subscriptions will be received at the following places:—

Samuel Gurney, Esq., Treasurer, Lombard Street; Messrs. Herries, Farquhar and Co., Bankers, St. James's Street; Messrs. Drewett and Fowler, Bankers, Princes Street, City; Messrs. Hanburys, Taylor and Lloyd, Bankers, Lombard Street; Baptist Missionary Society's Office, Fen Court, Fenchurch Street; J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street; or by any of the Members of the Committee.

Subscriptions will be received in Glasgow, by WILLIAM SMEAL, 161, Gallowgate.

GLASGOW:
Printed by Aird & Russell, Buchanan Court,
75, Argyll Street.

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SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY:

WITH

AN APPENDIX, LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS, &c.

THE OBJECT OF THIS SOCIETY,

IS TO PROMOTE THE UNIVERSAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE;

TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF THE ABORIGINES IN THE BRITISH COLONIES;

AND TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF OUR FELLOW SUBJECTS, THE NATIVES OF BRITISH INDIA.

GLASGOW:
PRINTED BY AIRD & RUSSELL, 75, ARGYLL STREET;
AND SOLD BY GEORGE GALLIE, BUCHANAN STREET;
J. SYMINGTON & CO., QUEEN STREET;
J. M'LEOD, ARGYLL STREET; D. ROBERTSON, TRONGATE;
AND WILLIAM SMEAL, GALLOWGATE.

MDCCCXL.

ANNUAL MEETING.

GLASGOW, *7th August*, 1840.

AGREEABLY to Advertisement, the Sixth Annual Meeting of the above Society was held in Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel, West George Street.

On the motion of the Rev. James M'Tear, the Rev. Dr. HEUGH was called to the Chair.

The Chairman having opened the business, then called on Mr Murray, one of the Secretaries, to read the Annual Report. Mr Beith, the Treasurer, also read an Abstract of the Accounts. It was then—

I. Moved by the *Rev. Dr. Wardlaw*, and seconded by *Robert Kettle, Esq.* :—

"That the Report now read, be re-committed for revision by the Committee; and that it be printed, and circulated, under their direction."

II. Moved by *William Dawes, Esq.*, seconded by the *Rev. John Keep*, (both from the Oberlin Institute, Ohio,) and supported by *Charles L. Remond*, and *William Adam, Esqs.*, also from the United States :—

"That the improved condition and character of the Emancipated population in the British Colonies, most satisfactorily illustrate and confirm the soundness of the views entertained by the Friends of Immediate Abolition, and call for renewed expressions of thankfulness and congratulation: that the experience of the past, and the present state of the Anti-Slavery cause, furnish motives of the most affecting and at the same time sustaining nature, to prosecute, with undiminished ardour and hopefulness, the great work of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION, till the fetter of

every Slave be broken—the Continent of Africa delivered from the horrors of the Slave Trade, and *the unnatural and wicked prejudice against colour* entirely eradicated."

III. *George Thompson, Esq.*, submitted to the Meeting a proposition for Adjournment until Monday Evening next, owing to the lateness of the hour, and the important nature of the business yet to be gone through, which was unanimously carried.

IV. Moved by *Mr William Smeal*, and carried by acclamation:—

"That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Trustees for the use of the Chapel; and to Dr. Heugh, and Mr Beith, who succeeded him, for their conduct in the Chair.

HUGH HEUGH, *Chairman.*

JAMES BEITH, *Chairman.*

ADJOURNED MEETING,

HELD MONDAY EVENING, 10th AUGUST, 1840.

Mr JAMES BEITH again Presided.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting having been read: It was—

I. Moved by the *Rev. Alexander Harvey*, and seconded by *James Mott, Esq.*, of Philadelphia:—

"Whereas Slavery, under every modification, is a daring insult to God, who made man in his own image,—a glaring outrage on all the rights of humanity,—and expressly condemned by the precepts and spirit of Christianity, this Meeting regard not only those who hold Slaves as deeply

guilty, but likewise all who neglect to use the influence which they possess to discourage or suppress it, as partakers in the sin."

Wherefore Resolved,

"I. That we now pledge ourselves to use all our influence, in every relation in life, to put an end to Slavery; and earnestly to remonstrate with those (be they Britons or Americans), who either retain their Fellow Men in Bondage, or make gain by the infamous system of Slavery."

"II. That this Meeting earnestly and affectionately entreat the Christian Churches in Great Britain and Ireland, of all denominations, through their Ministers and Members, to remonstrate, as opportunity presents, through their Church Courts, or other Religious Organizations, according to their own forms, with the American Churches and Brethren, on the Guilt they incur—the Injury they inflict on Religion—and the dishonour they do to God, by retaining Slave-Holders in their Communion, and to urge them, by all the motives presented by their Common Faith, to give no countenance to this monstrous evil, but to put away from their Religious Fellowship every man who holds his Fellow Man in Bondage, as they value the Divine Favour, the Interests of Religion, and the Rights of Humanity."

On the preamble and Resolutions being put to the Meeting, the following clauses were proposed on behalf of a large body of Chartists present, as additions, and were pronounced by the Chair to be carried by a majority of the Meeting. *Mr George Thompson* protested against said clauses being considered as adopted by the Members of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society.* The first clause was proposed by Mr Lloyd Jones, the Socialist Missionary, viz.:—

"And that the owners of our large manufacturing establishments be particularly requested to immediately render their assistance in making such alterations in the institutions of this country, as that infant slavery may be at once abolished."

The second clause was proposed by Mr Jack, viz.:—

"That while we take every opportunity of hastening the Emancipation of the Slaves of America, and all other parts of the world, we direct the Committee to take every opportunity of urging the Government of Britain to take immediate steps for advancing the condition of the people of this Country, morally, physically, and politically, by passing a law, granting the right of the Suffrage to every man of sane mind, unconvicted of crime, who has attained the years of his majority."

An adjournment was then proposed, and, notwithstand-

ing the strenuous opposition of the Chartists, it was carried by a majority.

A vote of thanks was given to Mr Beith, for his conduct in the Chair.

JAMES BEITH, *Chairman.*

At an Adjourned Meeting, held in Dr. Heugh's Chapel, to conclude the business of the Sixth Anniversary of the above Society, 14th September, 1840:

Mr John Murray being called to the Chair, and having opened the proceedings: It was then—

I. Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, seconded by *Charles L. Remond, Esq.*, from America; supported by the *Rev. John Keep*, from Oberlin Institute, Ohio; and carried unanimously:—

"That it is the solemn duty of the people and Government of Great Britain, to consider the condition and claims of our fellow-subjects—the Natives of British India, and to devise and carry forward such measures as are calculated to better their circumstances, and to elevate their character:—That this duty gathers additional weight and importance from the fact, that the existing systems of Slavery and the Slave Trade are mainly dependent for their support upon a demand for certain articles of tropical growth, now obtained by the compulsory labour of persons held in bondage in the United States, Brazil, and elsewhere—articles which the soil of India is fully adequate to produce, by the unconstrained labour of the natives, under a wise and equitable administration of British rule, assisted by the philanthropic exertions of the people of this country."

II. Moved by *Mr William Smeal*, and seconded by the *Rev. James M'Tear*:—

"That the name of William P. Paton, Esq., be added to the list of the Vice-Presidents of this Society; that the Rev. John Graham be added to the Committee, in room of the Rev. James Paterson, resigned; that the

names of William Brodie, Thomas Watson, William Gunn, Jun., Robert Mathie, and John A. Fullarton, Esqrs., be also added to the number; and that the other Office-Bearers be requested to continue their services for the year ensuing."

III. Moved by *Bailie M'Leod*, and carried by acclamation :—

"That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be given to the Managers, for the use of the Chapel; and to Mr Murray, for his conduct in the chair."

JOHN MURRAY, *Chairman.*

OFFICE-BEARERS.

President.

ROBERT GRAHAME, Esq., of Whitehill.

Vice-Presidents.

REV. DR. WARDLAW, REV. DR. HEUGH, REV. DR. KIDSTON, Wm. P. PATON, Esq., ANTHONY WIGHAM, Esq., Aberdeen.

Treasurer.

JAMES BEITH, Esq.

Secretaries.

Messrs. JOHN MURRAY and WILLIAM SMEAL.

Committee.

Rev. William Anderson.
William Auld.
William Brash.
John Duncan.
John Eadie.
John Edwards.
Greville Ewing.
John Graham.
Alexander Harvey.
John Johnstone.
David King.
William Lindsay.
J. M. M'Kenzie.
James M'Tear.
Thomas Pullar.
Dr. Willis.
Messrs. David Anderson.
J. S. Blyth.
William Brodie.
Hugh Brown.
William Brown.
Walter Buchanan.
Robert Connel.
G. C. Dick.
William Ferguson.
John Fleming.

Messrs. John A. Fullarton.
George Gallie.
Thomas Grahame.
William Gunn, Jun.
Robert Kettle.
Henry Langlands.
Matthew Lethem.
Donald Macintyre.
John Maxwell, M.D.
Colin M'Dougal.
Ninian M'Gilp.
Anthony M'Keand.
David M'Laren.
John M'Leod.
Robert Mathie.
John Reid.
Robert Sanderson.
James Stewart.
George Thorburn.
Archibald Watson.
George Watson.
James Watson.
Thomas Watson.
William White.
Andrew Young.

Honorary and Corresponding Members.

George Thompson, Esq.
Right Hon. Lord Brougham.
John Dennistoun, Esq., M.P.
Joseph Sturge, Esq., Birmingham.
Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P.
Rev. Thomas Roberts, Bristol.
Rev. Patrick Brewster, Paisley.
William Lloyd Garrison, Esq., Boston, New England.
Arthur Tappan, Esq., New York.
James G. Birney, Esq., do.
James Johnston, Esq., Auburn, do.
James M'Cune Smith, M.D., do.
M. George Washington Lafayette, } Paris.
M. Victor de Tracey, }

REPORT.

At the conclusion of last year's Report, your Committee reminded the Society of the variety and extent of the labours it had undertaken—that from being in 1833 "The Glasgow Emancipation Society," for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World, "It now stands pledged, in conjunction with the Aborigines' Society, *to Protect the Rights of the Aboriginal Inhabitants in our Colonies;* and, with the British India Society, to aid in *Bettering the Condition of our Fellow-Subjects, the Natives of British India.*"

In presenting to their constituents, their Sixth Annual Report, your Committee feel desirous, in the outset, to congratulate them and the Public on the very satisfactory Results of Emancipation in the British Colonies, especially as regards the conduct of the Enfranchised population. Wherever they have been subjected to injuries and oppression—of which there is still, to the disgrace of their white Tyrants, many instances, they have exhibited, in an eminent degree, an exemplary and praiseworthy forbearance; are harmless, quiet, sober, and orderly in their conduct; and, notwithstanding what their enemies and calumniators may say to the contrary, are of a diligent and industrious disposition—of which more by and bye—and evince a desire to improve themselves and their children by education.

Soon after our last Annual Meeting—on the 15th October—a Public Meeting of the Society and its friends was held, for the purpose of hearing an Address from Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Bart., on the objects and progress of the Aborigines' Protection Society, and also for the purpose of having the Public assent to a Memorial to Government, relative to the Negroes captured in the *Amistad*, praying that

Government might interpose its power and influence, by every legitimate means, with the American or Spanish Governments, to have these Africans set at liberty if possible in America: or, if too late to secure that, that they be liberated at Cuba, by the Mixed Commission Court there, and handed over to a British Ship of War, to be carried back to the port in Africa from whence they came, and escorted to their homes"—and suggesting, that Ruiz and Montes, who were illegally transporting them, should be proceeded against. A Memorial, praying that the Independence of Texas should not be recognized, "unless the Texians consent to Emancipate all the Slaves at present there, and so to alter their Constitution as to prohibit for ever the holding of Slaves in the Territory of Texas"—was likewise agreed to by the meeting.*

To the former of these Memorials, the following answer was received:—

"SLAVE TRADE.

"FOREIGN OFFICE, 23*d Dec.*, 1839.

"WILLIAM P. PATON, ESQ., &c., &c., GLASGOW.

"SIR,—With reference to the Memorial of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, dated the 15th of October last, on behalf of the Negroes who took possession of the *Amistad,* and were subsequently carried to New London, in the United States of America, I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to state to you, for the information of the above mentioned Society, that his Lordship has directed Her Majesty's Minister at Washington to interpose his good offices in their behalf, in order that they may be set at liberty: and, his Lordship has further instructed Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires at Madrid to call upon the Spanish Government to issue immediately strict orders to the Authorities of Cuba, that, if the request of the British Minister at Washington is complied with, the Negroes in question may be put in possession of their liberty.

"Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires at Madrid has likewise been instructed to urge the Spanish Government to cause the laws against the Slave Trade to be enforced against Messrs. Ruiz and Montes, and against all other Spanish subjects concerned in the transaction in question.

"I am, SIR, your most obedient humble Servant,

"W. FOX STRANGWAYS."

In December last, your Secretaries made a liberal distribution of Pamphlets and Reports, and a Circular, to the Members and friends of the Society in Town and Country, to arouse their zeal in the cause—which seems to have, in many instances, settled down into a too self-satisfied state; as if,

* See these Memorials in full, in the Appendix of last year's Report.

now that Slavery is entirely abolished in our West India Colonies, our work were finished. Your Secretaries, also, desired a supply of the sinews of war—pecuniary help—especially from Ministers and Congregations in the Country; appealing, at the same time, in behalf of our fellow-subjects the Natives of British India, and also on behalf of prostrate Africa, robbed daily of a thousand of her children.

On January 9th and 10th, two Public Meetings of your Society were held—the former to receive from Mr John Scoble, of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of London, an account of the actual Results of Emancipation in the West Indies, as collected from his own observation—the latter to receive further information from Mr George Thompson on British India, also to appoint Delegates to the Great Anti-Slavery Convention in London, and to nominate a Committee of Correspondence with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, or others, on the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade.

In February, your Secretaries took the opportunity of Mr Scoble going to Paris, on a Mission from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to the French Abolitionists, to renew their correspondence with the "French Society for the Abolition of Slavery;" and, on the 26th of the same month, they were favoured with an interesting reply* from the Honoured President and Secretary of that Society, Messrs Odillon Barrot, and Isambert.

In March, a Card was again addressed by your Secretaries to Lord Palmerston, reminding him of the Case of the *Amistad* Negroes, to which they had the honour of receiving the following reply:—

"FOREIGN OFFICE, 26*th March*, 1840.

"MESSRS. J. MURRAY AND W. SMEAL, SECRETARIES TO THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

"GENTLEMEN,—I am directed by Lord Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which you addressed to his Lordship on the 4th inst.; and I am to acquaint you in reply, that Her Majesty's Envoy to the United States has been instructed to use his good offices with the United States' Government, in behalf of the Negroes taken on board the *Amistad*, so as to secure to them eventually their liberty: and that Her Majesty's Chargé d' Affaires at Madrid has been instructed to request the Spanish Government, to issue strict orders to the Authorities of Cuba, to put the Negroes referred to in possession of their liberty, in the event of

* See Appendix, No. I.

their being given up to Spanish authority, or to those Spaniards who were formerly their owners.—I am, GENTLEMEN,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,

"LEVESON."*

In April, your Secretaries addressed a Circular to the friends of the Abolition cause in the West of Scotland, informing them of the Great Convention which was to be held in London, and requesting them to send Delegates to that interesting Assembly.

On the 27th July, a Public Meeting of the Members and friends of the Society was held in Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel, to receive the Celebrated American Abolitionist, William Lloyd Garrison of Boston, and his Co-Delegates to the late Anti-Slavery Convention in London—Nathaniel P. Rogers of Concord, New Hampshire; Charles L. Remond, from New York, and William Adam, from Rhode Island. On this occasion, the following Resolutions were unanimously passed:—

Moved by the *Rev. William Anderson*, and seconded by the *Rev. Patrick Brewster*, one of the Ministers of Paisley,

"Resolved—That this Meeting most cordially welcomes to Scotland, and to the City of Glasgow, the devoted Champion of the cause of his 'fellow-countrymen in chains,' WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, and the other American Anti-Slavery Delegates, now present; and, at the same time, record their thanks to Almighty God for the preservation vouchsafed them, in the midst of the imminent dangers to which they have been exposed: That they rejoice in the advancing triumphs of the principles of impartial liberty in the United States, and renew to their Transatlantic Brethren and Sisters their pledge to co-operate with them, in every Christian measure for the overthrow of Slavery in America, and throughout the world."

Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and seconded by the *Rev. H. M. M'Gill*,

"Resolved—That this Meeting seizes with alacrity the opportunity which the presence of the Male Delegates from the American Anti-Slavery Society affords, of forwarding through those Gentlemen, to the ANTI-SLAVERY WOMEN OF AMERICA, the assurance of their admiration and sympathy, and their earnest exhortation that they will continue in Divine strength steadfast and immoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as they know that their labour will not be in vain in the Lord."

Death has again made a breach in the list of your Committee; and we are called at this Anniversary to mourn the loss of our

* It is very gratifying and satisfactory to observe, by Parliamentary Papers just published, that Her Majesty's Government have followed up this with a Letter from Mr Jerningham to the Spanish Minister—for which, see Appendix, No. II.

late friend, William Craig, Esq., long known in this City as a distinguished advocate of the Cause of Liberty, both civil and religious. Few men evinced a warmer interest in the liberation of the Slaves in our Colonies, or in the progress of Universal Freedom; and his memory will long be cherished with sincere and grateful esteem.

It is proposed to add to the list of the Vice-Presidents of this Society, the names of William P. Paton, Esq., one of the most generous supporters of its objects; and to the Committee, the names of the Rev. John Graham, William Brodie, Thomas Watson, William Gunn, Jun., Robert Mathie, and John A. Fullarton, Esqs.

Such is a summary of the Proceedings of the Society since last Annual Meeting.

An Abstract of the progress of the Cause, will now close this Report.

A cry about a deficiency of labour, and for additional labourers, is loudly raised by the Planters in the Colonies, to create an impression that the Emancipated will not work—a most false and calumnious impression—and to account in their way for the high price of Sugar, while several measures, and some of them of a questionable character, are resorted to, in order to procure labourers.

To this our reply is, that although Female labour is now very much withdrawn from the more oppressive part of Sugar cultivation, and some Males have betaken themselves to the cultivation of their own grounds, and to other occupations, yet, the remaining male labourers, of whom there are fewer on the sick list than formerly, would be found to be nearly, if not fully sufficient to supply the above deficiency, if properly encouraged and rewarded by a fair amount of wages.

But emancipation has not abolished those tyrannical and oppressive principles, which were deeply seated in the breasts of some of the lovers of the Slave system; they cannot bring themselves to regard the emancipated labourers as entitled to Equal Rights with themselves, and to demand a fair value for their labour; hence, much of the labour in the market is not employed to advantage in Sugar cultivation; and indeed from the worn-out state of the land in some of the older Colonies, we hardly ever expect to see the same quantity of Sugar extracted from the same lands.

Yet we believe we are correct in stating, that while several Estates, from the overbearing conduct of the Managers, the unproductiveness of the worn-out soil, or unfavourable wea-

ther, have fallen short in their crop; and others have been purposely neglected to depreciate their value, so that they may be the more easily bought up; there are many instances of Estates under good and humane management, which have equalled and even exceeded their average crop of Sugar this last year.

If more labourers are wanted to open up new and fertile soil, to this we object not, if no undue advantage is taken of the labourer imported—but if it is desired to glut the market with labour, so as to lower the price, that these iron-hearted and avaricious oppressors may pick and choose their victims, to this we decidedly put in our veto.

Meantime we rejoice, that the Hill Coolie Gladstonian Slave Trade has been abandoned by Parliament; and we look forward to see the Emancipated in our Colonies, under the administration of impartial legislation, becoming Renters and Proprietors of land themselves.

Before leaving the West India Colonies, we must remark and deplore, that the same spirit which oppresses the Emancipated, is persecuting, even to imprisonment, their staunch friends, the Missionaries and others.

We next glance at the United States of America, where the Battle of Emancipation for nearly THREE MILLIONS of our fellowmen remains to be fought, and is becoming daily more and more interesting. Here much good has been done, and a marked onward progress has been made by the noble band of Abolitionists, under many trying difficulties, and many have been added to their ranks.

"The isolated drop which, in 1829, appeared on the surface of the land, is now swallowed up and lost in a great ocean of humanity, which is swelling and dashing against the walls of the American Bastile with a might that is irresistible. The solitary individual who, eleven years ago, stood up as the advocate of Immediate and Unconditional Emancipation, with scarcely one to cheer him in the conflict with American Slavery"—and whom you lately had the high satisfaction of seeing and hearing among you on this platform—William Lloyd Garrison—"sees now around him, [shall we say] in *amicable league*, hundreds of thousands of persons of both sexes, members of every sect and party, from the most elevated to the humblest rank in life, the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant."

But while we rejoice that the spirit of Abolitionism has gone forth successfully last year as formerly, and is working a

glorious transformation on the minds of the American people, which must, with the aid of external circumstances, soon, we trust, work out the destruction of Slavery in the United States; we cannot but lament the division in the ranks of the combatants—we cannot but regret that they have permitted their differences of opinion, on other subjects, to divide their efforts on this.

Prejudice against colour, sex, sect and party, have, whether avowed or not, exercised a pernicious influence in disuniting those who, while the tender feelings of humanity reigned predominant in their bosoms, should, as kindred drops, have been mingled into one.

Whilst the foregoing distinctions should, upon Christian principle, have been regarded as matters of indifference, and as no proof whatever, either of the fitness or unfitness of any one to be enlisted in this warfare against cruelty and oppression, the most deadly and destructive to a large portion of the human race—the only test required should have been sufficient proof of a bosom glowing with humanity to man—the test of discipleship required by our common Saviour—"by *this* shall all men know that ye are *my* disciples, if ye have *love* one toward another."

Love to one another, love to our brother in bonds, and the faculty of giving utterance to that love so as to affect the hearts of others, should be *the only qualification* required for the advocacy of the cause of our down-trodden brothers and sisters. What man, if his house were on fire, would, before he would receive their proffered aid, first inquire of those bringing buckets of water to extinguish it—of what colour, sex, sect, or party, the auxiliaries were!

Such, as above, are the principles of the "AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY;" and upon which there is established a platform broad enough for all the Advocates of the Cause. We heartily desire that the "American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," which has separated from the *National* Society, may yet unite with it on this broad Christian principle;—but, if this cannot be brought about, that, although separated, they may both be blessed by God, cordially and harmoniously to work out the entire destruction of the monster, Slavery, from their otherwise happy and interesting Country.

The Slave Trade has, for the past year, raged with undiminished violence, none but the usual measures to oppose it being in operation; but as another Society "for the extinction of the Slave Trade and the civilization of Africa," of which

Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton is the originator—has been lately added to those having that directly or indirectly for their object; and as several plans for its Abolition were presented to the Convention, and the Expedition to the Niger will soon be ready to sail, the atrocious system may be expected to receive some material check next year.*

The British India Society has been assiduously labouring, through its indefatigable agent, Mr George Thompson, "to diffuse information, to direct more efficiently the public attention, to a subject involving no less our commercial and political interests, than our social and moral duties, and to suggest and give effect to such measures as are likely to improve the circumstances, and provide for the happiness of the People of British India." Several Auxiliary Societies have been formed, and an interest has been excited in behalf of its object; which is, to improve the condition of the Natives of India, by, among other means, promoting the cultivation of Cotton, Sugar, and other Tropical productions, by *Free labour*, in order to compete with these articles, the produce of Slave labour in the United States, Cuba and Brazil—and thereby to accelerate the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade.

We quote the following from the First Report of this Society :—

"If the formation of the British India Society at first fell coldly on the ear of those classes of the British public, whose mere pecuniary advantage is, in reality, the most deeply interested in its success,—far different were the feelings which the announcement excited in the breast of every real friend to freedom in the United States of America—still more different were at first the surprise, next the gratitude and outpouring thankfulness of heart with which the Society has been hailed by the natives of India, wherever a free public expression of their sentiments is permitted to be given. In Calcutta, the capital of the empire, the Landholders' Society, composed principally of natives, met together, and subscribed £500 in aid of the Society. From Calcutta, from Madras, from Bombay, from Agra, from all the four presidencies of India, natives have addressed the Committee in the same strong language of thanks, and have besought them with the same earnest entreaty to persevere in claiming for the natives at large the common privileges of British subjects.

"In the United States, Mr Garrison, a distinguished citizen of New England, whom we have the honour of seeing to-day on this platform, reprinted all Mr Thompson's Manchester Lectures, prefaced by an introduction from his own eloquent pen. This work, aided by other efforts of the like kind, produced a deep impression among the true lovers of their country in America.

"As it is to Cotton that their country now owes the curse of Slavery,

* We also augur good to suffering Africa from the appointment of Sir John Jeremie to the Government of Sierra Leone.

they at once perceived that it is by Cotton, by *free East Indian Cotton,* that this curse is to be peaceably grappled with and extinguished.

"While the provinces were being awakened and informed, the Committee on their parts endeavoured by all the means at their disposal to create an interest in the Society, by making known its objects, by opening, soliciting, and maintaining a correspondence with individuals and associated bodies who are disposed to promote them, and by preparing, printing, and circulating papers and pamphlets on subjects connected with India. The number of these that have been printed is 26,750, exclusive of a large number of newspapers that have been distributed."

The Society has had new vigour transfused into it; its very efficient Agent has been re-engaged; and also as resident Secretary, Mr William Adam, late of Calcutta, a gentleman of high literary attainments, who has resided twenty years in Bengal; is acquainted with the language, manners, and statistics of the Country; is known and respected by the Natives as their tried friend, and who has exerted himself strenuously to promote the education of all classes. Thus encouraged, the Committee of the British India Society derive new hope and confidence to persevere in the righteous cause they have espoused. Prompted, doubtless, by the exposure of the condition of the Natives, and the remedy proposed, we rejoice to find it stated in the public journals, that the East India Directors are taking measures for encouraging the growth and improving the quality of Cotton in India; from which, we may reasonably anticipate, that results of the most satisfactory kind will be produced.*

Not having yet been favoured with the Annual Report of the Aborigines' Protection Society, we can say but little of its progress. But one of your Secretaries, when in London at the Convention, attended the Annual Meeting of the Society, and heard some interesting accounts of its beneficial effects in restraining the violence of Colonists to the Original Inhabitants, and in promoting wholesome legislation in newly settled countries.

Your Committee, contemplating the holding of the late General Anti-Slavery Convention in London, appointed, as already noticed, a number of Gentlemen to represent your Society in that Body. Ten of these attended the Convention, which was comprised of upwards of four hundred Delegates from all parts of the World; who sat in close deliberation upon the matters brought under their notice, from the 12th to the 23d of June inclusive. Several of the early measures of the Convention, or of its Managing Committee, gave consider-

* For a most interesting document on this subject, see Appendix III.

able pain to the minds of some of your Representatives, as well as to the minds of many others, with whom they were called to associate. The suppression of a large and important portion of the introductory Speech of the venerable president, THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq.,* and the exclusion of certain of the Delegates from America, may be mentioned as acts which, in the opinion of these Gentlemen, were of an illiberal, unauthorised, and overbearing character. †

Your Committee, while they feel bound in faithfulness, to place these opinions upon record, have pleasure, at the same time, in stating those views which were unanimously entertained by the Deputation, and in which they also cordially concur; viz., that the object for which the Convention was called, was in the highest degree worthy the attention of Philanthropists of all Nations—that the principles upon which the great Cause of Universal Freedom was made to rest, were of the soundest and loftiest description, and that the discussions which took place, were characterized by a fervent and enlightened hostility to the existing systems of Slavery and the Slave Trade.

The Committee doubt not, that the proceedings of the late Convention, have given a powerful impetus to the Abolition Cause throughout the world; and that those proceedings, when fully published, will confirm the expectations, and rekindle the zeal of those who have, hitherto, laboured for the oppressed.

While the work in which the Glasgow Emancipation Society is engaged, has increased in magnitude before our eyes, there has also been revealed, in a remarkable and cheering manner, new and potent means of advancing that work—means which promise, in their faithful and comprehensive employment, to be commensurate to the removal of the evils against which we contend.

From all the occurrences of the past year, and the prospects arising out of the movements directly and indirectly bearing upon the question of Slavery and the Slave Trade—on that of British India, and the treatment of the Aborigines of various countries, we have reason to bless God for the measure of success which has been granted, and for the encouragement thus afforded to labour, with unabated zeal, in a Cause which has been so signally marked by the Divine favour.

* Mr Clarkson's Speech, as *originally* prepared by him, with the *suppressed* portion *distinguished*, will be found at Appendix IV.

† For names of the Delegates excluded from the Convention, and of those who refused to take their places, in consequence of that exclusion; with the Resolutions of Meetings of Abolitionists in America, *approving* the course pursued by Messrs. GARRISON, ROGERS, REMOND, and ADAMS, see Appendix V.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE FRENCH SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, TO MESSRS. JOHN MURRAY AND WM. SMEAL,

Secretaries of the Glasgow Society for the Abolition of Slavery.

Gentlemen,—Mr John Scoble has presented to us, at the Meeting of our Society, on the 10th of this present month of February, the Letter of which you made him the bearer, and which is dated at Glasgow, the 5th of the same.

The Letter was read at the sitting of the Society, which has ordered it to be honourably entered on its records. It has also ordered its President to address to you the expression of its gratitude, on the subject of the renewal of a correspondence which had its commencement in the last year of the life of the illustrious General Lafayette.

From 1835, the date of the formation of our Society, till 1840, the time at which we are now arrived, that is, in five years, we have overcome the prejudices which opposed even the pronunciation of the word Liberty in the French Tribune, when debating the subject of Slavery in our Colonies. We have popularized this question, and have obtained the adherence of a certain number of the Consuls-General of the Departments; and after having in a series of Parliamentary discussions, led the Government to realize many practical ameliorations, we have been able to introduce the question into the Chamber by two direct propositions,—the one by M. Passy, the other by M. de Tracy, an Honorary Member of your Society. The Colonial Consuls, forced, in their turn, to examine the matter, have repelled Emancipation and every thing leading to it. This is what we might expect. But we know that the inhabitants of our Colonies are favourable to this great measure, and there remains now only for discussion, the question of Compensation, and the period at which Emancipation should take place.

We have been wonderfully assisted by the example given by Great Britain, in 1833 and 1838. We have also been aided in our efforts, by the honourable and much regretted Zachary Macaulay, whom we had named Honorary President.

In consequence of the oral information, and the written documents which Messrs. Scoble, Alexander, and Whitehorne, have now laid before us, we have been able again to urge the necessity of this Emancipation, and to announce, that, ere long, there will be no Slaves under the Government of the French Crown, unless unforeseen political events cause a longer delay. We shall make every effort to prevent this.

We have to deal with a formidable adversary—private interest; for it has not yet been proved, that Emancipation can be accomplished without a considerable diminution in the produce of the Sugar Colonies; and, although the diminution which was exhibited in the first year of your Emancipation, is fully explained by the statements which you have laid before us, and which the Delegates from the London Society have developed with so much talent and precision, it continues to act strongly on the minds of the Members of the Chambers, otherwise disposed to vote Emancipation. It is at least to them a motive for delay. They wished to profit by your experience.

We consider that the absurd and dangerous system of Apprenticeship, will never once be thought of in the law of Abolition. Emancipation, by giving Freedom to the Children, presents very great difficulties, and would be too tedious; at the same time, that it would leave the young generation unprotected.

The French Society, then, thinks it its duty, to approve of an entire Emancipation. If compensation be agreed to by a majority of the Chamber, on the pretext that the advantages of Free labour will not be felt for some time to come, the Abolitionists will never vote for this compensation, as it is an admission of the property of man in man:—we will never admit this odious principle.

We concur with you, and with all the friends of Religion, Justice, and Humanity, in the cause of the Universal Abolition of Slavery.

Be pleased to accept the expression of our highest consideration.

ODILLON BARROT, *President of the Society.*
ISAMBERT, *Secretary.*

PARIS, 26*th February*, 1840.

No. II.

CASE OF THE AMISTAD.

PARLIAMENTARY Papers just published, furnish gratifying evidence of the part taken by her Majesty's Government in relation to this vessel, in the following letter of Mr Jerningham to the Spanish Minister:—

MADRID, *January 5th*, 1840.

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency, that her Majesty's Government received information that in the course of the last summer the *Tecora*, a vessel under Portuguese colours, imported from Africa direct to the Havana a cargo of negroes as slaves, and that, about six weeks after the arrival of these newly imported negroes at the Havana, forty-nine of them were purchased in the public slave-market in that place, by Jose Ruiz, and four more by Pedro Montes.

Ruiz and Montes then engaged the Spanish schooner *Amistad* to carry

these negroes, together with themselves and stores, to another port in Cuba. During the passage the negroes, with a view of recovering their liberty, seized possession of the vessel, put the master to death, and ordered the remaining whites to direct the course of the vessel to the coast of Africa. These whites, however, navigated the vessel towards the coast of the United States of America, until they were fallen in with by the United States Brig-of-War, *Washington*, which conducted the *Amistad* to the port of New London.

The negroes were subsequently put upon their trial before the district court at Hartford for the murder of the Spanish Captain; but it appears that this court expressed doubts of its having jurisdiction in the case, and that in the mean time the Spanish minister at Washington demanded that the negroes should be given up to the authorities of Cuba, as the property of Messrs. Ruiz and Montes.

It is however to be observed, that since the year 1820, according to Spanish law, it has been illegal to import negroes from Africa into the Spanish dominions. As, therefore, these negroes had been newly imported from Africa into Cuba, and as, according to the law, they could not be imported as slaves, they must in the eye of the law be considered as free persons.

I have consequently been instructed by my Government to call upon the Government of her Catholic Majesty to issue, with as little delay as possible, strict orders to the authorities of Cuba, that, if the request of the Spanish Minister at Washington be complied with, these negroes may be put in possession of the liberty of which they were deprived, and to the recovery of which they have an undeniable title.

I am further directed to express the just expectations of her Majesty's Government, that the government of her Catholic Majesty will cause the laws against the slave-trade to be enforced against Messrs. Jose Ruiz and Pedro Montes, who purchased these newly imported negroes, and against all such other Spanish subjects as have been concerned in this nefarious transaction.—I have, &c.,

(Signed) G. S. S. JERNINGHAM.

To his Excellency Don Evaristo Perez de Castro, &c.

No. III.

GROWTH OF COTTON IN INDIA.

(From the Manchester Guardian *of August 15th,* 1840.*)*

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS TO A SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES AT MANCHESTER, ON THE GROWTH OF COTTON IN INDIA.

The question of obtaining Cotton from various countries must necessarily be interesting to a manufacturing community whose prosperity greatly depends upon a plentiful and steady supply of the raw material,

since it must be obvious that security against the contingencies of failing crops, political disagreements, or unsteadiness of price, arising from speculative combinations, must be in proportion to the number of channels from whence we derive our supplies. The Board, therefore, have great satisfaction in calling together the members of the Chamber to report upon the progress which has been made towards obtaining an increased supply and improved quality of East India Cotton, a subject which has engaged much of their attention, and has for several years past had a prominent place in their Annual Reports to the Chamber. The importance of improving the cultivation of India Cotton has long been impressed upon the Chambers of Commerce of Bombay and Bengal; and many valuable communications have been received by the board from these bodies during a correspondence of several years, in which suggestions have been mutually made as to the best means of accomplishing the object in view. The nature of some of the difficulties in India to the successful cleaning of Cotton, will be best seen by the following extract from a communication from the Chamber of Commerce at Bombay, in 1837:—

"Some impediments exist, arising from the climate, to which it seems necessary to draw your attention. The S. W. monsoon commences generally on this side of India early in June, when all communication ceases with the coast, and, from the state of the roads and rivers, with the interior generally. The Cotton begins to be gathered about the end of February, but it is not generally ready for picking until the middle of March: thus eleven or twelve weeks is all the period the natives have annually to gather, clean, prepare, and ship the Cotton for the Bombay market, and to store from the weather what they cannot ship before the rainy season commences.

"Labourers are thus in great request at that time, all these operations being done by manual labour; and each churka requires two men or women to turn it, and another to feed or supply it with Cotton.

"At the commencement of the season, more time and care are given in cleaning; but afterwards all is hurry and bustle, and less attention is bestowed; the advanced period of the season, and the near approach of the monsoon, then allowing so little time for careful cleaning.

"When time is taken, and care bestowed, the churka seems to clean the Cotton from seed very well; but the process is tedious, the average outturn of clean Cotton from each being about 38 or 40lb per day."

This slow and expensive process of cleaning, it is obvious, would present insuperable obstacles to a greatly extended production of Cotton; and with the view of directing the attention of mechanical skill to some more efficient and cheaper mode of preparing it for market, the Chamber of Commerce at Bombay, in 1837, forwarded to this Chamber, and also to the Chamber of Commerce at Glasgow, a churka, the machine used in India for cleaning Cotton, and also several bales of Cotton as gathered from the field, with the seed attached to it, for the purpose of making experiments in cleaning by any new machine which might be invented. This board invited the attention of ingenious mechanics to the subject by public advertisement, announcing that the churka would be exhibited to any person desirous of seeing it. The result was several attempts to improve it; but the desirable object of cleaning large quantities with facility and economy has not been attained.

In December, 1838, a deputation from this board presented a memorial to the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company, suggesting a modification of the land tax of India, the abrogation of the system of levying the tax in kind, the improvement of the roads, the construction

of piers, quays, and storing warehouses at the ports; and praying that every obstacle might be removed, and encouragement given to capitalists to embark in the cultivation of Cotton in India.

Copies of the above memorial were presented by the deputation, to Sir James Carnac, the recently-appointed Governor of Bombay, on the 12th of January, 1839, and to Sir John Cam Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, on the 19th of the same month.

The deputation, in their interviews with Sir James Carnac, and with the India board, found that an opinion extensively prevailed that such physical difficulties existed in the soil of India as would prevent any great improvement in the quality of Cotton grown in that country. These opinions were, we have reason to hope, successfully combated by the deputation, and a promise was promptly given to take the whole subject into serious consideration.

This promise was not suffered to remain a dead letter. On the 15th March, 1839, a "Dispatch from the Court of Directors of the Hon. East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council" (a copy of which was printed in the Appendix to the Annual Report of this Chamber for the past year) was forwarded, transmitting "copies of the Memorials received from the Chambers of Commerce of Glasgow and Manchester, and from the East India Association of Liverpool and Glasgow, on the subject of cultivating Cotton in India;" and referring to the measures which had been pursued from time to time with little success, the Hon. Court expressed the great interest it continued to feel in the extension of the cultivation of that article, and the steps which had been taken to "engage parties in the United States willing to proceed to India and duly qualified for the purpose of instructing and superintending the natives in the cultivation of Cotton, and the proper mode of cleaning it by means of machinery." The Hon. Court also authorized his Excellency "to offer rewards of such an amount as he might consider sufficient to stimulate parties engaged in the production to exhibit Cotton of good growth, and cleaned by machinery."—"The minute by the Governor-General of India, dated Simla, August 14th, 1839," in reply to this dispatch (a copy of which was printed in the Appendix to the Annual Report of this Chamber for the past year), is an able and enlightened document. His Excellency says, "All the value of success in introducing in India a better produce of Cotton suited for the immense manufactures of England, is fully appreciated by me." He then enters into a minute examination of the memorials laid before him—the difficulties to encounter in carrying into effect the wishes of the Hon. Court, and the best course to be adopted to facilitate the experiments of the parties to be brought over from the United States. It is satisfactory to observe the wise discrimination exercised by his Excellency between the "artificial fosterings of the devotion of capital to particular employments by systems of bounties," and the wholesome encouragement to laudable enterprise by the removal of all obstacles to the free employment of capital and labour. The sentiment expressed by the Governor-General, on this point, and the steps already taken to remove existing impediments to freedom of industry, warrant the hope that the enlightened views entertained by his Excellency will be fully carried out. Already the transit duties on internal intercourse have been abolished throughout the presidencies of Bengal and Bombay—"a boon," says the Minute, "I trust to be soon conferred on the territories of Madras. From this measure we may look for the best effects in the quickening of every enterprize which may seem to rest upon really solid foundations." It is further observed, with reference to the Memorial of this Chamber suggesting a modification

of the land tax, that, "It is now the general rule and practice throughout India that the assessment on land cultivated with superior products shall be no higher than the average rate of land of similar quality, whatever the crop reared on it." His Excellency appears to have misapprehended the meaning of the Chamber, which was that the amount of the land tax generally was excessive, and calculated to discourage the production, not only of Cotton, but of every other commodity. With respect to the abolition of the system of levying taxes in kind, the "Minute" states that "the custom of taking revenue in kind is nowhere retained." The other subjects referred to in the Memorial, viz., the improvement of the roads, the construction of piers, quays, and storing warehouses at the ports of shipment, are severally noticed in the "Minute," and their importance appreciated. "The building of warehouses," his Excellency observes, "seems rather the province of the private merchant than of the government. It may, however, be very proper to inquire from the government of Bombay whether there are local reasons which in Guzerat would render the interference of the state useful and expedient for such a purpose, as well as whether there is a want of suitable quays at any of the ports."

The board have the further satisfaction to report, that, by accounts received from India last week, the Governor-General has offered three prizes for the growth of a certain quantity and quality of Cotton. The first prize of 20,000 rupees, or £2,000; the second, of 10,000 rupees, or £1,000; and the third of 5,000 rupees, or £500. The earnestness of the Court of the Hon. the East India Company was further evinced in sending out Captain Bayles to the United States for the purpose of engaging persons competent to establish and superintend an improved system of Cotton culture in India; a course which, in the opinion of this board, was the most judicious which could be adopted for carrying into effect the objects contemplated. Captain Bayles succeeded in his mission, and recently returned from the United States with the gentlemen whom he had engaged to proceed to India, provided with a considerable quantity of seeds, and with several American saw gins for cleaning Cotton. With a view to ascertain the precise requisites in the Cotton most wanted in this district, Captain Bayles, accompanied by several of these gentlemen, came to Manchester to seek personally such information as to the faults now existing in the India Cotton brought to this country, and the improvements most desirable to effect in it, as might assist them in their future pursuits. Their first application was to this Chamber, and such assistance was cheerfully afforded as fully carried out the object they had in view. They visited various mills, and had pointed out to them the deficiencies of India Cotton, particularly in reference to its cleanness and the irregularity of its staple, both of which they expressed confidence in being able to improve.

In the meantime, the saw gins brought by Captain Bayles from the United States were set up in Liverpool, and a communication, dated 9th July last, was received from the Secretary to the Honourable the East India Company, inviting the Directors of this Board to meet the Chairman and Deputy-chairman, with some members of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, at Liverpool, on the 17th July, "to witness the experiments to be made in the machinery for cleaning Cotton." The Board nominated a Deputation to proceed to Liverpool on the appointed day, and the result of the experiments will be best shown by the following Report of the Deputation to this Board.

REPORT.

The Directors appointed at the last meeting of this Board, as a Deputation to Liverpool, in compliance with the invitation given by the Chairman and Deputy-chairman of the Hon. East India Company, to meet them there to witness the experiments intended to be made, of cleaning India Cotton with the saw gin, proceeded thither accordingly on the 17th ult., and were present at the experiments made there on that day. The same Directors have also this week witnessed a repetition of those experiments, by the same machines, in Manchester.

They consider the results of those experiments to be, on the whole, highly satisfactory; as proving, beyond a doubt, the practicability of cleaning India Cotton with the American saw gin; although it is evident, at the same time, that personal skill and experience will be requisite to adapt the machine to the particular species of Cotton it is intended to operate upon.

It likewise seems worthy of remark, that some difficulties may have to be encountered in India, in providing the requisite *moving power* for driving machinery of this description.

It appears, therefore, to be a very judicious arrangement which the Hon. East India Company have adopted, viz., to send over to India, with the machines, several talented and experienced gentlemen, natives of the United States of America, and brought up as Cotton planters, who will be able to give a new impulse to the growth of Cotton in India, and to devise and carry into effect the best methods of driving the saw gin, and applying that machine to the very important purpose of cleaning the Cotton so produced.

The Deputation wish to record their grateful sense of the zeal and energy displayed by the Hon. East India Company in the promotion of this great national object, and of the able manner in which their views have been carried out by Captain Bayles.

HOLLAND HOOLE, Vice-President.
HENRY ASHWORTH.
DAVID PRICE.
CHARLES POOLEY.

Chamber of Commerce, Manchester,
5th August, 1840.

The saw gins commonly used in the United States are capable of producing 1,000lb to 1,200lb weight of clean Cotton per day; whilst the churka, with the labour of three persons, produces only 38lb to 40lb per day. The Board entertain sanguine hopes, that, if encouraged, the mechanics of this district will be able to effect improvements in the saw gins exhibited at Manchester; and this expectation is strengthened by the fact, that the samples cleaned here by machines, being submitted to three competent judges, it was decided that the quality of one of the samples was superior to the others by one-fourth to three-eighths per 1lb, although the seed Cotton submitted to be cleaned by each machine was precisely the same. The machine which produced the best sample was built at the works of Messrs. Fawcett & Co., of Liverpool, under the superintendence of Dr. Jones, the patentee.

The Board, in conclusion, have only to add, that, if the efforts of the Hon. East India Company, so judiciously commenced, be perseveringly

followed up (as they feel assured they will be) in a manner commensurate with their importance to the interests of England and of India, they cannot doubt of ultimate success.—By order and on behalf of the Board of Directors,

J. B. SMITH, PRESIDENT.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, MANCHESTER,
12*th August*, 1840.

No. IV.

SPEECH OF THOMAS CLARKSON, ESQ.,

AS ORIGINALLY PREPARED BY HIM IN WRITING, AND INTENDED TO HAVE BEEN DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION;

Distinguishing those Passages which were omitted, but which are now published with Mr Clarkson's permission.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—I stand before you as a humble individual, whose life has been most intimately connected with the subject which you are met this day to consider. I was formerly, *under Providence*, the *originator*, and am now unhappily the only surviving Member, of the Committee, which was first instituted in this country in the year 1787, for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. My dear friend and fellow-labourer, Mr Wilberforce, who was one of them, is, as you know, dead; and here I may say of him, that there was never a man, either dead or living, to whom your cause was more indebted than to him. My dear friend and fellow-labourer, William Smith, the late Member for Norwich, who was another of them, is dead also, by whose indefatigable exertions for nearly fifty years, both in and out of Parliament, it was most vigorously supported. As to the rest of the Committee, Samuel Hoare, William Dilwyn, George Harrison, Richard Phillips, and the other dear friends whose names I am sorry that I cannot at this moment recollect, these also are all dead, and gone no doubt to their eternal rest. My dear friends, I was invited many months ago to be at this Meeting, but old age and infirmities,—being lame and nearly blind,—and, besides, being otherwise seriously affected at times, gave me no hope of attending. At length I have been permitted to come among you, and I rejoice in it, if I were only allowed to say in this place in reference to your future labours,—Take courage, be not dismayed, go on, persevere to the last; you will always have pleasure from the thought of having done so. I myself can say with truth, that though my body is fast going to decay, my *heart* beats as warmly in this sacred cause, now in the 81st year of my age as it did at the age of 24, when I first took it up. And I can say further, with truth, that if I had another life given me to live, I would devote it to the same object. So far for your encouragement and perseverance.

My dear friends, you have a most difficult task to perform; it is neither more nor less than the extirpation of Slavery from the *whole world.* Your opponents who appear the most formidable, are the Cotton and other planters in the southern parts of the United States; who, I am grieved to say, hold more *than two millions of their fellow-creatures in the most cruel bondage.* Now we know of these men, that they are living in the daily habits of injustice, cruelty, and oppression, and may be therefore said to have no true fear of God, nor any just sense of religion. You cannot therefore expect to have the same hold upon the consciences of these as you have upon the consciences of others. How then can you get at these so as to influence their conduct. There is but one way; you must endeavour to make *them feel their guilt in its consequences.* You must endeavour by all justifiable means to affect their temporal interests. You must endeavour, among other things, to have the produce of *free tropical labour* brought into the markets of Europe, and undersell them there,—and if you can do this, *your victory is sure.*

"Now that this is *possible,* that this *may be done,* there is no question. "The East India Company alone can do it of themselves, and they can do "it by means that are perfectly *moral and pacific, according to your own* "*principles,* namely, *by the cultivation of the earth,* and by the employment "of *free labour.* They may, if they please, not only have the high "honour of abolishing Slavery and the Slave Trade, but the advantage of "increasing their revenue beyond all calculation; for, in the first place, "they have land in their possession twenty times more than equal *to the* "*supply of all Europe with tropical produce;* in the second place, they "can procure, not tens of thousands, but tens of millions of free labourers "to work; in the third, *what is of the greatest consequence* in this case, "the price of labour with these is only from a penny to three-halfpence "per day.—What Slavery can stand against these prices?

"I learn, too, from letters which I have seen from India, and from the "*Company's own Reports,* that they have been long engaged, shall I say "*providentially engaged,* in preparing seeds for the cultivation of Cotton "there. Now if we take into consideration all *these previous preparations* "(by which it appears that they are ready to start), and add to this the "consideration that they could procure, not tens of thousands, but *tens of* "*millions* of free labourers to work,—I speak from authority,—I believe "that if they would follow up their plans heartily, and with spirit, accord-"ing to their means, that in the course of *six* years they would materially "*affect the price of this article* at market, and in *twelve* that they would "be able to *turn the tide* completely against the growers of it in the "United States.

"And here I would observe, that this is not a visionary or fanciful "statement. Look at the American newspapers; look at the American "pamphlets which have come out upon this subject; look at the opinion "of the celebrated Judge Jay on this subject also: all, all, confess, and "the planters too confess—but the latter with fear and trembling—that if "the East India Company should resolve upon the cultivation of tropical "products in India, and carry it to the extent to which they would be "capable of carrying them—it is *all over with American Slavery.*

"Gentlemen, I have mentioned these circumstances, not with a view of "*dictating to you* any particular plan of operations, but only to show you "*the possibility* of having your great object accomplished, and *this to its* "*fullest extent;* for what I have said relative to the United States is equally "applicable to Cuba, Brazil, and other parts of the South American

"Continent; and, besides, the East India Company have twenty times "more land than is sufficient to enable them to compete with them all."

I have only now to say, may the Supreme Ruler of all human events, at whose disposal are not only the hearts but the intellects of men, may *He* in his abundant mercy, guide your councils, and give his blessing upon your labours.

N.B.—The passages now first published, are those within inverted commas.

No. V.

I. Names of American Delegates excluded from the London Anti-Slavery Convention, by the Resolution declaring Females inadmissible :—

MRS JAMES MOTT, of Philadelphia.
MISS SARAH PUGH, do.
MISS MARY GREW, do.
MRS WENDELL PHILLIPS, Boston.
MISS ABBY SOUTHWICK, do.
MISS EMILY WINSLOW, do.
MISS ELIZABETH NEAL.

II. Delegates who refused to take Seats in the Convention, owing to the passing of the aforesaid Resolution :—

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Esq., of Boston.
NATHANIEL P. ROGERS, Esq., of Concord, New Hampshire.
CHARLES LENOX REMOND, Esq., of Newport, Rhode Island.
WILLIAM ADAMS, Esq., of Pawtucket, do.

III. RESOLUTIONS OF ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS IN AMERICA,

Approving the course pursued by these Gentlemen.

At a Public Meeting of the Coloured Citizens of Boston, to receive Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and Nathaniel P. Rogers, on their return from England, 20*th August*, 1840 :—

"Resolved, That we highly approve of the course of Messrs. Garrison, Rogers, Remond, and Adams, at the 'World's Convention,' (falsely so called,) in refusing to lower a noble principle to accommodate a barbarous custom."

"Resolved, That we, the coloured citizens of Boston, feel ourselves ably represented at Anti-Slavery meetings in England, in the person of Charles Lenox Remond."

New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Convention, held 9*th* and 10*th* *September* :—

"Resolved, That we cordially approve the course of our delegate to the 'World's Convention,' (N. P. Rogers,) in refusing to join or in any way to countenance its proscriptive substitute, the 'London Conference'—and that we hereby tender him our grateful thanks for the *able, faithful, and fearless* manner in which he has represented the Anti-Slavery men and women of New-Hampshire to the assembled abolitionism of the Eastern Continent and the world."

"Resolved, That this Convention honour the names of George Thompson, Daniel O'Connell, Wm. H. Ashurst, Dr. Bowring, and William Howitt, for the fearless and faithful reproof of the Managers of the London Conference, for their exclusion of a portion of the Anti-Slavery Delegates from America—and for their able advocacy of the unrestricted rights of humanity."

Dorchester Anti-Slavery Society Meeting, held 14*th* *Sept.* :—

"Resolved, That we highly approve of the course pursued by the Delegates of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies to the so-called 'World's Convention,' and we bid them a hearty welcome on their return to their native soil."

Annual Meeting of the American Moral Reform Society (composed, we believe, exclusively of coloured persons), held at Philadelphia, 11*th* *August*, and three following days :—

"Resolved, That the cause of moral reform in all its various ramifications, is the cause of God, of liberty, and justice,—the basis of all true philanthropy. Its principles are alike applicable to the people of every nation, and condition of mankind; throughout every age, and every clime. It embraces both sexes and every complexion; and fills illimitable space with its power.

"Resolved, That we regard the Congregation of Nations in the City of London, in June last, for the promotion of human freedom, as the first grand legitimate result of these great principles; and the most *august* assemblage that has ever been witnessed in the tide of time.

"Resolved, That we deeply regret, that these broad and illustrious principles were violated and its fame tarnished, by the rejection of *Women* from an equal participation in its proceedings.

"Resolved, That the delegates of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to the 'London General Conference' would, by accepting their seats in that distinguished body, (after a portion of their colleagues were excluded on account of their sex) have dishonoured their society at home, and been regardless of the rights and feelings of their associates.

"Resolved, That we regard the principle erroneous, and the practice unjust, of deciding on the right of *human beings*, to perform deeds of philanthropy, according to the *usages* of nations, and that if Wm. Lloyd Garrison had acquiesced in the force of *British usage, he would have proved himself recreant to the great principles of his motto,* 'Our country is the world—Our countrymen are all mankind.'"

MASSACHUSETTS STATE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, HELD *6th* AND *7th October* :—

"Resolved, That the course of WM. LLOYD GARRISON, NATHANIEL P. ROGERS, CHARLES LENOX REMOND, and WM. ADAMS, as Delegates to the 'World's Convention,' in declining to take a seat in the Conference substituted for that body, meets the cordial approval of this Convention, as a course entirely consistent with the principles of the Societies which they represented, and imperatively called for by the ungenerous and exclusive character of that Conference."

"Resolved, That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in organizing the Convention held recently in London, deceived the expectations and baffled the hopes of the Abolitionists of this country, who were looking for a 'World's Convention,' and insulted the American Anti-Slavery Society, by dishonouring its credentials, and rejecting its delegates."

"Resolved, That the thanks of the Abolitionists of this Commonwealth are specially due to WENDELL PHILIPS, Prof. WM. ADAM, and GEORGE BRADBURN, for their defence of the right of the Female Delegates from this country to seats in the London Conference; and that those members of that Conference from Great Britain, who stood up with these friends of humanity in defence of the right, have won for themselves the admiration and gratitude of all whose abolitionism is not narrowed and shrivelled by sectarian and party influences."

"Resolved, That GEORGE THOMPSON is hereby invited, by this Convention, to revisit Massachusetts at as early a day as may be consistent with his convenience."

"Resolved, That this Convention hails, with cordial approval and delight, the appearance in Great Britain of that important Anti-Slavery movement, the 'British India Society'—formed to give liberty to enslaved and oppressed millions in India, and furnish the manufactories of the civilized world with free labour products instead of slave labour; and that we congratulate that movement and the cause of humanity in the services of GEORGE THOMPSON, and DANIEL O'CONNELL."

SPRINGFIELD ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, HELD *8th October* :—

"Resolved, That, in the estimation of this Commonwealth, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in assuming to determine upon the qualifications for admission to the late Anti-Slavery Meeting in London, on the call for the 'World's Convention,' transcended their authority, which extended merely to the right of calling the meeting and providing the place for it; and that that Committee deserves the indignant rebuke of the American Abolitionists for this assumption—and for their presuming to reject a part of the delegation from this country to that meeting:—and this Convention deeply regret, that the London Conference sanctioned the doings of that Committee, and still more deeply, that any from this side the Atlantic, bearing the name of Abolitionists, were found ready to participate in a transaction so unbecoming the professed advocates of human liberty."

"Whereas, the Anti-Slavery enterprize is designed to effect a single object,—the Emancipation, by moral and religious means, of our enslaved

brethren and sisters, and the elevation and improvement of the coloured people in our land; and whereas, in order to accomplish this humane purpose, it is desirable and necessary that there should be a union of members of all religious sects, and persons of every shade of religious belief; therefore,

1. "Resolved, That any attempt to identify this enterprise with the peculiar religious or political opinions of any man, or body of men, is a breach of that faith which is necessary to harmonious action, and should meet the indignant frown of all who have at heart the welfare of the slave.

2. "Resolved, That to point the finger of scorn or reproach at any individual in our ranks, on account of his sentiments in relation to other subjects, or to refuse to co-operate with him in labours for the advancement of the cause, betrays a spirit of sectarianism and intolerance which is hostile to the great principles of our enterprise.

3. "Resolved, That the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, for their firm and fearless course in refusing to exclude from our common platform, or to censure any person on account of sex or religious opinion, and for their faithful exertions to preserve the cause from the blighting and withering influences of sect and party, are entitled to the confidence and support of all the friends of humanity."

"Resolved, That among the most important moral and philanthropic movements of the age, the formation of the British India Society, for the abolition of slavery in British India, and the rescue of one hundred and fifty millions of the natives of that country from British injustice and oppression, is to be hailed with the deepest interest: especially as the successful prosecution of the grand object of that Society cannot fail to inflict a heavy blow upon the system of slavery in this country, by bringing cotton raised by free labour into competition with slave-grown cotton.

"Resolved, That this Convention learn, with great pleasure, that an invitation has been extended to GEORGE THOMPSON, to revisit our shores, and participate with us in the glorious struggle for the supremacy of Liberty over Slavery."

Annual Meeting of the West Wrentham Anti-Slavery Society, held 1*st September*:—

"Whereas, the Convention which met in London, purporting to be a 'World's Convention,' has been narrowed down to a Conference with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and the Executive Committee of that Society have exercised the authority of determining who might, and who might not, sit as Delegates in that Convention; therefore,

"Resolved, That in so doing, they have exercised a usurped power, and thereby cast an insult on all those who came from abroad.

"Resolved, That Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Nathaniel P. Rogers, and Charles L. Remond, Delegates from the American Anti-Slavery Society, and Wm. Adams, Delegate from the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society, have done themselves honour in refusing to join said Convention, not having been sent to such an one, but to a general Convention of Anti-Slavery people from the whole world.

"Resolved, That we believe a meeting, which shall actually be a 'World's Convention,' ought to be called, at some time not far distant, at such place as shall be deemed expedient."

Annual Meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, held 14*th October* :—

"Resolved, That we hereby assure our members, Ann T. G. Phillips, Abby Southwick, and Emily Winslow, who were present at the London Convention, and who were refused admission to its sittings, that their course in declining to withdraw their claim, commands our hearty approval and respect.

"Resolved, That William Lloyd Garrison, N. P. Rogers, Charles Lenox Remond, and Wm. Adams, have, in our judgment, most effectually aided the cause of the slave, by their refusal, when in London, 'to lower a great principle in deference to a barbarous usage.'*

"Resolved, That we shall despair of the success of the cause from the moment we see its advocates shrink from making innovations on usages which circumscribe their ability to serve it.

"Resolved, That expressions of our gratitude be transmitted to our friends in England, who have cheered our past efforts with their sympathy and liberal aid, from our formation as a Society to the present time.

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to Elizabeth Pease, of Darlington, Anne Cropper, of Liverpool, Harriet Martineau, Anne Knight, of Chelmsford, Jane Smeal, of Glasgow, and to the Societies with which we are in correspondence."

Essex County Women's Anti-Slavery Convention, held 14*th October* :—

"Resolved, That difference of belief in religious matters, and difference of opinion in regard to the great moral questions which agitate community of the present age, should not be allowed in any degree to divide the efforts, or paralyze the energies of those who are labouring in the cause of the oppressed and down-trodden."

"Resolved, That we tender Mr Garrison and his colleagues, our hearty thanks for their decided stand, in not taking seats in the so-called 'World's Convention;' thus showing their strong disapproval of the narrow spirit of priestcraft and sectarianism, which shut the mouths of free-born American women from speaking in the land of a Queen, for her sisters in American bondage."

Quarterly Meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society :—

"Resolved, That we highly deprecate the course taken by the mis-named 'World's Convention,' in excluding from its deliberations a part of the delegates from this country, on account of their sex, as an unwarrantable assumption of power and insulting to the good sense of the abolitionists of the United States; and that we fully approve of the decision of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and other delegates, in declining to take seats in that body, as being the most effectual mode of bearing their testimony against its arbitrary proceedings."

* In reasoning upon the course required of the *excluded* Delegates, to *compromise* "to a barbarous usage," the great principle of the admissibility of *all*, without distinction of *Sex* or *Sect*, who can *feel* for the Slave, to *plead* for the Slave;—it has been judiciously and appropriately observed, that the Convention were met to devise measures for the *removal* of a barbarous usage, viz., Slavery.

No. VI.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MRS MOTT AND DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ., M.P.,

Relative to the EXCLUSION *from the late* ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION *in* LONDON, *of the* FEMALE DELEGATES *from* AMERICA, *and referred to in the* SPEECH *of* WM. LLOYD GARRISON, ESQ., *at the* ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING, *held in* GLASGOW, *July* 27*th*, 1840.

TO DANIEL O'CONNELL.

THE rejected Delegates from America to the "General Anti-Slavery Conference," are desirous to have the opinion of one of the most distinguished advocates of universal liberty as to the reasons urged by the majority for their rejection—viz., that the admission of Women, being contrary to English usage, would subject them to ridicule, and that such recognition of their acknowledged principles would prejudice the cause of human freedom.

Permit me, then, on behalf of the Delegation, to ask of Daniel O'Connell the favour of his sentiment, as incidentally expressed in the meeting on the morning of the 13th instant—and oblige his sincere friend,

LUCRETIA MOTT.

LONDON, 6*th* MONTH, 17*th*, 1840.

16, PALL MALL, 20*th June*, 1840.

MADAM,—Taking the liberty of protesting against being supposed to adopt any of the complimentary phrases in your letter as being applicable to me, I readily comply with your request to give my opinion as to the propriety of the admission of the female Delegates into the Convention.

I should premise by avowing that my first impression was strong against that admission, and I believe I declared that opinion in private conversation. But, when I was called on by you to give my personal decision on the subject, I felt it my duty to investigate the grounds of the opinion I formed; and, upon that investigation, I easily discovered that it was founded on no better grounds than an apprehension of the ridicule it might excite, if the Convention were to do what is so unusual in England—to admit women to an equal share and right of discussion. I also, without difficulty, recognised that this was an unworthy, and indeed a cowardly motive—and I easily overcame its influence.

My mature consideration of the entire subject convinced me of the right of the female Delegates to take their seats in the Convention, and of the injustice of excluding them. I do not care to add, that I think it impolitic, because, that exclusion being unjust, it ought not to have taken place, even if it could also be politic.

My reasons are, *first*, That as it has been the practice in America for

females to act as Delegates and Office-Bearers, as well as in the common capacity of members, of Anti-Slavery Societies, the persons who called this Convention ought to have warned the American Anti-Slavery Societies to confine their choice to males; and, for want of this caution, many female Delegates have made long journies by land, and crossed the ocean to enjoy a right, which they had no reason to fear would be withheld from them, at the end of their tedious voyage.

Secondly, The cause which is so intimately interwoven with every good feeling of humanity, and with the highest and most sacred principle of Christianity, the Anti-Slavery cause in America, is under the greatest, the deepest, the most heart-binding obligation to the females who have joined the Anti-Slavery Societies in the United States. They have shown a passive, but permanent courage, which ought to put many of the male advocates of the coloured race to the blush. The American ladies have persevered in our holy cause, amidst difficulties and dangers, with the zeal of confessors, and the firmness of martyrs; and, therefore, emphatically, they should not be disparaged or discouraged, by any slight or contumely offered to their rights. Nor are this slight and contumely much diminished by the fact, that it was not intended to offer any slight, or convey any contumely. Both results inevitably follow the fact of rejection. This OUGHT NOT to be.

Thirdly, Even in England, with all our fastidiousness, women vote upon the great regulations of the Bank of England, in the nomination of its Directors and Governors, and in all other details, equally with men. That is, they assist in the most awfully important business, the regulation of the currency of this mighty empire, influencing the fortunes of *all* commercial nations.

Fourthly, Our women, in like manner, vote at the India House—that is —in the regulation of the Government of more than one hundred millions of human beings.

Fifthly, Mind has no sex; and, in the peaceable struggle to abolish Slavery all over the world—it is the basis of the present Convention to seek for success by peaceable, moral, and intellectual means alone, to the utter exclusion of physical force or armed violence. We are engaged in a strife not of strength, but of argument. Our warfare is not military; it is strictly Christian. We wield not the weapons of destruction or injury to our adversaries. We rely entirely on reason and persuasion, common to both sexes, and on the emotions of benevolence and charity—which are more lively and permanent amongst women than amongst men.

In the Church to which I belong, the female sex is devoted by as strict rules, and with as much, if not more, unceasing austerity, to the performance (and that to the exclusion of temporal joys and pleasures) of all works of humanity, of education, of benevolence, and of charity, in all its holy and sacred branches, as the men.

The great work in which we are now engaged embraces all these charitable categories; and the women have the same duties, and should, therefore, enjoy the same rights with the men, in the performance of these duties.

I have a consciousness that I have not done *my* duty, in not sooner urging these considerations on the Convention—my excuse is, that I was unavoidably absent during the discussion on the subject. I have the honour to be, very respectfully, Madam, your obedient Servant,

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

MRS LUCRETIA MOTT.

No. VII.

Differences existing among the Anti-Slavery Societies in America, it seems desirable that the Friends of the Slave in this Country should, from *an authentic source*, have an account of their history and present position. The following Report contains sentiments in themselves so excellent, and the spirit which it displays is so thoroughly that of *Universal* Freedom, that it is earnestly recommended to all, to

READ WITH ATTENTION,

RIGHT AND WRONG IN THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES—OR SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

——— by the *soul*
Only, the nations shall be great and free!
Wordsworth.

Seven years have passed, since we became united under the name of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, with the pledge to do all in our power for the extinction of Slavery.

Our first year of association was marked by no event of peculiar interest. The oppressive spirit of the nation had not then been roused by Anti-Slavery effort, to a view of its danger; nor had we, as an Association, attained a clear perception of the means whereby we might most effectually bring our moral power to bear against Slavery.

But the second year was marked by a clearer comprehension, and by decided success in breaking up the stupor that surrounded us. It was the year 1835;—remembered in our annals as the year of blind fury and outward attack; the year which showed those who had ever before declared that they were as much abolitionists as we, what manner of spirit they were of; making them feel that they were in sympathy with the oppressor, and enemies of the Slave.

The third year of our existence began to show that the hardness of heart of the community would, if it continued, endanger the social institutions which it weakened and corrupted by perverting them to the service of Slavery. "What are Church and State for," men began this year to ask themselves, "if not to secure, among other blessings, freedom, without which no others can exist? But, if their rafters are so weakened by this unsuspected decay, will they not fall under the hammer?" These questions were never followed out in Anti-Slavery Societies; for, to have discussed reform in Church and State, any farther than their corruptions prevent the abolition of Slavery, would have been to transcend the constitutional limitations of Anti-Slavery Societies.—But these questions

were none the less asked in the community, and the tyrants at heart, who were determined in their support of the system, and who had made Church and State the pillars of its denomination, caught here at a pretence by which they hoped to delay the national verdict, by making up a false issue. They cried out that Church and State were in danger from the attacks of abolitionists. Doubtless their words were in part true. Church and State *are* in danger; but not from the labours of the Anti-Slavery Societies. If Church and State are saved from destruction in the coming contest between liberty and Slavery, it will be owing to the efforts of those who are striving to remove them from their present dangerous position, where the hosts of liberty must needs charge over them.

The most observant and educated of the pro-Slavery party,—their clergy,—were the first to perceive, that a church at variance with the principles it professes cannot stand; and the exertions which, as ministers of Christ, they should have given to purify the church from Slavery, were expended in diverting the public mind from the examination of its rottenness, and directing public censure against the advocates of the cause. When made aware that the church obstinately sustained Slavery, they should have declared her no church of Christ. But, in so doing, they would have acknowledged the guilty silence of their own past lives; and this they had not the hearts to do, for their hearts were not repentant. They strove, instead, to extinguish the spirit of freedom.

By the fourth year, 1837, this course of so influential a body of men as the ministry, partially produced its intended effect in the Anti-Slavery ranks. Spiritual wickedness in high places triumphed over the integrity and resolution of some who had undertaken the task of freeing the American Slave. They had not anticipated the source from which the most formidable opposition was to come, and they shrunk from the contest. The peltings of a mob they could bear. *Such* opposition does but strengthen the merely human powers of endurance. But the *spiritual* mob—the scourgings in the *synagogues*—the being delivered up of men to their *councils*,—this, being unexpected, was too hard to be borne. Their worldly reputation they had seemed more willing to lose; but they clung to their Christian character, though its preservation depended on the good word of those whose approbation they ought to have felt as a reproach; who had put darkness for light, and Slavery for freedom. The church, pro-Slavery as it had shown itself, was, in fact, *their world;* and they yielded up the interests of the Slave to its demands. But, the reproach they avoided on one side, they incurred on the other; and to excuse themselves for finally taking their stand by the side of the pro-Slavery friends, whose influence they had so long resisted, they became the accusers, before the world, of the faithful band they forsook, renounced its fellowship, and formed hostile societies for its destruction.

During the fifth and sixth years of our associated existence, 1838 and 1839, this retrograde movement of a small portion of the Abolitionists throughout the land went on, till its completion, by a general rupture, in 1840. Every step of retreat, of course, augmented the numbers of the retreating party, by bringing them back to their former connexions; and when they shall have reached the spot from which they started, they will, of course, have the whole pro-Slavery world with them.

In our own Society, this backward movement of a part, so painful in its progress and so paralyzing in its effects, was about three years in coming to the crisis of separation; and the manner in which that separation was effected was detailed by us immediately after it took place, in April last,

and to it we refer our absent and distant members, for whose information it was prepared.

A dissolution of all the original Anti-Slavery Societies seems to have been contemplated by those who had fallen away from the original point of union; but our own was the only Society to which the proposition was actually introduced. The men who urged up our recreant members to this attempt to destroy the Society of which they had found it impracticable to make a tool, were unable to furnish them with reasons for its introduction; for none, in fact, existed. Reasons that seemed all-sufficient in the hostile new organization, could not, for very shame, be presented in an assembly where they would be self-confuted. It will be recollected, by those who were present at our April quarterly meeting, how earnestly and how vainly the movers of a dissolution were urged to say why such a proposition should be brought forward. They answered nothing. Had they answered truly, they would have said, "Our pastors will take no less." It will be recollected what numbers refused to vote on that question, not allowing it to be one which it is competent to any majority to decide; since, as long as two members remain planted on the constitution, they will still constitute the Society, and all protestations of others to the contrary, must be as ineffectual as the wind, or as the declaration of the mob to the same effect in 1835. This attempt of professed friends of the cause to deliver it bound hand and foot into the hands of its enemies, while it is the most painful, is, in another light, the most instructive and the most consoling of our experiences; for we learn from it the utter powerlessness of the most subtile and pernicious influences, with the most unscrupulous use of evil means, to divide or scatter the hearts that the love of freedom unites; and our confidence in our principles is increased by this new manifestation of their power. The few members who were actively engaged in endeavours to destroy the Society, declared that they were neutral between "old and new organization." But the following communication exhibits the turpitude of one of them:—

M. V. BALL TO ELIZABETH PEASE.

"BOSTON, *May 6th*, 1840.

"You will perceive, dear Sister, by the foregoing *Address*, that the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society has been DISSOLVED, and another formed in its place. Our NO-GOVERNMENT friends, being resolved to carry their *peculiar* views along with them IN THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAR, became so annoying in their movements, that it was found impracticable to continue united with them; and the consequence has been, in our Female Society, *dissolution*—and I fear it will be in many others. The *no-government* friends consider *human government* as the great Juggernaut to be overthrown, ere ought else can be accomplished; consequently they must have their notions advanced as *part* and *parcel* of their abolition.

"A *very large majority* of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society thought *not so*, and therefore did not dare take the responsibility of thus pulling away the barriers to vice and immorality. With this I send you the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*, containing the minutes of the *last meeting* of the Society, and another, noticing the formation of the Massachusetts Female Emancipation Society. We find it very important to keep our Societies clear and distinct, lest they become perverted from their original objects.

"It is matter of the deepest regret to our most *efficient, laborious* friends,

such as Lewis and John Tappan, Scott, Green, Goodell, Birney, Whittier, Stanton, Phelps, Colver, Galusha, Gerrit Smith, and others, that our no-government friends have taken the fearful responsibility of causing division in our ranks; but we hope it may be over-ruled for good, knowing that it must have been permitted for some wise end."

On the reception of this, Miss Pease transmitted a copy of it to America, with the following comments:—

"My Dear Friend,—I forward the enclosed letter from M. V. Ball, in the hope that thou wilt be kind enough to explain upon what grounds our non-resistant friends deem it their duty so far to enforce their doctrines as to make them part and parcel of their abolition. It appears to me that no man or set of men have the right of exercising such an authority over the consciences of others; and that if the case really be as M. V. Ball states, a dissolution of the Society was inevitable—inasmuch as the assent of every member became equally requisite to the principle of non-resistance, as to that of immediate emancipation; and hence it must follow, that all who now adhere to the old Society are united in principle on both these questions—a fact which I certainly was not aware of. I am anxious to ascertain the precise nature and grounds of the unhappy divisions which have arisen amongst American Abolitionists, and to give to each their due. Any explanation, therefore, which thou canst afford will be very acceptable.

"Most sincerely wishing success to the efforts of every friend of human freedom, I remain,

"Very truly thine,

"ELIZABETH PEASE.

"In the *Massachusetts Abolitionist* of Dec. 12th, 1839, I see the non-resistants are charged with '*resisting* the progress of Anti-Slavery opinion with all their might.'"

In refutation of these charges against the Boston Female Society, now for the first time brought to its view in a tangible shape,—for the first time made in its presence, over the signature or by the lips of any individual,—which the individual who brings them *never dared to make* in our presence as a Society, so glaringly false are they;—in refutation of these charges, we have only to refer that individual to what took place on the presentation to the Society, for its sanction, of a document written by herself. It contained a censure of Lovejoy's self-defence. This censure, on motion of one of our few non-resistant members, was stricken out, on the ground that, though pledged by our affiliation and co-operation with other Anti-Slavery Societies never to sanction self-defence in the Slaves, no such understanding exists with regard to the self-defence of any others. We are an Anti-Slavery Society—not a non-resistance Society. In conformity with this view, the Society refuse to adopt the censure of Lovejoy; and in conformity with this view, the non-resistant members opposed the introduction of non-resistance resolutions, when they were recommended in private by the Grimkés.

On the petty but necessary conflict with falsehood and hostility, of which this is a specimen, there is no need that we should dwell. It will be found at length in the *Liberator, Extra,* published by the Society.

By conduct like this, which circumstances from time to time bring to light, "new organization" illustrates its nature. Its object is to separate

itself from those whose faithfulness has made them odious to a pro-Slavery community, without incurring the disgrace that cleaves to the turn-coat.

Having, by means of firmness, patience, and confidence in its principles, been freed from this clog of "new-organization," our Society was in a position to afford effectual aid to the friends of the cause throughout the country, who were struggling with the same untoward spirit. Wherever this spirit sought entrance, it assumed the name and shape most likely to facilitate its claim to confidence. In one place, it was anti-non-resistance —in another, anti-woman's rights—in another, anti-Garrison. In one place it made a pretence of regard for the Church, and in another, of an independent abolition party in politics.* Not finding the pretence of religious intolerance, with which it had commenced its operations, attractive to the Abolitionists, or on the whole successful in a community of which religious toleration is the law, it took the mask of political intolerance. To buttress its failing credit, it revived the political faith of a departed age—the dogma of "divine right." Government being ordained of God, it was every man's duty to vote at the polls,—both parties being corrupted by Slavery, it was every man's duty to aid in organizing a *third*,—and every man's duty to vote for the candidate of its nomination. James G. Birney was particularly active in the enforcement of these new ideas. He was the nominee of the third political party; and though, like Cæsar on the Lupercal, he at first refused the questionable honour of a nomination as the abolition candidate for the Presidency, by conventions from which the Abolitionists mostly absented themselves to mark their disapproval of the measure, yet it was perceptible, that in refusing the crown, he "was very loth to lay his fingers off it." He accepted the second proffer, the party was organized, and from that moment the increase of numbers to it, as a visible instrumentality, became, of course, its paramount object.

Its numbers were not increased by those of the faithful brothers in the cause, who had been made aware by his underhand course, of his loss of integrity of character. Not the non-voters alone shunned it. Those who had been shocked by his duplicity as a member of the Executive Committee of their National Association, exhibited to the Massachusetts quarterly meeting of 1839, and who had seen, on other occasions, the fatal facility with which he yielded to the uses of pro-Slavery bigotry, held themselves aloof. Filled with grief and shame, as they were, at the descent manifestly contemplated in the character of the cause, by this change in some of its prominent advocates, from piety to partizanship, still farther pain and confusion were heaped upon them.—Even while they mourned Mr Birney's first dereliction, they were surprised by the greatness of the succeeding ones, and the ease with which they seemed to be effected; verifying the ancient adage, "*facilis decesus Averni.*" He yielded up old and faithful friends, apparently, without hesitation, and followed up the deed by showing himself ready to destroy the American Anti-Slavery Society—that instrumentality which had been reared by so many years of toil and sacrifice on the part of the Abolitionists, and which had been, till held back by his own influence, with that of the majority of his fellow-servants of its Committee, a powerful means of influencing the hearts of the people. If viewed in one light, it seems like fatuity, in the projectors of a third political party, to have named as can-

* See Letter of Elizur Wright, jun., to Mr Stanton, on the occasion of the special meeting of the American Society in Ohio, urging the formation of a third party as the only measure that could save "new organization."

didate for the suffrages of Abolitionists, a man who had failed to secure their confidence as one of the official servants of their society. He had shown them the meaning of the Scripture, "By the works of the *law*, shall no flesh living be justified;" for he had freed his own Slaves, and received his patrimonial inheritance also in Slaves, that he might liberate them, and yet could trample on the very principle by which only can Slavery be extinguished—the principle of toleration and united exertion. It may be safely assumed, for it has been a thousand times demonstrated, that he can do little for civil or domestic freedom, who does not respect the right of opinion. Mr Birney had been honest to his bondmen, but he was untrue to freedom at large, and to his fellow-labourers for the termination of bondage. But, then, in the other view of the case, this very untruth would free the party of a load of odium, and secure more of the indifferent, floating voters, than it would lose of the abolition voters. Suicidal policy of political parties!—by which a moral enterprise never can succeed.

Meanwhile, Mr Birney, with the Committee at New-York, were expending the property of the Society in labours to change, or, failing in this, to destroy it; and after using the *Emancipator*, its official organ, for this purpose, to the latest possible moment, they transferred it to a hostile Society. In this emergency, the indignant grief of the Abolitionists, in behalf of their enslaved clients, impelled them in throngs to the Annual Meeting in May last, for the purpose of superceding the Committee of that period by a more faithful one, and rescuing the Anti-Slavery movement from ruin, by opening a way for it through the obstacles with which these timid and treacherous guides had choked up the path. The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, deeply impressed with the importance of the moment, expressed its distrust of the New-York Committee—its unwavering confidence in the Association at large—and appointed ten Delegates to the rescue at the Annual Meeting. The danger of the crisis was happily averted. On finding that they should not be able to mould the American Anti-Slavery Society as they had themselves been moulded, the Committee separated from it in disgust, and turned their forces against it, under the name of the "American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society." They commenced their hostilities by an address to the Abolitionists of the world; which tissue of false statements met with an instant denial and disproof; but which Mr Birney still further lowered his character by displaying before the London Convention.

Without funds, without official means of communication with the friends scattered throughout the country, hemmed round by enemies,—and those worst of enemies, false and pretended friends,—the free spirit shone gloriously out, and proved itself equal to the emergency. The old headquarters of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which the faithless Committee had stripped bare and deserted, previous to the Annual Meeting, were re-occupied. The loss occasioned by the dishonest transfer of the *Emancipator* was more than made good by the issue of a most able and free-spirited paper—The National Anti-Slavery Standard. Towards the support of these operations we were grateful for the privilege of contributing in our small measure. At short notice, and in addition to the obligations we had assumed to the *Liberator*, and to the expenses incurred in prolonging our existence as a Society, for the Slave's sake, we raised five hundred dollars, to sustain the National Society in affiliation with the State Society.

"Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" is our exclamation, as we witness the harmonious action of the

several departments of the cause, since the new organization spirit has taken flight.

And now, let us turn our eyes from the painful past to the hopeful future. Or, if we dwell upon the past, let it not be with too deep and indignant a sorrow over the falsehood that has deceived, and the treachery that has betrayed the principles of freedom, to whose maintenance in our day and generation we have bound ourselves. Let our remembrances be to us, not idle and random recollections, but profitable experiences, by whose light we may illuminate the future, but which shall not be a spell, hindering our progress by binding us to the past.

What jurists and statesmen learn by thought and study and investigation, (if their passions permit them to learn it at all,) the providence of God has revealed to us; that effectual revolutions in the policy and conduct of nations, such as we contemplate in our own, are only to be effected by a previous moral revolution in individual hearts. Selfishness is to be overcome, courage and devotedness to be implanted; and, in fine, a work, analogous to that of conversion, is to be effected in each hostile soul of a world lying in wickedness, before it will consent to let the Slave go free. We see the futility—the impossibility—the paradox of the attempt to *force* men to be free, or just, or merciful. Elections may, by political manœuvres and compromises, be secured; majorities in legislative assemblies may be obtained; the cause of freedom may be considered triumphant in the elevation of a nominal Abolitionist to the Presidency; and still the real work remain for future generations to accomplish. Let these considerations make us distrustful of every measure tending to lower the Anti-Slavery enterprize from a holy warfare into a struggle for place and power. Let the example of our fathers,—those fathers who proclaimed the inalienable rights of men, and yet left Slavery as a heritage to their children,—warn us never to admit the smallest compromise,—never to be deceived into accepting any thing for our cause as matter of favour, or as binding us to relinquish a hair's breadth of our claim to the unreserved and earnest efforts of every professing friend of freedom, to obtain for the Slave immediate and unconditional Emancipation.

The Anti-Slavery Societies have not yet done their work. When, in the heat of political excitement, amid which the *favourers* of the cause will a few years hence be engaged; when, in the conflict of a northern and southern party, yet to spring out of this question, *compensation—partial Emancipation—intermediate arrangements—delay*—become the rallying words of the opposition; then let the Slave rejoice, if the Anti-Slavery Societies exist, to urge up to the mark a partially regenerated people, who, though the *favourers* of the cause, will not deserve to be called its friends; for they will need constant and persevering entreaty, rebuke and warning, to prevent their making shipwreck of the enterprize. Not by numbers, but by laborious and energetic fidelity, will the work be wrought out. "Not by might, nor by power, but by MY SPIRIT, saith the Lord of hosts!"

Let us prepare ourselves, beloved friends, to maintain our lofty and influential position to the last. Great is the influence granted to those who will use it for the good of mankind, nor seek *themselves*, or their own small interests, in any thing they do. Utter abnegation of self,—this is the armour in which we may pass unheeding through the shafts of malignant misrepresentation and opposition and treachery; and still, at every emergency, may we be enabled by it to present ourselves as the devoted, marking, by our unheralded advance, the path the hosts behind us are to follow.

We shall lose our *influence*, we are told, by the decisive and rapid movements that repel the false-hearted and leave the fearful and the lukewarm in the rear. Influence! is that uninfluencing weapon worthy the name, that rests in the scabbard in fear of its brightness! To respect every one's freedom of choice we are bound. If others are hesitating and dilatory, we have only to suffer it to be so. But, well is it for the cause, that *we* should press rapidly onward, breaking down the obstacles to their wavering advance.

But, we should not be too prodigal of efforts, it is said; we must play the good housewife by our means. Our experience bids reject the counsel, as inapplicable to the conduct of a moral enterprize. The manna of to-day will be corrupt or dry to-morrow. It is our privilege, and should be our joy, to pour out all our means to meet the present emergency.

> "If, in our daily course, our mind
> Be set to *hallow* all we find,
> New treasures still, of countless price,
> God will provide for sacrifice."

Do not lose sight of the world by the severe pureness of your principles, say they who would make selfishness the basis of reform; as if the world could choose how far it might remain behind its advanced-guard! At whatever distance in our rear, its advance must needs be proportionate to our own. The way to Emancipation is open before us, if we have the strength to walk and to run in it as in the way of God's commandment. The world, it is true, is never with us—it is following at a distance, as we vanquish the phantoms it apprehends. But we are not alone. The Father of all spirits is with us! the God of all patience and consolation is with us! the God of freedom and love is with us! the omnipotent God of righteousness and truth is with us!

In following him, all opposing influences melt away as we approach. Like the visionary hedge of thorns of Arabian story, they are found incapable of annoyance, opposed to the invincible faith which strengthens us to press through them. Like those of old, told of in prophecy, we are in the midst of the fire, and are not burned. That we are few, and feeble, except in our faith, is no fault of ours, nor will it be a detriment to the cause we hold so dear. This is the divine philosophy, that "the weak things of the earth shall confound the mighty," and the things which are not even accounted as existing "shall put to shame the things that are."

How many a time have nations been saved by their women, when every other hope seemed extinct; and so may it be with America, if we will have it so. There is moral power enough in presence here to-day, affirmatively to settle the question we have raised. This is a sinful nation, that has deeply offended; yet that law is an unvarying one of God's providence, by which he will save each of its populous cities, "for ten's sake;" and who's here so cold of soul that would not be enrolled with joy in so noble a registry!

As the counsellors of our parents and the helpers of our husbands, a mighty work is to be done, and in general Society an influence for freedom and humanity will ever radiate from the lover of freedom. But we have duties of our own to fulfil towards our country and race; and it is as the exemplars of our sons and daughters that our weightiest work is to be done. *They* must see our direct, unshrinking, and unswerving personal labours in the way of righteousness; and they must not learn from us that there is any *second* way, however indolence, or frivolity, or fear of

blame, offer their temptations. Our efforts must be strenuous and open for the promulgation of the principles of freedom, on which rest the welfare of our country and our posterity. We are working for all coming time, and the thought cheers and strengthens us for continually renewed labours. We have had progenitors who have laboured for us, and we must repay the debt to those who shall come after us. One generation of them left its father-land for religious freedom; another gave up the summer of its years for civil liberty; and grateful though we are to have been born of that noble strain, our heaviest labour should not be to build our fathers' sepulchres. It is for us to finish the work they left undone, so that our children shall rise up and call us blessed. It lies mainly with us to determine whether our children, or at farthest our children's children, shall dwell in the land we leave them in freedom and in peace, surrounded by happy and joyous influences; or whether their lives shall pass in convulsive struggles with an injured race, awakened to a sense of wrong and thirst of vengeance, by a comparison of republican theory with republican practice. Fearlessly and earnestly we say to such as forbid us to cast our whole souls, with all their energies, into this cause, and by whose unworthy opposition we might have been sore let and hindered, had our love for it been less,—gently and firmly we tell them, that their opposition comes too late. It is necessary for the success of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, that the hands should be *free* that urge it onward; and the hands from which the fetters have fallen, in the intensity of their exertions for the freedom of others, can never again be bound. Threatenings and entreaties and abuse must be alike in vain, before a conscientious conviction of duty. The appeals of some *professed* Abolitionists, to the *magnanimity* of women, are the most insulting to human nature of all. We do really think that we can aid it more than such; and therefore, if they or ourselves are to "weep in secret places," we do really think that the cause will lose least by *their* retreat. Had it been personal rights or wrongs that impelled us —had it been any thing but love of the cause of human rights, we might had withdrawn from the Association where we have so long acceptably laboured, on the first intimation that our absence as co-labourers was desirable. Were it our own will we sought,

> "We would not die in that man's company
> Who fears his fellowship to die with us."

But we dare not, even were the transfer possible, to leave our responsibilities to the cause in despotic and intolerant hands. If we love the cause, we are bound to labour for it according to our own best judgment. The very pro-Slavery community perceives the fact, and laughs at the men whom it has deluded into rejecting the help of any human being, and suspects the sincerity of their pretended love of freedom. Of all the means of abolishing Slavery, perhaps the most effectual is the irrepressible sympathy for the wronged and suffering, that swells high above the usages that would dam up its current; that signs Anti-Slavery petitions to the legislature against old usages; that dwells in conversation upon the hitherto interdicted subject against old usages; that prays and labours for its extinction against old usages; that rejoices to present it for consideration to assembled multitudes against old usages!

No means have ever been employed in the cause, which have not been forbidden by some defender of antiquated custom; not an advocate for the Slave but has been in turn proscribed by the defenders of despotism. The

foreigner must not intermeddle; the northerner must not interfere; the young are too rash, and the old too imbecile; to the minister, the subject is interdicted as profane and secular; to the church member, as introducing strife and division; to the citizen, as seditious; to man, because it is too delicate; and to woman, because it is too indelicate. But none of these things should move the advocate for emancipation. None of them have moved us, since we overcame the reluctant pain of accosting the hostile circles in our neighbours' drawing-rooms with the Anti-Slavery petitions. Here was the spot where, so many years since, we met and detected the unsubstantial nature of the phantom arguments conjured up by the opposers of woman's action in the Anti-Slavery cause. Without going into the general question, which a consideration of constitutional limitations has always forbidden, the same answer suffices for all objections:—"We *think* our course a right one—we *know* that it has subserved the cause."

Let us, then, having "gifts differing," and opportunities and means differing, each continue the vigorous exercise of such as fall to our lot. Some have worldly appliances and means—some mechanical skill, and a perception of the beautiful—some the command of their time—some health and strength of body—some power and vigour of mind—some the "fiery gift of tongues"—*all* the might of supplication; and grief and shame will it be to us and to our children, if we do not yield them all to the service of freedom and humanity. From the moment that the Abolitionist proscribes his neighbour for the exercise of her gifts, according to her own conscience, in the Anti-Slavery cause, he proves conclusively that his heart has ceased to glow with the devotedness to its interests which inspired his early and tolerating efforts in its behalf. We do not blame him that his judgment differs from ours on questions of propriety. He has a right to his opinion; but he has no right to be intolerant towards us personally on account of ours.

Since so much has been said about loading the Anti-Slavery enterprise with "foreign topics," we, too, may be permitted to remind those who make the outcry, of the legitimate object of our Anti-Slavery Societies, implied in their very name. They did not band themselves together for or against anarchy or gynarchy, monarchy or hierarchy, or any form of civil or religious government, but simply against Slavery. It is well for us all to keep in mind, that the best test of our love for the cause is, that it is strong enough to overcome all reluctance to work with those who differ on other points from ourselves. We can work for the Slave with any man, who does not reject our help and hinder our efforts.

But, this short-lived opposition to the free labours of women will not long exist. It was not an honest one, but had its origin in the pretences of detected unfaithfulness. Men so suddenly and so preposterously deferential to usages will soon be silent on this head. They have submitted in silence to see "women on committees" in other enterprises, and silently they are witnessing the general progress of the age. They feel no call to proscribe the "mixed commissions" that have erected the Bunker-hill monument! No burst of indignation against "woman usurping authority," follows the address of a gentleman to the presiding officer of a monument meeting at Worcester—"*Madam* President!" No denunciations follow the appointment of ten men and ten women as the Committee of a public meeting in Newburyport. Classical and revered Cambridge nominates a *whole Committee* of women on a similar occasion, and pledges its manhood to execute their mandates, declaring its "reliance on their strong arm for success," unridiculed and unrebuked.—Since men have proclaimed

with pride how scarfs and handkerchiefs wave applause at whig and democratic gatherings, we feel no call to defend our interest in the Anti-Slavery cause from the charge of "singular and unwomanly participation in things out of our sphere." Since a Bancroft, years ago, proclaimed, what the democracy of the State sanctioned, that the principles of that party were applicable to women; since Webster has instructed the ladies of Virginia, that it is their duty to rectify the principles and keep alive the truth and honesty of the community, we "experience no inclination" to contract our sphere of usefulness, on the ground that its present enlargement will shock the prejudices of the world.

The "woman's rights question" has been raised by our opponents—not ourselves. Vast and important as it is, there is not legitimate scope for it in Societies whose point of union is the rights of the southern Slave. But, for the Slave's sake, we are bound to urge on all his advocates, the use of all their powers according to their own consciences; to proclaim, "*La carriere ouverte aux talens*,"—the tools to whosoever can use them.

An expression of thanks may be permitted us here—the thanks due to every human being who strengthens our faith by heroic endurance, who stimulates us to diligence, or shames our negligence by unremitting exertion; and whose example of calm, invincible patience, and generous hopefulness, are to us as a personal benefit. For such obligations we may pause a moment to express our gratitude to Abby Kelley, the devoted labourer for the cause in Massachusetts and Connecticut. While we have been sitting undisturbed by our firesides, or discharging the lighter obligations for the cause which use has made easy and agreeable, she has laboured through obloquy and persecution, in those almost impracticable regions which few Agents have yet ventured to visit, at inclement seasons and amid bodily fatigue, unsustained by the funds or sympathy of any Anti-Slavery Society, (except the testimony of the women of Lynn—her residence of many years—to the high-toned purity and devotedness of her nature; and the confidence implied by the American Anti-Slavery Society at the last Annual Meeting.) Calling no man master, she has been by that freedom qualified for the performance of those effectual services to the cause of the Slave, which the fettered hand and the shackled foot can never render. She is sure of her reward—the gratitude of the few—the malignant scorn of the many—the blessings of coming generations.

We make this public acknowledgment of our own obligations to her, not for *her* sake. Such an expression would be omitted by us, were it our object to give pleasure to her personally. But we esteem it a duty and a privilege to identify ourselves with all who are persecuted for righteousness' sake. If the noble firmness with which she has executed her arduous mission is beyond our own ability to exercise, or our grace to imitate, we will not, in the spirit of new organization, contemn the excellence we cannot attain. We will rather say, in the words of another true-hearted and eloquent woman in our cause,—"If we are not bold enough in the Slave's cause ourselves, *we honour those most who are so.*"

The mention of new organization brings us to the consideration of the manner in which this foe should be met. It is a pro-Slavery influence, and as such should be combated; "an evil soul producing holy witness," and its disguises should be stripped off; hypocritical in its pretences, and as such should be denounced; unscrupulous in its violations of truth in principles and veracity in facts, and as such should be exposed. It *is*, as the Colonization Society *was*, composed of two classes of persons—the deceivers and the deceived. We must forgive the trespasses of the former

against us, and strive with unwearied effort to open the eyes of the latter. We can descend to no petty scramble with it for funds and auxiliaries; for of the enemies of the cause we only want repentance; and no true friend will long remain unsuspicious of its design—the destruction of the existing Anti-Slavery Societies and influences, and the substitution in their stead of the *unoffending* Anti-Slavery which swayed New-England from the pulpit ten years since, of which it labours to preserve the supremacy.

Meanwhile, to the repentant and the undeceived, the old platform stands where it did. None can be driven from it who love the cause. Men slide away from it through indifference, or are self-excluded through treachery and intolerance. But faithful hearts are there still—instant in labour, in warning, in entreaty and rebuke; presenting neither place to ambition, nor profit to selfishness; and may God strengthen them to endure to the end.

Our cause presents two considerations to the mind; the freedom of the Slave, and the elevation of the free people of colour. The first is the fundamental one, for while Slavery exists, the people of colour must suffer from the labours of the oppressing caste to keep them degraded. But, much may be done for the nominally free, as we go on. If we have, from our more fortunate position, any advantages of mental acquirement, or cultivation and refinement of manners, let us share them with those who have been deprived of our opportunities, in the only way in which such a proffer would not be an insult—*i. e.* by a hearty acknowledgment of social equality. We heartily approve and co-operate with every effort for the elevation of our injured fellow-beings, wherever it is made. We sympathize with the self-denying labours of a Wilson and an Ingraham. But we need not go to Canada or Jamaica for a field for benevolent effort among the free coloured people. They are among ourselves—a suffering remnant, in the grasp of a despotic people, whose hearts are hardened towards them. Let us stand between them and injury, whenever we see its ruthless hand upraised. Let us better know our vocation as Abolitionists, than to consider our companions in the cause, in this city and elsewhere, as mere claimants of alms, as coveting our supercilious notice and acquaintance. It is not so. It is justice, and sympathy, and right appreciation, and deserved respect,—it is the *co-labourer's right hand* we owe them; and they will have a right to despise us, if we confine our views for their elevation to feeding and clothing their hungry, or sustaining their charitable institutions. Our efforts should primarily be to raise the weight that crushes them. Are their schools the scenes of a gentle and efficient culture? *(or rather, why are any schools barred against them?)* Are the desirable lots in society theirs to bid off at will? These are the questions we should ask ourselves; and the negative answer, which the facts of the case give, should stimulate us, among other efforts, to circulate the petition for the abrogation of the present anti-christian and anti-republican marriage law, with renewed energy.

Let us go on as aforetime, shrinking from no sacrifices that freedom and humanity need. But why do we mention sacrifices? Have we ever really made one? Would not the true sacrifice have been to have renounced the life of an Abolitionist, and have wrought in the world's harness, for the earthly portion which satisfieth not? In labouring for the freedom of others, have we not found an exceeding great and unlooked-for reward—the additional field of usefulness to our age, given by the freedom of soul we have gained? We have, in our associated capacity, every encouragement to keep onward, with a single eye to the great national enterprise we

have commenced. We may go out of life before its accomplishment; but we shall have made its labours light for those who shall come after, as the labours of a preceding generation have made it discreditable for the Englishman of to-day to do otherwise than oppose West Indian Slavery.

But a still more arduous enterprise now claims the attention of England. A hundred and fifty millions of people in British India, the victims of civil and domestic Slavery, calling for redress at her hand, will show who in England are the living apostles, and who the mere hereditary Abolitionists. In this proposed work we cannot but take the deepest interest, though the field of labour is in another empire. "Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind!" Our sympathies have not been exhausted by exercise—they are but more universal and abundant in their flow.

To our dear and well-remembered friend, George Thompson, to whom we are so deeply indebted, we take this means of conveying our earnest sympathy in the enterprise of redeeming British India from oppression. No enterprise for freedom is foreign to us; and there is in Great Britain a high and pure-minded phalanx, to whom our sympathy will be none the less valuable because we are women, and who will not hypocritically solicit of women that aid, which, unless it were *slavishly* yielded, they would scornfully reject.

A new year of labour is opening before us. If we are not wanting to our cause, it will be a year of success. Freedom makes her friends clear and comprehensive in vision—resolute and ready in execution—self-denying and courageous in conduct—faithful and true to each other; and these are the elements of success—the assurance, that our prayers for the extinction of Slavery will be heard.

APPENDIX.

LETTERS.

Among the extracts from letters read at the Annual Meeting of the Boston Female Society, are the following, from Harriet Martineau and Anne Knight. The cheerfulness of the one, and the deep feeling of the other, express so well the Anti-Slavery mind, according as its mood is grave or gay, that the Society asked their publication:—

"TYNEMOUTH, *Northumberland.*

——"Living or dying, I shall be in spirit with you and your cause. If I can do anything, however little, for it, while I have life, it shall be done. * * * * *

"Garrison was quite right, I think, to sit in the gallery at the Convention. I conclude you think so. It has done much, I am persuaded. You will live to see a great enlargement of our scope of usefulness, I trust; but what with the vices of some women and the fears of others, it will be hard work to assert our liberty. I will, however, till I die, and so will you; and so make it easier for some few to follow. * * * * The information brought out at the Convention will do good, I have no doubt. But the knowledge we have obtained of the obvious deficiencies of the members, in the very principles they came to advocate, will surely do more.

"I send Two Pounds, which I have got by my needle, for your Society—being fond of fancy work, and fit for it in this my invalid state. I feel in my soul the honour of the appointment of delegate. You know that I could not have discharged its duties, even if the others had been admitted. But I beg to assure my constituents, that there is in me no lack of willingness to serve our cause in any capacity.

"Your faithful and affectionate

"H. MARTINEAU."

"8*th Month* 4, 1840.

* * * "Indeed, I am surprised at the readiness of the bigoted, to yield to the honest, unflinching assertions of truth; it being, they allow, a question of *men's* rather than of women's rights—the placing at his side, in important scenes of life, his better and wiser half—the being whose clearer and diviner instincts would enlighten, ennoble, and sanctify his counsels, and hasten, with the help of divine providence, the renovation of our world.

"At the Freemason's Tavern, the clamour against the question grew less and less, and the advocacy louder; there were many, I believe, ashamed of the part they took. I believe they cannot deny the equality of talent as well as worth of their wives, sisters, and daughters. These ideas, discussed often among us, are helping the cause. We tell our opponents, in the beginning, that they must take off their grandmother's night caps, and throw them to the "things that love night;" they good naturedly comply, and entertain the subject with a smile. We tell them we are not the same beings as fifty years ago; no longer "sit by the fire and spin," or distil rosemary and lavender for poor neighbours; but appoint visiting Committees for them, and sit in Mission and Bible Societies reporting to the men; sitting in their public meetings, and uniting with them in association Committees. Then comes the great and mortal conflict. The dreadful monster *Slavery* must be grappled with; and who is sent out to do it? Not man—not the stronger vessel—with his nervous and brawny arm, his stentorian voice, the fierceness of his black beard and mustachios, and his "eye like Mars, to threaten and command." What! not the "sons of Thunder Boanergean"—not they? Who, then? Some fierce dagon more horrible still? No! guess again! Cerberus? No! weak, tender, untrained for the work—modest woman! And when she appeals to the men against such unheard of folly and atrocity to the weaker vessel, James Cropper has said, "It is no use talking, Anne; the men are gone to sleep, and it is impossible to rouse them; you must go forth." At another time and place, to the same appeal, Thomas Clarkson, our veteran hero, made the same reply. He did, indeed, my dear friends, and thus having been driven into the fore-front of the battle—having, in the labour of collecting and going from house to house for signatures to petitions, had to fight with beasts at Ephesus, who can any longer, in this blaze of our superior experience, dazzling the twilight ken of their sheltering care, dare to omit our names in the muster-roll for the council board? We have a far superior claim to the men,—the claim of our ensanguined battle-field,—the claim of our trophies, our captives; and can they much longer dare to hold up the puny cry of *custom* and dread of ridicule, in their confused jargon and strife of tongues—their darkening of counsel by words without knowledge—while the veterans sit without, in silent contempt of their

rhodomontade? Surely, the folly is hastening to an end; it cannot withstand the light of truth. Tacitus relates that the Germans always called the women to their war-counsels, because they had something divine in them; and do not your Indians have their conferences unitedly? The scientific Congresses of France are composed of men and women,—myself being a member, and having addressed them, *a Leige aux Blois*, on the subject of Slavery. Our own Society invites its men and women in mission and conference; and if we may handle the holy things, is it for our sect, to raise its voice opposing our secular and moral engagements? Forbid it, common sense, and thou, my dear friend, cease not to cry aloud and lift up thy voice like a trumpet; for surely, if Indian women, if German women, if the women of France may hold colloquy with men, the women of England, not less Christian, and not less qualified than they, must, ere long, 'what is dark illumine.' May the emphatic question be sent across the Atlantic by some strong pen to our exclusives in Broad Street—a most inappropriate name; it ought to be the street which is called *strait*. I wish it were practicable that, continuing the subject now begun, the cause of humanity might be extended, so that by the time of a *second* Convention, it would be more deserving the name of a *World's* Convention.

"Thy very sincere friend,

"ANNE KNIGHT."

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

TO

The Glasgow Emancipation Society,

From 1st August, 1839, to 7th August, 1840.

A

Rev. Wm. Auld, Tollcross,	£0	10	0
David Anderson,	1	1	0
John Anderson,	0	10	6
James Anderson,	1	1	0
Alexander Anderson,	1	1	0
William Auld, Sidney St.,	0	5	0
Robert Aitken, East Nile St.	0	5	0
Rev. William Anderson,	0	10	6
Allan & Ferguson,	0	10	6
James Anderson, Jun.,	0	10	6
Joseph Affleck,	0	5	0

B

Walter Buchanan, 1839,	1	1	0
Do. 1840,	1	1	0
James Brown, Douglas,	0	5	0
Do.	0	5	0
Hugh Brown, Jun.	1	1	0
Archibald Brown,	0	10	6
John Barr,	1	1	0
Henry Bruce,	0	5	0
Peter Bruce,	0	10	6
Robert Bruce,	0	5	0
William Brodie,	1	1	0
J. & T. Brown, & Co.	0	10	6
Robert Bland,	0	5	0
Robert Brand,	1	1	0
David Boyd,	0	5	0
William Bankier,	1	1	0
Baptist Church, Storie St., Pais.	3	0	0
Henry Brock,	1	1	0
William Brown,	0	5	0
Robert Burns,	0	5	0
James Beith, Candleriggs,	0	5	0
Moses Brown,	0	5	0
Charles Bryson,	0	5	0
Robert Barclay, Barrowfield,	0	10	6
Dr. John Black,	0	5	0
Thomas Binnie,	0	5	0
Rev. William Brash,	0	5	0
Thomas Brown, Writer,	0	5	0
Walter Bremner,	0	5	0
James Beith,	0	10	6

C

Robert Connell, 1839,	£0	5	0
Do. 1840,	0	5	0
Hugh Craig, Kilmarnock,	1	0	0
Archibald Cumine & Co.,	0	10	6
James Cocker,	0	10	6
James Campbell,	1	0	0
James Cairns,	0	5	0
John Croom,	0	10	6
Dr. Crawford, Bridgeton,	0	10	6
Dr. Campbell, Kent Street,	0	5	0
William Chisholm, Jun.,	0	10	6
A. Cross, (J .Ker's Brunswick Street.)	0	10	6
James Clark,	0	5	0
Allan Clark,	0	5	0

D

James Duncan, Mosesfield,	0	5	0
John Douglas of Barloch,	1	1	0
John Donald,	0	5	0
Alexander Duncan, Jun.,	0	5	0
James Drummond,	0	7	6
Do.	0	5	0
George C. Dick,	0	10	6

E

Dr. Wm. Easton,	0	5	0
Rev. Greville Ewing,	2	0	0
Rev. John Edwards,	0	5	0
Rev. John Eadie,	0	5	0

F

John Fleming,	1	1	0
Friend, per J. Murray,	0	2	6
William Ferguson,	0	10	6
John Fyfe,	1	1	0
James Fleming,	0	10	6
Finlay & Neilson,	0	10	6
Friend at New Lanark, per Robert Mason,	1	0	0
Allan Fullarton,	0	10	6

Friend,	£0	3	0
Do.	0	5	0
Do.	0	2	6
Do.	0	5	0

G

Alexander Graham,	1	1	0
Alexander Galloway,	0	5	0
Robert Grahame, Weymouth,	10	0	0
John B. Gray,	1	1	0
George Gallie,	0	10	6
Archibald Gardner,	0	5	0
William Gray, Jeweller,	1	1	0
William Gunn, Jun.,	0	10	6
Archibald Greenshields,	0	10	6
John Galloway,	0	5	0
William Gilmour, Writer,	0	5	0
William Graham,	0	5	0
Rev. John Graham,	0	5	0

George Street Chapel Association for Religious Purposes, (Rev. Dr. Wardlaw's.)

Arch. Ferguson, 1839,	0	5	0			
Miss Fullarton,	0	5	0			
John A. Fullarton,	0	10	6			
Anthony M'Keand,	1	1	0			
John S. Blyth,	2	2	0			
Donald Macintyre,	1	1	0			
Jas. Millikin, 1839,	0	5	0			
Do. 1840,	0	5	0			
D. Stewart, 1839,	1	0	0			
Do. 1840,	0	7	6	7	2	0

H

John Hardie,	0	5	0
Andrew Harvie,	0	10	6
William B. Hodge,	0	10	6
James Hutcheson,	1	1	0
Robert Hutcheson,	1	1	0
David Hope,	0	10	6
Richard Hall,	0	5	0
Alexander Hastie,	1	1	0
William Harvey,	0	5	0
John Hamilton, Turner,	0	5	0
Rev. Alexander Harvey, 1839,	0	7	6
Do. 1840,	0	5	0
David A. Hardie,	0	5	0
Rev. Dr. Heugh,	0	10	6

I

Charles Inglis,	0	10	6

J

Robert Jameson,	1	1	0
Johnston, Galbraith & Co.	2	2	0
Rev. John Johnstone,	0	5	0

K

Robert Kettle,	1	0	0
Alexander M'K. Kirkland,	0	10	6
Robert Kirkwood,	£0	5	0
William Kerr,	0	10	6
John Kirkwood,	0	5	0
Hugh Kennedy,	0	5	0
Alexander Kellar,	0	5	0
Rev. Dr. Kidston,	0	5	0
J. B. Kidston,	0	5	0
Rev. David King,	0	10	6

L

Henry Langlands,	0	10	6
Rev. Wm. Lindsay, 1839,	0	5	0
Do. 1840,	0	5	0
James Laurie,	1	1	0
John Laurie,	0	10	6
Robert Laing,	0	10	6
William Lochead, Jun.,	0	5	0
Thomas Lochead,	0	5	0
John Leadbetter,	1	1	0
William Lang, Printer,	0	5	0
Long & Nicholson,	0	5	0
Andrew Liddell,	0	5	0
Thomas Lee,	0	5	0

M

Alexander Mitchell,	0	7	6
Andrew Miller,	0	5	0
Alexander M'Leod, 1838,	0	5	0
Do. 1839,	0	5	0
Mr M'Conochie, per J. Murray,	0	2	6
Rev. A. M'Naughton, Milngavie	0	10	0
Robert M'Gregor,	0	10	6
Robert Mason, New Lanark,	0	5	0
John Maxwell, M.D.	0	5	0
William M'Lean, Plantation,	1	1	0
Rev. Dr. Mitchell,	1	1	0
James Mitchell,	1	1	0
Andrew Mitchell,	1	1	0
John M'Leod,	0	10	6
John M'Gregor,	0	10	6
Robert Miller, London St.,	0	5	0
John Millen,	0	2	6
James More, East Nile St.,	0	10	6
James M'Keand,	0	5	0
Rev. John M. M'Kenzie,	0	10	6
Right Rev. Dr. Murdoch,	0	10	6
John M'Feat,	0	5	0
William Milroy,	0	5	0
Robert Miller, Bookseller,	0	5	0
William Mills,	1	1	0
David Murray,	0	5	0
Samuel Moir,	0	5	0
Peter M'Ara,	0	5	0
Rev. H. M. M'Gill,	0	5	0
Robert M'Kay,	0	5	0
Thomas Muter,	0	5	0
John M'Kay,	0	5	0
Robert Mathie,	0	5	0
Rev. James M'Tear,	0	5	0
John Murray,	0	10	6

N

William Nairn,	0	5	0

P

John Poynter,	£0	10	6
William P. Paton,	5	0	0
James Parker,	0	5	0
William Proudfoot,	0	5	0
James Pollock, Buchanan St.	0	10	6
Andrew Paton,	0	10	6
Richmond Picken, 1839,	0	5	0
Do. 1840,	0	5	0
James Proudfoot,	0	5	0
Rev. James Paterson,	0	5	0
Rev. Thomas Pullar,	0	5	0

R

David Russell,	0	10	6
George Robson,	0	10	6
John & Charles Risk,	1	1	0
Archibald Rigg,	0	5	0
John Reid,	0	10	6

S

James Stewart,	1	1	0
Robert Sanderson,	1	1	0
David Smith, Trongate,	1	1	0
Semple & Co.,	1	1	0
William Smith, Polmadie,	0	10	6
William Stewart,	0	5	0
Thomas Service,	0	5	0
Alex. Stevenson, Bannockburn,	0	5	0
William Strang,	0	5	0
Rev. Dr Stark, Dennyloanhead,	0	10	6
William Smeal,	0	10	6

T

George Thorburn, 1839,	2	2	0
George Thorburn, 1840,	£1	0	0
James Turner, Thrushgrove,	0	5	0
James Thomson,	0	5	0
Rev. Prof. Thomson, Paisley,	1	1	0

U

John Ure, of Croy,	0	10	0

W

Charles Whish, 1839,	0	5	0
Do. 1840,	0	5	0
Anthony Wigham, Aberdeen,	2	0	0
Archibald Watson,	1	1	0
Samuel Wilson,	1	1	0
James Watson,	1	1	0
George Watson,	1	1	0
Robert Wylie,	0	5	0
Oliver Wingate,	0	10	6
William White,	1	1	0
John Whitehead,	1	1	0
William Wilson,	0	10	6
John Wright, Miller St.,	1	1	0
James Wallace,	0	5	0
Wm. Wotherspoon, High St.,	0	5	0
Charles West,	0	5	0
John Williamson,	0	10	6
Walter Wilson,	0	5	0
A. Wylie,	0	2	6
William Waddell,	0	5	0
William Watson, Lanark,	0	5	0
Peter White, Old Kilpatrick,	0	5	0

Y

Andrew Young,	1	0	0

☞ *Every person subscribing 5s. per annum, is a Member of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and is entitled to receive a copy of all its publications.—Subscriptions will be thankfully received by* Mr William Smeal, *one of the Secretaries*, 161, *Gallowgate; or by any of the Members of Committee.*

THE TREASURER OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

Dr.

August 6th, 1840.	£	s.	d.
To Collection at last Annual Meeting,	£8	3	6½
Collection at Public Meeting to hear Sir Culling E. Smith, on the Aborigines' Society,	4	4	4
Collection at Meeting to receive John Scoble, Esq., Agent of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,	3	12	7½
Collection at Meeting to appoint Delegates to the London Anti-Slavery Convention,	1	12	3
Collection at Meeting to receive William Lloyd Garrison and Companions	10	5	1
Sales of Publications,	7	11	2½
Donation from Baptist Church, Storie Street, Paisley,	3	0	0
Donation from Society for Religious Purposes in George Street Chapel, (Dr. Wardlaw's),	7	2	0
Discount on Accounts due at last Annual Meeting,	4	7	7
Annual Subscriptions, per William Smeal's Book,	129	9	6
Balance, due by the Society,	34	1	9½
	£213	9	11

Cr.

August 6th, 1840.				£	s.	d.
By Balance due at last Anniversary,				£66	5	8
Donation to Aborigines' Protection Society, per George Thompson,				10	0	0
Expences of Committee Meetings,				1	1	0
Expenses of Newspapers, and Printing and Advertising,				84	2	8
British India Society for Publications, per George Thompson				9	7	6
Five Hundred "English in India"—reprinted from Howitt's Colonization and Christianity,	£12	10	0			
Five Hundred Proceedings at a British India Meeting at Darlington,	3	15	0			
				16	5	0
Expences of Public Meetings,				14	2	1
Postages, Carriage, Porterage, Booking of Parcels, and sundry small incidental charges,				12	6	0
				£213	9	11

Glasgow, *7th August*, 1840.—We have examined the above Account, and the vouchers relating thereto, and found the same to be correct.—The Balance due by the Society at this date, is Thirty-four Pounds One Shilling and Ninepence Halfpenny.

(Signed,) DONALD MACINTYRE.
ROBERT KETTLE.

SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY:

WITH

AN APPENDIX, LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS, &c.

THE OBJECT OF THIS SOCIETY,

IS TO PROMOTE THE UNIVERSAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE; TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF THE ABORIGINES IN THE BRITISH COLONIES; AND TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF OUR FELLOW SUBJECTS, THE NATIVES OF BRITISH INDIA.

GLASGOW:
PRINTED BY AIRD & RUSSELL, 75, ARGYLL STREET;
AND SOLD BY GEORGE GALLIE, BUCHANAN STREET;
JOHN M'LEOD, ARGYLL STREET; D. ROBERTSON, TRONGATE;
AND WILLIAM SMEAL, GALLOWGATE.

MDCCCXLI.

ANNUAL MEETING.

GLASGOW, 2*d August*, 1841.

AGREEABLY to Advertisement, the Seventh Annual Meeting of the above Society took place this Evening, at Seven o'Clock, in the Trades' Hall, Glassford Street.

On the motion of Mr John Murray, one of the Secretaries, the Rev. WILLIAM ANDERSON was called to the Chair.

Letters of apology, for unavoidable absence, were read from John Dennistoun, Esq., M. P., and the Rev. Alex. Harvey.

Mr Smeal having read the Annual Report, and an Abstract of the Treasurer's Account, the following Resolutions were then moved, seconded, and carried, viz. :—

I. Moved by the *Rev. James M'Tear*, and seconded by *James Turner, Esq.*, of Thrushgrove :—

"That the Report now read, be adopted, printed, and circulated, under the direction of the Committee."

II. Moved by the *Rev. J. Kennedy* of Paisley, and seconded by *Mr R. Wright* :—

"That the history of the past year, in the Emancipated Colonies of Great Britain, calls for renewed expressions of thankfulness and congratulation from the friends of freedom, and for increasing confidence in the justice and policy of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION:

"That this Society rejoices in the still onward progress of the sacred cause of Freedom in the United States, and regards with especial satisfaction, the late momentous decision in the case of the Amistad captives, now restored to liberty ; and the Society would, in connexion with that important decision, mention, with the gratitude and admiration they so highly merit, the generous and self-devoted exertions of the Venerable ex-President, John Quincy Adams. The Society, while they would renew to their

fellow-labourers in America the assurances of their continued sympathy and co-operation, would also earnestly and affectionately exhort them to be of one heart and of one mind in their work—a work pre-eminently calculated to cement, in a common effort—*without compromise and without hostility*—all the true lovers of humanity and justice.

"The Society would, further, record the pleasure with which they have contemplated the interesting movements of various European States on the subject of Slavery; and their conviction that, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the cause of Emancipation has made cheering progress during the past year, throughout the civilized world."

III. Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and seconded by *Thomas Brown, Esq.* :—

"That this Society, believing that Monopoly (whether arising from intentional laws, or from accidental circumstances) is one of the main supports of Slavery, and believing also that Slave Labour is more expensive than Free Labour, and that, of all Slave Labour, that is the most costly which is maintained by the importation of Slaves, express their approval of the recently proposed reduction of the duties on Sugar, and other articles of Tropical growth, and their confident conviction that the ultimate result of an unfettered competition between Free and Slave Labour will be the entire Abolition of prædial bondage:—That official documents having fully demonstrated, to a lamentable and alarming extent, the existence of Slavery of various kinds throughout the British Indian Territories, it is the bounden duty of the Abolitionists of the United Kingdom, to adopt immediate measures for its extinction; and this Society pledges itself, in conjunction with kindred Associations, to continue its exertions unabated, until Slavery and the Slave Trade are banished from every part of the British Dependencies."

An Adjournment until To-Morrow Evening, having been proposed and unanimously agreed to, in order to afford Mr Thompson a fuller opportunity of explaining the case of the Raja of Sattara—it was

IV. Moved by the *Rev. George Rose*, and carried by acclamation :—

"That the thanks of the Meeting be given to the Rev. William Anderson, for his conduct in the Chair."

Wm. ANDERSON, *Chairman.*

ADJOURNED MEETING.

THE Adjourned Meeting of this Society was held in the Trades' Hall, on Tuesday Evening, August 3d, 1841.

On the motion of the Rev. James M'Tear, JOHN M'LEOD, Esq., was called to the Chair.

The following Preamble and Resolution regarding the treatment of the RAJA OF SATTARA, by the East India Directors and the British Indian Government, were—

V. Moved by *George Thompson, Esq.*, and seconded by *William Gunn, Jun., Esq.* :—

"Whereas,—The British power in India can be permanently maintained, only by the adoption and steady observance of an honourable, a just, and a conciliatory line of conduct towards the Natives; and—

"Whereas,—It is the solemn duty of the People of this Country, on whose behalf, and by whose delegated authority India is ruled, to watch with vigilance the administration of affairs; to denounce every act of oppression perpetrated in their name; and to interfere with promptitude and energy for the redress of the wrongs of the injured and the helpless; and—

"Whereas,—One of the specific objects of this Society is, to protect the liberties, and advocate the rights of the Natives of the British Dependencies; and—

"Whereas,—A Native Indian Prince (his Highness, the ex-Raja of Sattara) has, by the British Indian authorities, been dethroned, deprived of his property, and driven into exile, without trial, upon charges which, in the late debate at the India House, were shown to be false and unfounded; and—

"Whereas,—The Directors of the East India Company have twice, by means of their own votes in the Court of Proprietors, decided against any re-consideration of the case, and systematically rejected every petition for redress: therefore—

"Resolved,—That this Meeting view with feelings of the strongest indignation, the treatment which the ex-Raja of Sattara has received at

the hands of the East India Company and the Board of Control—treatment contrary to the spirit of British Law—repugnant to the first principles of Justice—calculated inevitably to degrade the national character, and dissolve the ties of native allegiance;—And this Meeting pledge themselves to seek, through the medium of an impartial Parliamentary investigation and subsequent legislation, (and, if necessary, by a direct appeal to the Queen in Council,) the restoration of the ex-Raja to the Throne of Sattara, and the reparation of the wrongs inflicted upon him by the British Indian Government."

An amendment to the above was proposed by the *Rev. P. Brewster*, of Paisley, and seconded:—

"That this Meeting, while they condemn the conduct of the British Indian Government towards the Raja of Sattara, as one of the numerous cases of oppression in that Country, feel themselves constrained, upon the same principle, and by a stronger claim, to express their deep sympathy with the great body of the British people, now suffering under the effects of those most impolitic and iniquitous statutes—the Corn and Provision Laws of Britain—by which many thousands of industrious labourers and artizans have been thrown out of employment, and reduced to starvation, or driven into exile; and when patiently enduring extreme privations in Scotland, refused aid by the administrators of the Poor Law, though that law expressely requires for them adequate relief; and they now pledge themselves to exert their best endeavours to obtain the total repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws, as in a great measure the cause of those privations and sufferings, along with a speedy revision of the Poor Law of Scotland, in reference to its present administration, as failing to afford the relief which humanity and justice alike demand: and, at the same time, to do their utmost to obtain immediate and sufficient relief for their oppressed and destitute Fellow Countrymen."

On a vote being taken, the motion of Mr Thompson was carried by a large majority.

Owing to the lateness of the hour, the following Resolutions were put from the Chair, *seriatim*, and carried unanimously:—

VI. "That this Society, believing that the American Colonization Society is—as they have often previously declared—inimical to the Liberties of the Black and Coloured population of America, and that many of the British people are deceived by the representations of the Agents of that Society, we therefore feel ourselves called upon to re-publish a Letter from the venerable Thomas Clarkson to William Lloyd Garrison, upon that subject, that Letter being, in the opinion of this Meeting, well calculated to undeceive the people on that important subject."

VII. "That the thanks of the Meeting be given to George Thompson, Esq., for his kindness in attending, at great personal inconvenience to him-

self, this Anniversary; and for the highly interesting information which he has, this evening, so eloquently laid before us."

VIII. "That the following gentlemen be the Office-Bearers and Committee of Management for the next year."—(*See* p. 8.)

IX. Moved by *Mr William Smeal*, and carried by acclamation:—

"That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be given to JOHN M'LEOD, Esq., for his conduct in the Chair."

JOHN M'LEOD, *Chairman.*

OFFICE-BEARERS.

President.

ROBERT GRAHAME, Esq., of Whitehill.

Vice-Presidents.

Rev. Dr. KIDSTON, JOHN DENNISTOUN, Esq., M.P., JAMES OSWALD, Esq., M.P., THOMAS GRAHAME, Esq., Rev. Wm. ANDERSON.

JOHN MURRAY, *Corresponding Secretary.*

WILLIAM SMEAL, *Recording Secretary and Treasurer.*

Committee.

Rev. William Auld.
John Eadie.
John Edwards.
John Graham.
Alexander Harvey.
William Lindsay.
J. M. M'Kenzie.
James M'Tear.
Thomas Pullar.
George Rose.
Dr. Willis.

Messrs. Ebenezer Anderson.
John Barr.
William Brodie.
Thomas Brown.
William Brown.
James Bruce.
Peter Bruce.
Walter Buchanan.
Robert Connell.
James Dunn.
William Ferguson.
John Fleming.
John. A. Fullarton.
William Gunn, Jun.
William Lang.

Messrs. Henry Langlands.
William Lochead.
Anthony M'Keand.
John M'Leod.
William M'Leod.
James M'Nair.
Robert Mathie.
John Maxwell, M.D.
Colin M'Dougall.
Hugh Muir.
Andrew Paton.
John Reid.
David Russell.
Robert Sanderson.
James Stewart.
George Thorburn.
James Turner.
John Ure.
Archibald Watson.
George Watson.
James Watson.
Thomas Watson.
William White.
Ronald Wright.
Andrew Young.

Honorary and Corresponding Members.

George Thompson, Esq.
Right Hon. Lord Brougham.
Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P.
Rev. Thomas Roberts, Bristol.
Rev. Patrick Brewster, Paisley.
William Lloyd Garrison, Esq., Boston, New England.
Arthur Tappan, Esq., New York.
James G. Birney, Esq., do.
James Johnston, Esq., Auburn, do.
James M'Cune Smith, M.D., do.
M. George Washington Lafayette, } Paris.
M. Victor de Tracey, }

REPORT.

In recording the transactions of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* during the past year, your Committee regret that they have been able to do but little, directly tending to the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade. They have, however, as in former years, to the extent of their means, laboured to diffuse information, tending to promote the benevolent object for which the Society was established. This has been accomplished by the circulation, amongst the Members and Friends of the Society, of various Publications issued at its own cost, as well as by those of kindred institutions; whilst our Correspondents, in the principal towns of the United Kingdom, have, through the medium of newspaper reports of our transactions, been advised of our continued efforts to promote the cause of Universal Freedom; and our coadjutors in the United States, and other countries, have also been informed of our solicitude to strengthen their hands, and encourage their hearts, in the prosecution of our common object.

The Committee feel it their duty, in the outset of their Report, to notice the lamented decease of their late estimable Treasurer, James Beith, Esq. They record their grateful sense of the services rendered by him to the Society, and feel persuaded that the character of one whose ardent devotion to the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty was so conspicuous, and whose efforts in its behalf were so unremitting and zealous, will not only be long admired by his fellow-citizens, but be esteemed precious by succeeding generations.

To mark the sense your Committee entertain of the warm interest felt in the object of this Society by John Dennistoun, Esq., M.P., and his liberality in contributing to its funds, they have added his name to the list of Vice-Presidents; also the

name of Thomas Grahame, Esq., and that of your present Chairman, the Rev. William Anderson. James Oswald, Esq., M.P., has likewise signified his acceptance of the office of Vice-President. Your Secretary, Mr John Murray, will, in future, conduct the Correspondence department; and your other Secretary has been appointed to keep the Records, and to act as Treasurer.

From dissension amongst Abolitionists abroad, and differences of opinion amongst themselves, your Committee have, during the greater part of last year, been placed in circumstances at once unprecedented and painful. To the origin and present position of these, they would now direct attention.

That a division had occurred in the Abolition ranks in America, was known to but few individuals at the Convention in London, in June, 1840; and even by those who did know of it, its *true* causes were not generally understood. It was hinted, indeed, and assiduously propagated, by those whose purpose it suited, that the division in America had originated in the admission of Females as co-labourers into Anti-Slavery Committees, and to their acting as public pleaders on behalf of their down-trodden sisters; whereas, such things had existed from almost the commencement of the Abolition movement. Division, however, at all hazards, had been determined upon by certain prominent individuals. A separation from sundry staunch Abolitionists *must* be effected, and a reason, of course, be assigned. This action of females, formerly so loudly applauded, now became too unnatural and hideous to be looked upon or thought of. Hence the cry of the "*Woman* question," or "Woman's *Rights*" question, spread in this country with fatal celerity, after the exclusion, by a vote of the London Convention, of some half dozen Female Delegates from the United States. By none was this matter viewed, seemingly, with more alarming apprehensions, as your Committee believe, than by ministers of the various religious denominations, both in this country and in America; and strange as it may seem, even by some Members of the Society of Friends!

Diversity of opinion had also found its way into your Committee, on certain points, arising out of the American divisions. One party declined to move forward where an opportunity offered; the other either could not, or would not, move alone. In consequence of which, but little business available to the cause was transacted. But, in shortly recording the events, and tracing the causes that have led to this unhappy result, it will not now avail to any good end that the parties recriminate

each other. Holding different views on various points, each may, in a spirit of charity, give the other credit at once for honesty of purpose, and purity of motive; although viewing matters in a different light, and on particular points arriving at opposite conclusions, they could not walk together, because they were not agreed—yet your Committee trust that the time and labour bestowed, in investigating the points in dispute, may not have been altogether lost.

It will be recollected, that the last public meeting prior to the Anniversary in August, was that held on the 27th July, 1840, to receive the well-known William L. Garrison, and his co-delegates to the London Convention; while our first meeting *this* year (20th October,) was to receive the Hon. Mr Birney, and his companion, Henry B. Stanton, Esq., who were also delegates to the Convention, and the Secretaries of the *new* Society in America, known by the name of the American and *Foreign* Anti-Slavery Society. These parties, though representing different sections of American Abolitionists, were received by your Society, not only with equal courtesy, but without the smallest reference, on *our* part, to the differences existing between them, which, at that period, had not been so fully developed.

It will also, your Committee presume, be in the recollection of their constituents, that at last Annual Meeting objection was made to a portion of the Report; which, although *intended simply to record a fact* relative to the proceedings of the Convention, and *as it occurred*, without any colouring or partiality, was, nevertheless, regarded by some as assuming a particular side, and committing the Society to particular opinions. The Report was, therefore, by a formal motion, re-committed for revision by the Committee, that the portion designated as objected to might be amended.

On the evening of the 14th September, and immediately prior to the adjourned Anniversary Meeting, a meeting of the Committee was held, at which a Sub-Committee was appointed, for the purpose of amending the obnoxious portion of the Report. The Sub-Committee convened on the 21st October, when, being *unanimous* in regard to the emendation intrusted to them, and deeming the authority delegated to them final, the Report thus amended, was printed and circulated in the usual manner.

On the 11th February last, your Committee held a special meeting to receive Mr John A. Collins, the accredited and esteemed Agent and Representative of the American Anti-

Slavery Society, and the Anti-Slavery Society of Massachusetts—then on a mission to solicit from British Abolitionists pecuniary assistance and sympathy on behalf of these Societies. Mr Collins had, some months previously, arrived in London, and had presented his credentials to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, who stated no objections to them. In a letter, dated 2d January, however, they informed him, "that the course recently pursued by the American Anti-Slavery Society had alienated their confidence." But, to this day, that Committee has never specified to Mr Collins any *particular* course to which they referred; nor yet to your Committee, who have again and again solicited information from them on the subject, without effect. The only attempt at explanation they have condescended to give, appears in a letter of the 16th January to Mr Collins, where they state that "what has been 'alienated' from the American Anti-Slavery Society, is the confidence of the (London) Committee in the salutary influence of that Society on the Anti-Slavery cause, since the division which took place in May last (viz. May, 1840,)—that cause in the United States the (said) Committee now consider as more truly represented by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society."

Had the British and Foreign Committee received Mr Collins with the courtesy to which he was entitled, as the representative of a highly respectable Society—so esteemed by the most distinguished Abolitionists, and, as far as your Committee know, *entitled to be so*—had they, at the same time, intimated to Mr Collins, that they preferred giving their countenance and support to the *new* society which had separated from the old one, probably few would have questioned their preference—nor, however desirous to learn their reasons, had any one a right to insist upon obtaining them, except for *public guidance*, inasmuch as it was a *public cause*. But it is obvious that, by referring to "the course *recently pursued by the American Anti-Slavery Society*," as having alienated their confidence, a charge was thereby implied against that Society, of which Mr Collins was the representative in this country; and, had *he* not insisted upon knowing "the specific charge" thus implied by the London Committee, he would have been unworthy of the place he held. Not only could Mr Collins receive no satisfactory explanation from that Committee on this point, but it appears, from page 56 of his "Right and Wrong" among the Abolitionists of the United States, that, *before his correspondence with them had closed*, they had sent all over the Kingdom their

letter to him of the 2d January, accompanied (on their own confession, in some individual instances) by copies of the dastardly and slanderous insinuations of the Rev. Nathaniel Colver; thus tending to destroy all confidence in the American Anti-Slavery Society, to injure the reputation of Mr Collins as its agent, as well as to undermine the character and Anti-Slavery influence of Mr William Lloyd Garrison.

It was under the influence of such baneful circumstances as these, that Mr Collins arrived in Glasgow. His reception by your Committee collectively, or in their individual capacity, was, as might have been expected, much affected by them; and probably, also, by intercourse directly, or by correspondence, with members of the London Committee; some of whom, as already noticed, had taken up the very unenviable position of detractors from the character of a Society of *long* standing in the United States, and which the First Annual Report of the British and Foreign Committee described as one "whose gigantic efforts to purge their institutions from the stain, and their people from the guilt of Slavery, they would have felt delighted to have referred to particularly." But, instead of using their endeavours to heal the divisions between the Abolitionists, to whose labours they thus refer, and endeavouring to persuade the separatists to abide by the excellent constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society—*under which they had done so much good*—they hasten to embrace the *seceding* party, thus rather widening the breach; and the attachment of the London Committee being pre-engaged, individuals evinced themselves but too ready to receive and circulate reports to the disadvantage of the old institution.

Enough of the feeling created by the doings of these individuals had reached Glasgow, to show that your Committee could not avoid being involved in circumstances of the most painful and perplexing character. They would only refer for particulars to the Correspondence which has been published, by which it will be seen, not only to what an extent the alarm respecting the "Woman Question," as it is called, had seized the minds of members of Committee, but also the transactions arising out of that alarm. The proceedings relating to the reception of Mr Collins by your Committee, have, in like manner, been detailed; with the subsequent resolution adopted, that no preference should, owing to the divisions in America, be evinced by the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, for one more than for the other of the two leading Anti-Slavery Societies in that country; publicity has also been given to the resolutions adopted

at meetings called by Members and Friends of the Society, when additional members were voted into the Committee. The meeting of MEMBERS held in the Trades' Hall, on the 31st May, to decide upon the propriety of such addition, as is well known, by a majority overturned it; though the same meeting, by a subsequent resolution, admitted the Gentlemen to the place formerly assigned them; in which capacity they have accordingly acted up to the present time. With the foregoing brief reference to these matters, your Committee would close this section of their Report.

The Committee feel it due to themselves, however, as well as to their constituents and the public, on commencing another year, to state their sentiments, explicitly and fearlessly, on the "Woman Question." In the first place, then, the *broad* question of the "Rights of Woman" *never was before the London Convention;* and, consequently, there could be no "decision of the Convention, on that head," for the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* either to "accord with," or be opposed to. The only question at all akin to it, and which even some sensible persons have most unduly magnified—was the simple proposition, whether five or six females should not be admitted as delegates to take their seats in that body. In proof of the correctness of this position, they quote the following resolution and amendment on the subject, as they appear in the authorized record of the proceedings, viz.:—

Moved by Wendell Phillips, Esq., of Boston, and seconded by Professor Adam (late of Harvard University),—

"That a Committee of five be appointed to prepare a correct list of the Members of this Convention, with instructions to include in such list all persons bearing credentials from any Anti-Slavery body."

The following amendment was moved by Mr George Stacey, one of the Society of Friends, and seconded by the Rev. Mr Galusha of New York:—

"That this Convention, upon a question arising as to the admission of Females, appointed as Delegates from America, to take their seats in this body, resolve to decide this question in the negative."

After a long debate, in which the speakers expressed themselves according to the various views they held, the amendment was carried by a large majority. Still, the resolution passed by the Convention did not, it is evident, involve the question of Woman's Rights. Again, there is not, so far as your Committee know, any Anti-Slavery Society, or "section of American Abolitionists," associated as an Anti-Slavery Society,

"who support what is called the Woman Question." The two leading Societies in America, the *Original* American Anti-Slavery Society, and the American and *Foreign* Anti-Slavery Society, both approve of and commend the action of females in the cause of the Slave—with this distinction, that while the *new* Society has its female auxiliaries, they are not permitted now as formerly, to act in concert with them on Committees, nor publicly to plead the cause of bleeding humanity; and at anniversaries or conventions must be represented by male delegates. The old Society, on the other hand, not only has its female auxiliaries, but it permits the sending of females, as delegates, to annual or other meetings of Anti-Slavery Societies; and, if these females conscientiously believe it their duty to speak in behalf of the Slave, *it does not forbid them;* and this is in perfect accordance with the *original* constitution of the American Society, under which the leading men of the new Association acted for years, as Committee-men.

But farther, individuals in Anti-Slavery Societies in America, as here, are permitted to hold any peculiarity of view, and any shade of opinion, either on the Woman Question or any other question, whether of politics or religion; and long may it be before Abolitionists there or here are required to be of one creed in religion, or of one opinion on the Woman Question, the temperance question, or upon any other question whatever. The object of Anti-Slavery Societies is simply the Abolition of the Slavery of the human species; and, so long as the members of these Societies do not force their own private opinions upon the adoption of their brethren, *they may individually hold, as well as advocate, in their separate and independent capacities the sentiments they respectively entertain.* Holding these views, your Committee trust, that, both as regards their own Society, and kindred institutions, the Woman Question, *or any other extraneous topic,* will never more be mooted to mar the harmony, or retard the operations of those who, differing in other respects, unitedly desire the elevation of the Slave to the same rights and privileges with themselves. *The* GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY *has hitherto professed to hold these Catholic views; and it is for those now assembled at its anniversary to say, whether its constitution, based on such principles, shall continue as it is, or shall be altered or amended.* Your Committee regret to inform the members and friends of the Society, that several of their esteemed Office-bearers and members of Committee have resigned their offices; but they fondly trust, seeing that *the Society and its object are still the*

same, they will have the pleasure, ere long, once more to number their late coadjutors among them.

Your Committee have lately had their attention turned to the Free Trade question of the Sugar duties; and they hope to introduce, at this time, a resolution on that subject, which will meet the unanimous approval of the Society.

The consideration of holding an Anti-Slavery Convention in 1842, was remitted to your Committee by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society at a recent period, but it has since been determined to defer the matter until the views of the Anti-Slavery Societies in America are ascertained, as that country is the most deeply interested in the subject.

The question of Slavery in British India, has also claimed the attention of your Committee; and one of your Secretaries, during the recent election canvass, pledged the Members of the City, James Oswald and John Dennistoun, Esqs., that, in the event of a Bill being introduced into Parliament for its entire extinction, they would give it their warmest support, to which they most readily and cordially assented. Slavery in our Eastern possessions is now claiming more generally the attention of the Anti-Slavery public, and your Committee earnestly desire that, before a very long time, its abolition may be decreed.

As connected with this interesting department of the Society's object, your Committee are happy to report, that their respected and zealous coadjutor in the Abolition cause, Mr George Thompson, has, during the last year, been engaged in England in eloquently pleading on behalf of the object of the British India Society. We have also the satisfaction to state, that, in order more effectually to promote the improvement of the condition of our oppressed fellow-subjects, the natives of British India, Mr Thompson has obtained a qualification to appear in the Court of East India Proprietors, and has, within the last few days, been arduously engaged in advocating in that Court, the case of an Eastern Prince, grievously wronged by these Directors and the British Government. The debate, it is believed, is unparalleled in the annals of that Court; it occupied five days, on the second of which, Mr Thompson made a most effective speech, the delivery of which occupied nearly three hours.

Your Committee rejoice, that the Negroes captured in the Amistad, and for nearly two years detained as captives in an American prison, while legal proceedings of a very intricate character were in progress, have been released, and are now in

the enjoyment of unrestricted freedom. During their confinement, they had great attention paid to their comfort by the American Abolitionists, and had the benefit of such education as could be communicated in that time, and under their circumstances, in which, notwithstanding, they have made astonishing progress. Their case was advocated, much to his honour, by the celebrated American senator, and formerly President of the United States, John Quincy Adams.

Appearances, in all quarters, indicate the rapid progress of the cause of human liberty. Public sentiment in France, and other continental nations, has made a most surprising advance. The triumphant success, in particular, of the experiment of Emancipation in the British Colonies, is making other Slaveholding States seriously to consider, whether Freedom will not, after all, be better, more politic, and more profitable than Slavery; we find indications of sentiments like these, even in that stronghold of oppression, the United States of America.

Your Committee, therefore, feel encouraged to persevere in the cause they have undertaken to promote. That cause, they believe, is a good one—it is the cause of God. Let us not injure it by our own contentions; but let us walk firmly and *unitedly* together, to abolish Slavery by every constitutional and Christian means in our power—freely allowing to all who co-operate with us, *that* liberty of opinion, on *other subjects*, which we claim for ourselves.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE ABOLITION OF BRITISH COLONIAL SLAVERY.

(*Reprinted, with a few corrections, from the* Glasgow Argus.)

The Annual Meeting of the Members and Friends of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, was held in the Trades' Hall, on Monday evening, the 2d August, being the Anniversary of the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies. The attendance was respectable, but not so numerous as at some previous meetings of the Society. The admission was by tickets. The platform was occupied by the Rev. William Anderson, Rev. J. M'Tear, and Rev. G. Rose, George Thompson, Esq., Rev. J. Kennedy, and P. Brewster, of Paisley, Messrs. M'Leod, Lang, Murray, Turner of Thrushgrove, Gunn, Paton, Smeal, Wright, Ferguson, Ure of Croy, W. M'Leod, Dr. Watson, M'Nair, Mathie, Brown, T. Watson, Muir, Reid, Dunn, Barr, Lochead, &c. On the motion of Mr John Murray, the Chair was taken by the Rev. William Anderson, of John Street Relief Church.

The Chairman said he thanked the meeting for the honour thus conferred upon him; and, though he felt somewhat grieved that the Chair was not that evening supported by many old and esteemed friends, he would redeem the pledge he formerly gave, that he would stand by the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* till he saw a better. (Cheers.)

Mr Smeal then read a letter of apology for absence from John Dennistoun, Esq., M.P., who stated that, had he been at this time in Scotland, he would have felt much pleasure in presiding on the occasion of their meeting. A letter of excuse was also read from the Rev. Mr Harvey, of Calton, who was necessarily absent in consequence of having been called out of town.

The Chairman then shortly addressed the meeting. He said, there is so much business before us, that my opening remarks shall be few and short. Let us keep in view that this is not merely an Anniversary Meeting of the Society to carry forward its business, but an Anniversary commemoration of a great victory which we achieved—the Emancipation of the Negroes in our West India Colonies. Let us cherish the remembrance of that triumph, not only that we may be animated in perseverance to go forward in the work which still lies before us, but that we may occupy carefully our position as guardians of that conquest which we have already made. (Cheers.) Our West India Negroes are properly our wards, and our honour is deeply concerned in their defence and prosperity. They are

worthy of all our care. How nobly these men have vindicated us from the charge of having over estimated their fitness for liberty! (Cheers.) If the Planters themselves had behaved as morally as the Emancipated Negroes, what happy islands our West India Colonies would have been at this day! While these wards are thus worthy of all our care and defence, they have need of it. They have need of our defence, not only against their masters at home, but they have need of our defence still against our own Government. (Hear.) We know with what watchfulness it has been necessary that we should keep our eye even on the proceedings of Lord John Russell in respect to our colonies; and it cannot surely be regarded as invidious, when I say we shall have to keep at least as watchful an eye on Sir Robert Peel. (Cheers.) Let us then cherish the remembrance of our victories, that, in the consideration of it, we may be resolved and determined that no man, be he who he may, shall rob us of those laurels we have earned. (Loud cheers.) But not only ought we to cherish the remembrance of our victory, in order to preserve the triumphs we have gained, we ought to remember it that we may be cherished to proceed forward to other conquests. (Hear, hear.) How much work we have still before us! There can scarcely be an individual present who does not know that it is a most vain and false boast to say that there are no Slaves to be found within the British dominions. (Hear, hear.) You are aware that I refer to the Slavery which prevails so extensively in our East Indian possessions. The crown of Victoria is still dimmed by her being a Queen of Slaves. (Cheers.) What think ye, friends? I am sometimes accused of speaking jokingly, and speaking paradoxically. On the present occasion I speak the sober truth; we have present among us a proprietor of Slaves—who has to tell us to-night of the iniquity of himself and his brethren as holders of Slaves. (Laughter.) We have heard his voice before stirring us up by his eloquence to defend and to care for the property of others; but he will be calling upon us this night to look mercifully to the property of himself. (Cheers and laughter.) And then there is America. What have we to do with America? say many. Our reply is, that the Abolition of Slavery in America is in some respects our cause more than it is the cause of any other party. It was our Missionary who properly commenced the agitation, and our honour is concerned in the triumph of that agitation. How gloriously that work of agitation goes forward there! It is true our friends have quarrelled, and quarrelled bitterly; but it is an evil out of which good is coming. They are contending with one another who shall do most to show that he is acting on behalf of the Slave. (Cheers.) We were nearly distracted by the importation of the quarrel among us; but we are at last agreed that we should give our particular countenance to neither party; *and we are here this evening to take part with both, and to encourage the heart of every man, of whatever class, in America, who is doing his duty faithfully to the Slave.* (Cheers.)

Mr Smeal then read the Annual Report, and a statement of the income and expenditure of the Society.

The Rev. James M'Tear said—I rise not to make a speech in commendation of the Report you have just heard—it is a Report that needs no recommendation from me. Unhappily, it contains some things that must be regarded as matter of regret and of pain to the friends of freedom; yet it contains, on the other hand, so many things calculated to encourage us to go forward in the good cause, that I have no hesitation in proposing that the Report be adopted, printed, and circulated, under the sanction of the Committee.

Councillor Turner seconded the motion.

Mr George Thompson came forward amid loud cheers. He said—I know not that, at any subsequent part of this evening, I could choose a better opportunity for making one or two observations than at this moment. I rise without prompting and without persuasion—I rise spontaneously, and in obedience to my conscience alone, to speak in the sincerity of my heart that which I believe to be dictated, and sternly demanded, by honour, by friendship, by truth, and by justice. Sir, there have been no circumstances in my short life that have been to me the sources of more pain than the circumstances connected with the late unhappy divisions among the Abolitionists of the United States of America. (Hear.) And certainly no one circumstance connected with that unfortunate affair has given me pain in any degree approaching that which I experience, in the contemplation of the present state of the society with which it has been the chief honour of my life to be associated—the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*. (Hear.) Never did I rise in this city under feelings so embarassing or overpowering as at this instant. The place in which we meet—the number of this audience—the aspect of this platform—the absence of those whom I venerate, and not I alone, but whom we all venerate—these things so afflict me, that I could almost wish myself any where than where I am, though, in past times, I have never desired to be any where more than in the city of Glasgow. (Cheers.) I place little value on my own opinion—I desire you to attach no value to my opinion, save that which it merits as the opinion of an individual who has never been bought, or bribed, or menaced into the expression of any opinion which was not sanctioned by his judgment, and felt in his heart. (Cheers.) It has been—I will not say my misfortune—but my painful duty often to differ from my nearest and dearest friends; often have I been called upon in critical moments to denounce, even in the severest terms, the policy of those whom I most respected, and who, if duty would have allowed, I would gladly have followed, and acknowledged in every respect as my superiors. (Cheers.) Nor would I, to find favour, utter one word which truth did not warrant, or to maintain, in the place which he occupied, the nearest or dearest friend I have in this, or in any other part of the world. (Cheers.) I say this to strengthen, if it be possible, the testimony I am about to bear—a testimony such as I trust I shall be able to reflect upon with satisfaction hereafter, careless whether it be a testimony which others are disposed to corroborate, if my own conscience, in the sight of God, tells me it is true. (Cheers.) *I say, then, that the deep conviction of my soul is, that that section of the Abolitionists in the United States which has been repudiated by many of the Abolitionists in this country, and respecting whom, it seems, a vote of want of confidence has been passed in London, is that section of the Abolitionists which deserves pre-eminently the countenance, the confidence, the love, and the earnest support of every lover of human liberty in every part of the world.* (Great cheering.) And upon what do I ground this opinion? Charge me not with presumption when I say that I have a knowledge of the men and women in the United States who have been thus repudiated, longer in its duration, and more intimate in its character, than that possessed by any other man in this country. (Hear.) The first time I heard of William Lloyd Garrison, who stands at the head of this party, and deservedly so, was from the lips of one who left on my mind the impression that he was a bad man. He was represented to me as a convicted libeller, as the tenant of a dungeon, as a companion of felons, as a man reckless of the safety of others, and seeking to disturb the peace, and to destroy the institutions of his country. This description of Mr Garrison was given me by one to whose voice I

have listened in this room, Mr Elliot Cresson, the accredited agent of the American Colonisation Society. He it was who first uttered in my ears the name of William Lloyd Garrison as associated with the epithets I have repeated. Thereafter, I became acquainted with the real character of the man. First, through my friend, Captain Charles Stuart, who had visited America, and was then in London, and who had in his possession all the documents revealing the cause of the imprisonment of Mr Garrison, as well as illustrative of his early history, and the share he had taken in the Emancipation cause. What, then, became of the charges which had been made against my friend? He was "a convicted libeller," because he had denounced an individual of his own State, who, while sustaining a reputation for respectability, had nevertheless embarked his capital in the Slave Trade, and was then carrying on a traffic in human flesh between his own shores and those of Africa. (Hear, hear.) He was the "tenant of a dungeon," because, by the verdict of a pro-Slavery jury, and the sentence of a Slave-holding judge, he was ordained to pay a fine of 1000 dollars, or to be immured in prison on non-payment of the sum; the companion of felons he was—and many men, even holier and better than Mr Garrison, have been the companion of felons, who are now the companions of angels and the spirits of the just, and have been the admired, and cherished, and sanctified of all generations since they quitted their dungeons. (Great cheering.) My opinion of Mr Garrison, therefore, was changed; and soon after, I had the privilege of embracing him in the city of London; and from that period, the early part of 1833, down to this moment, I have been honoured with his friendship, and, I think I may say, with his unlimited confidence. From 1833 I have been intimately acquainted with the working of the Anti-Slavery cause in America. In 1834 I was sent out from this country to America, for the purpose of prosecuting an Anti-Slavery Mission, and during the time I was there I obtained a knowledge of almost every person with whose names you are familiar; and let me say, too, that my acquaintance in the United States was not confined to that party which has recently been cast off by a portion of the Anti-Slavery public in this country. It extended to all the prominent individuals who have felt themselves called upon to separate from Mr Garrison and his adherents. All of them, for I will make no exception, were men of respectability and worth. (Hear.) I shall not, on this occasion, judge the motives which have influenced the seceders—nor will I undertake to condemn their conduct—I step forward to bear my humble but honest testimony to the unsullied integrity and unfaltering perseverance of those whom I regard as the injured and the misrepresented party, the party that has been made to suffer, I will not say by what means, in the estimation of many, who once admired and loved them, in this country, and of some, I lament to say, in this city. (Hear.) With regard to the vexed question of Woman's Rights, which I find uppermost in the minds of many dear friends, it has been represented that the division in the United States has grown chiefly out of agitation on the Anti-Slavery platform, on the part of Mr Garrison and his friends, on the question of the abstract rights of women. Now, I undertake, unequivocally and solemnly, with my mind upon the history of this whole matter, to deny the accuracy of that representation, and I am prepared to demonstrate the justice of that denial. (Cheers.) When I was in the United States, I became intimately acquainted with that distinguished authoress, Mrs Child, and had the privilege of conversing with her at her own fireside in Boston; and not having the fear of ecclesiastical authority before my eyes, I ventured to say to her, "Why remain at home? I have

come on a mission to your country; I have thrown myself into the breach with the generous spirits who are storming the stronghold of oppression in your land—go you to Europe—rouse the females of Britain—meet the Anti-Slavery Societies—address them with your voice—address them by your pen—call upon them to sustain me, and to sustain all who, in the dark day of danger and of conflict, are endeavouring to pioneer into birth the day-star of liberty in America." (Cheers.) She nobly said, "Let the means be found to send me, and I go." I am, as you know, generally prompt in my movements. I got on board a steam-boat, and went to New York—the Anti-Slavery Committee was summoned—Arthur Tappan, the excellent President, in the Chair, with Lewis Tappan at his right, and the other friends of the movement around him. I said, "I had got the consent of Mrs Child to go to England—she has made her Appeal in an admirable volume here in behalf of that class of Americans, called Africans—send the writer of that Appeal to our country, and let her appear there as the champion of freedom in your country." (Cheering.) "But what is to become of her husband?" they said. (Laughter.) He is willing to go too, was my reply; and, in less than an hour, through the munificence of Arthur Tappan, and the generous devisings of his colleagues, a fund was guaranteed sufficient to meet the charges of Mr and Mrs Child's transit to this country, and their maintenance in respectability and comfort when here. (Cheers.) Circumstances, however, prevented the accomplishment of the intended mission. Was there any talk of Woman's Rights then? (Hear.) Did I go to New York as an advocate of Woman's Rights! Did I undertake the journey from Britain to plead the cause of petticoat supremacy. (Laughter.) It never entered my mind, nor did I see aught of impropriety in the action? At that time there was no alarm felt at the proposition to send a female delegate to England, although, the other day, when four or five excellent females came over the water, the alarm was so great, that they were not only voted out of the Convention, but placed in the side gallery at Exeter Hall, though, strange to say, English ladies, several of them utter strangers to labour, still more to danger in the Anti-Slavery cause, were accommodated with seats on the right and left of the Chair, and I heard not a whisper from any one that they were out of their appropriate sphere. (Cheers.) Take another instance, equally illustrative of the joy with which female co-operation was at first welcomed. Those extraordinary females, the Misses Grimke, had their minds enlightened on the subject of Slavery, and were led to lay aside all their aristocratical pretensions, to forsake all the pleasures of the society in which they had been accustomed to move, and the comforts and indulgences of life, for the cause of truth and freedom, and finally came forth as the bold but modest advocates of human rights. Was there any alarm created then? Nothing of the kind. These precious women came down to Philadelphia, and they laboured zealously and unostentatiously in the cause of human freedom there. They were comforted and encouraged by the very same men who are now condemning the conduct of Mr Garrison and his female fellow-labourers. It was not Garrison who called upon the Quaker sisters to make their appeals in public; but they were sent for from Philadelphia to New York by those who have recently formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—Arthur Tappan being Chairman, and Elizur Wright, the Recording Secretary—and were offered a commission, signed and sealed, authorizing them to go forth, and without let or hindrance, without limit or restriction in public and in private, in season and out of season, to advocate the claims of the Slave. (Great cheering.) They declined such a commission, choosing rather to act upon their own

responsibility, and to follow the suggestions of their minds, illumined by Divine influence. They went to Boston, and over a considerable portion of New England; and by degrees they were forced out into public. They were attacked by the Boston press, and from the Pro-Slavery pulpits, but they nevertheless laboured, night after night, addressing men and women, ministers and senators, lawyers and physicians, in fact every description of people that came in their way. (Cheering.) And who were the defenders of these women from the attacks made upon them? (Cheering.) Those who have now separated from Mr Garrison and his coadjutors, on the Woman's Rights question. (Applause.) Yes; and whenever I am called upon to give more than my own testimony in favour of the wisdom and utility of female exertions, I will go to the *New York Emancipator*, and take from its glowing and argumentative columns, written by the very chief among the seceders, the most eloquent, powerful, and irresistible paragraphs in favour of the interference of women in this question. (Cheering.) Let me emphatically say I am giving no opinion of my own on the abstract question of Woman's Rights. The merits of the present question require no such declaration. I am simply giving an unvarnished account of the progress of this unhappy dispute. I come to an important view of this matter. Sirs, "the head and front of the offending" of the Boston Society, the old Massachusetts Society, as it properly is, and of all the Societies that support Mr Garrison, "hath this extent, *no more*," that *they have remained firm and fast by the original Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society*. The division took place on the interpretation of that Constitution, and, avowedly at least, on that alone. Two years before the last anniversary, the question came up as to the scope and bearing of that Constitution, which was *the primitive instrument which bound together in harmony, co-operation, and fellowship, all the Societies of America*. That constitution had a clause providing that *all persons* subscribing to the principles set forth, and contributing to the funds of the Society, should be members, and entitled to all the privileges of membership.* An attempt was made to limit the application of the

* There is a most remarkable similarity in the constitutions of the Societies in America and in this country, as regards Membership. Take first, that of the Pioneer Society in the United States, viz.:—

First. THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Article III. "*Any person*, by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer Fifteen Dollars as a Life Subscription, One Dollar annually, shall be considered a Member of the Society, and entitled to a copy of all its official publications."

Second. GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

Article V. "That this Society shall consist of *all friendly to its Object*, who shall contribute to its Funds, Five Shillings, or more, yearly."*

Third. AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Article IV. "*Any person* who consents to the principles of this Constitution, who contributes to the Funds of this Society, and is not a Slave-holder, may be a Member of this Society, and shall be entitled to vote at its Meetings."

Fourth. BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Article V. "That every *person* who subscribes not less than Ten Shillings annually, or makes a donation of Five Pounds or upwards, shall be a Member of this Society."

* Though not here expressed, the *practice* has all along been to give each Member a copy of every publication of the Glasgow Society.

word "persons." In numberless instances it had been interpreted to include persons of the other sex; some of whom had laboured more publicly, others more privately, just according to their inclinations and views of duty. They really thought themselves persons—(laughter)—they subscribed the constitution, and contributed to the funds of the Society, and, as *persons*, they came in and laboured in the common cause. But now the time had come, when individuals, for certain reasons, wished to exclude women from the right of acting according to their own convictions of duty, and, therefore, they desired the word "persons" should be read "men," or that a rider should be appended, containing some explanatory clause that would have the same effect. Now, *who was it* that thus introduced the question of Woman's Rights into the Anti-Slavery ranks? *Was it Garrison.* NO. I say solemnly, and with a perfect knowledge of the whole of the transactions in this case, that *Garrison and his coadjutors have never introduced the question of Woman's Rights.* They have left it alone—they did *not* introduce it for purposes of *admission*, but they *resisted* its introduction for purposes of *exclusion.* The gist of the whole matter lies here,—the party accused were for leaving the platform, as it was originally erected, when you might have put all the Abolitionists of America on such a platform as that on which I now stand, and some of them were women. (Cheers.) Were they for voting them out then? No. They knew they had intellects; they saw in their forms that ethereal essence which went out over the wide field of humanity, without regard to sex, colour, creed or clime; they saw they had hearts, and that those hearts were beating strong with pity for the slave; and they did not stop to ask were they enveloped in waistcoats, or in corsets? (Cheers and laughter.) They had, however, inspired hearts, and they said, let them come in; they did not count how many *men* have we, but how many true hearts have we. (Great cheering.) Would to heaven it were so in this room,—in this city,—in this kingdom,—all over the world this day! I believe the hour is coming when those distinctions that have been set up in America and here, shall be blended so that it will not be asked what is the sex of a human being, but what are the principles, the aims, and the objects of the individual—(cheers)—and whether the being, man or woman, is fitted with faculties to promote the glory of God, and the best interests of immortal souls? (Great cheering.) I say again, Mr Garrison and his coadjutors *have never brought forward the Woman Question.* (Hear.) Women made their appearance, guarded and guaranteed by the Constitution, and when they came in they were left to be guided by their own feelings of discretion. And let me observe here—though I know not of one solitary act of indiscretion or impropriety on the part of any female Abolitionist—that had they, in later days, been guilty of any such, it had not been surprising; for when you goad people by proscription, by exclusion, and by depriving them of their rights, you are just taking the very means to lead them to acts of indiscretion. (Hear.) But how did our friends in America come to change their views? Here I shall give an honest opinion, however much it may offend some who live on the other side of the water. When the Abolitionists were few in number, despised, poor, and everywhere spoken against, they kept together like sheep in the storm, or at midnight, when the howling of the wolf is heard. The cause went on—the number of Abolitionists became greater and greater. Now the Rev. so and so joined the Society, after a great many ifs and buts—and then a Rev. Dr. so and so joined also, after a great many more—and some of these did not like the forwardness of the women. (Laughter.) We seldom like those that outstrip us in zeal. You will find

through life that for every hundred epithets of contumely—for every hundred imputations of improper motives cast upon one who gives himself on principle to the promotion of a good cause—you will not find the fragment of one flung at a man, if he only keeps snugly in the back ground, and follows obediently in the wake of his would-be superiors. Besides those who joined the Anti-Slavery Society, there were many outside, who said we cannot come in unless you put the women down. The clergy raised a most astounding hue and cry against the labours of the Misses Grimke; and then out came the celebrated manifesto called the "Clerical Appeal." A number of ministers met, and banded together for the purpose of destroying the influence of these women. Now, I do not hesitate to say, that our friends in America (of the *New* Society) have missed their way in their efforts to win over such men. They had at last to choose between the maintenance of the original constitution, and the sanctioning (tacitly at least,) of the action of female members, as their conviction of duty might prompt them to labour in the cause of Emancipation, or they were required to violate their charter, and exclude the women, and receive as a compensation the proffered aid and patronage of a half converted party. They chose the latter alternative, and they attempted a modification of the constitution, which would have the effect of getting rid of the odium which attached to the exertions of females. Those who were for the exclusion of women were outvoted at the Annual Meeting two years ago; at the following meeting they were also outvoted; and they resolved to separate. They did separate, and the separatists have since called themselves by the name of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. I have now touched upon this question, as far as refers to one at least of its most important historical features. There are many other circumstances to which I might advert, and I will here declare that there is not one connected with the whole matter that would not, I believe, admit of an explanation as exonerating to the conduct, and, as far as we can know them, the motives, too, of the parties I would humbly vindicate. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I must be permitted, with all the emphasis I can command, and all the warmth it is possible to feel, to express my own strong and unmingled dissatisfaction with the attempts that have been made on both sides of the Atlantic ocean, to undermine and destroy the character of the late delegate to this country, Mr J. A. Collins. (Cheers.) I have received letters upon letters from persons in the United States, whose sense of honour and regard to truth, whose worth and respectability, in fact, whose every attribute commands my respect and confidence, and all these letters have spoken in terms of the most entire approbation of Mr Collins, as a devoted, incorruptible, and talented advocate of the Emancipation cause in America. (Great cheering.) He was, from the first, so recommended to me,—he brought as many letters of introduction as I could grasp, all speaking of him in the highest terms—and I will undertake to say that, together, they formed a volume of commendation to the hearts of the people of this country never excelled, and seldom equalled by any borne by any man that ever crossed the Atlantic to sit at your firesides and share your hospitality. I did not hesitate then to take him to mine, and others did the same. To have done less would have been to insult his friends; but he had scarcely time to look about him when over his devoted head gathered the black clouds of calumny. Charge upon charge was sent over the water against him, but not a fragment of evidence came with those charges to give them support. Friends of the cause wrote to the United States, and had answers, but no evidence substantiating those charges—evidence of nothing but of the groundlessness of the unkind accusations which had been fabricated to injure a

worthy man in the estimation of our countrymen. (Hear.) I am justified in saying that Mr Collins is, at this moment, pure in reputation, whatever may be his opinions, and may take his stand, with proud advantage, by the side of any man, whatever be his station in society, however sacred the office which he fills, who has stood forth as his accuser or calumniator. (Cheering.) And here (continued Mr Thompson), I must, for once, turn accuser myself, and prefer a heavy charge against those who have been the instruments in this country of giving secret circulation to these charges. I accuse such persons, whoever they may be, of a cruel violation of Christian charity, as well as of an infraction of all the rules of fair and honourable warfare. When such charges came, destitute of proof, and without the opportunity of the party implicated being heard in explanation or defence, they should have inclosed them, and sent them back with letters of Christian admonition to their fabricators. Should any such come to me, concerning any Anti-Slavery rival or opponent of Mr Collins, I trust I shall commit them to the lambent flame to be consumed to ashes, or to the innermost department of my desk, to lie and rot, rather than use them to the hurt of an innocent and defenceless brother. (Cheers.) It is within the compass of my own knowledge, that stab upon stab was inflicted in the dark upon the reputation of that gentleman, without warning and without affording him the smallest possible means of self-defence. These charges and inuendoes were, on reaching this country, transferred by accomplished copyists to sheets of foolscap paper, and inclosed in diplomatic envelopes, were sent to every part of the kingdom. They were again and again placed in my hands—none, let me tell you, ever came to me—(hear, hear) —by persons who knew not Mr Collins, and could only be alarmed and filled with suspicion by such dark intimations. Yes, everywhere I saw, or heard of, these sheets of foolscap, the post-paid calumnies, sent forth to close the ears, the hearts, and the purses of the uninformed, ere the innocent victim drew near. (Cries of "shame, shame.") Was such Christian treatment to a stranger on our shores, and an accredited agent in the cause of humanity? (Cheers.) Sir, those who circulated these charges must yet answer for them at the bar of the British people. (Cheers.) And the day will come when they must do so; they have, in an unchristian manner, from beginning to end, attempted to injure a man, not because they cherished a personal hostility to him, but from a strong desire to injure, in the estimation of the Abolitionists of this country, the party represented by him. (Hear.) Could they blacken the representative, they knew they would throw discredit upon those he represented. I know of nothing connected with the conduct of the party which has been repudiated that can furnish a parallel to the treatment of Mr Collins.

> "Good name in man and woman, dear, my Lord,
> Is the immediate jewel of their souls;
> Who steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something—nothing;
> 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
> But he that filches from me my good name,
> Robs me of that which not enriches him,
> But makes me poor indeed!"

So was it with my friend Mr Collins. He was left poor in every thing but conscious integrity, weak in every thing but the justice of his cause, a cause that will ultimately make him omnipotent. (Cheers.) You may naturally ask is there not really something in all this? How is it that so many good men in this country have taken part against these gentlemen? I will not attempt to answer this minutely; there is an old adage—Give a dog a bad name and you may hang him; if you don't, somebody else will.

(Laughter.) The other day I could not name Mr Garrison but the roof of the building reverberated with acclamations, and I was honoured and caressed because I was the friend of Garrison—he reflected upon me something of that lustre which, though dimmed for a day, shall yet shine brighter than before. (Cheers.) Now, "who so poor to do him reverence?" What has he done? Are his principles the same? Quite. Is the constitution of the American Society what it was? It is. Are the labours of Mr Garrison as constant, zealous, self-denying, and incorruptible as they were? Ay—every day reveals more and more how hard it is, how impossible it is, to make him swerve. (Cheering.) But then he has opinions that are not our opinions. (A laugh.) He has many strange and ultra views. What! is it come to this, that we, who are battling for personal freedom, shall put fetters on the immortal mind, and clip the thoughts of men like the wings of a jack-daw, that has not the liberty to go beyond the wall of the garden within which we have confined it. (Cheers.) Grant that Garrison differs from you and from me—I identify myself (on the Anti-Slavery platform) with no views of his but those that are Anti-Slavery views. (Loud cheers.) I worked with him in America, and he held many of those views then; but did that prevent us from working? No. When our work was done, we then talked together of these views. Did this mar our harmony? No. I have been in New York—and on the same platform have sat with one kind of a Quaker, calling himself orthodox, another denominated a Hicksite, with Presbyterians, and all other religious persuasions—here one black, and here another white, men of all creeds and colours, and in that crisis of the great cause it was the glory of the Abolition enterprise, it was the great distinguishing principle of the movement—that which told us our cause was founded in nature, and could lay hold of all hearts—that it was able to bring and to bind us together as one man, and, without the slightest compromise of individual opinions on other subjects, to knit our hearts in love. (Great cheering.) Oh! how often have I heard, from the lips of those men now writing down Garrison, the most eloquent eulogiums on this principle, and I have tried sometimes to imitate their strains;—it was indeed the grace and beauty of the movement in that country. (Cheers.) I ask again, what have the opinions of a man to do with the Anti-Slavery cause? I am not aware that I lost any of mine in America. I brought nothing extravagant or fanciful away from America. Has any one ever discovered in me a desire, up to the moment I introduced Mr Garrison to the Glasgow public, to bring forward the woman question? (Hear.) Mr Garrison came to this country. He found those who came with him shut out from the Convention, and he refused to be a member of it—*I honour him for that.* (Cheers.) I know, however, if he had gone in, his calm imperturbability, the force of his reasoning, the purity of his sentiments, the solemnity of his appeals, would have done good. In no meeting in America did Mr Garrison ever offer a word to cause division—he ever deprecated it. He has said, let us have a convention for temperance, and when that is over, let us away to the Abolitionist meeting. (Hear.) Now, take a remarkable proof of this in our own country. In the Convention there was a debate about the female delegates; afterwards I came with Mr Garrison to Scotland, and every where on the road, in the drawing-room, as on the platform, every body who saw, admired and loved Garrison, till he was gone. (Hear.) We came to Edinburgh—nothing could exceed the harmony there—we came to Glasgow, nothing could surpass the enthusiasm with which Mr Garrison was welcomed here. It was also my privilege to be associated with Messrs. Birney and Stanton,

two excellent individuals. The same scenes were witnessed. None of the peculiar theological views of Messrs. Birney and Stanton were brought forward; and thus was a living proof afforded of the harmonising operation of the great principle on which the American Society had been conducted. I, as an individual, could be equally at home with Mr Garrison, who holds so many odd views, as they are called, and with Mr Birney, who differs from them thoroughly. (Hear.) What, then, is the cause of all this discord? I pause for a reply. If there be an individual here to-night who knows any just reason why hearts understood to be one in this great cause should be divorced, let him speak out; and if any individual has a charge against the party with whom Mr Garrison is connected, and which has not yet been met, let that charge be brought forward to-night, and I deem myself strong enough to grapple with it. (Continued cheering.) Let it go forth that I am prepared to meet any individual who is willing, if this most unhappy difference continue, to show cause why this separation is necessary, to take up the gauntlet again in Glasgow, and demonstrate before any audience that no real cause of difference, still less of separation, exists. (Cheers.) *I ask you, then, to pause ere you withdraw your confidence from the men and women of America, who have made the Anti-Slavery cause what it is. Their principles, their constancy, their professions, and their practice, are the same as they ever were.* I deny not that others are, in respectability, and even purity of motive, equal to them. There are some particular acts like those to which I have adverted that can be attributed to no good motive: but to the great majority of them I grant the utmost respectability, and sincerity of motive. You can easily, from the experience you have had, and from your knowledge of the world, perceive for yourselves that the sensitiveness which many may feel to be connected with a suspected and odious party, and the desire of many more to be with the popular party of the day, must have actuated many in this matter. And then there are others who have been found to believe the reports circulated, because they came from respectable parties, who had not looked sufficiently into them. *I am convinced that nothing has ever been done by this party, against whom an act of excommunication has been pronounced, that should for an instant lessen the esteem of the Anti-Slavery public in this country. Had I the power to commit this great movement to any one party, I would, with much confidence, place it in the hands of that party who originated the Abolition cause;* while, at the same time, I believe that as sincere friends of the cause are to be found among the ranks of the Seceders, and that our duty is to wish both God speed, neither injuring the one by detraction, nor giving an exclusive support to the other. (Cheers.)

The Chairman said he wished to say a few words to exonerate his own mind on the present occasion. He had given a pledge, and he was willing to abide by it, that he would stand by the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* till he saw a better. He accordingly resolved to be present that night, and had had the chair pressed upon him—so it could not be said he was there ambitious of honour. The Report before them, though, in respect of facts, it was perfectly correct, yet it had colourings that did not commend themselves to his mind. The question before them, so far as Woman's Rights was concerned, was this—was it competent, at this moment, to any gentleman in the meeting to move that a woman could enter the Committee, and could come into their meetings and speak, and make motions? He contended that this society never contemplated such a thing; and, if this harmonised with the original society of America, so far as he was concerned, he never understood that such was the constitution of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*. He held that it was *ultra vires* for any man to propose

a woman to take her place on that platform, and that it was equally *ultra vires* for a woman to stand up and make a speech. He knew the ladies did not wish it. *He must give his dissent to the spirit of the Report, and also to the spirit of Mr Thompson's speech.* (Cheers.) Mr Thompson should know that he was not the only man who had advocated Woman's Rights. He (Mr A.) had done so himself in its proper sense; but the question here was, could she be made an elder in our churches, or a deacon? (Disapprobation.) Mr Thompson had been heard a full hour, and, when he was making a few remarks to exonerate himself, he was not allowed. (Cheers and more disapprobation.) He must tell the meeting that he would at once know how to proceed if he did not get justice. There were as honourable persons away from that platform, with whom he could go and harmonize, as there were upon it. (Hear, hear.) He maintained that the Rights of Women were not absolute, as Mr Thompson had inculcated. According to his principle, women may be elected office-bearers in our churches. (No, no.) Women's Rights were not absolute, nor equal to men's rights, and the question was, where was the limitation? He could confidently say respecting their own Society that it was never contemplated women should take their places among men, go upon the platform, and plead the Anti-Slavery cause—and that was the whole question in America. *He thought a case of inconsistency had been made out against the separatists*—that they fully homologated the Right of Women to come forward publicly and advocate the Emancipation cause; but, if they had seen this to be wrong, had they not a right to change their opinion? He held that if they declared for any one party in America they declared against the other party—and he was taught by Mr Thompson himself to look up to Arthur Tappan, as being as great a man as Wm. Lloyd Garrison; and if I declare for Garrison, I declare against Tappan. In present circumstances, it was prudent for Glasgow to remain neutral, yet that they should help every man, be he who he might, who was in any way helping the Slave. (Cheers.)

Mr Thompson said he had just a word or two of explanation to offer, as Mr Anderson had misunderstood him in more than one particular. He had described him at the commencement of the evening as a holder of Slaves. This, however, he knew, was only a bit of good humoured pleasantry on the part of his excellent friend, and he (Mr T.) would remark upon it in the same way. Now, he had certainly a qualification in the proprietorship of the East India Company, and was entitled to be called a member of a certain honourable Court; but Mr Anderson did not seem to be aware that the servants of the East India Company were positively prohibited from holding Slaves, and that they would be cashiered if they were known to have any thing to do in trafficking in Slaves. That was mistake the first. He was again in error in reference to his speech; *he gave no opinion at all on the abstract question of the Rights of Women—nor had he ever asked them to withhold their support from the party who had separated from Mr Garrison. Far from it; but, knowing that one party had been injured in this country, he deemed it his duty to come forward, and do what he could to place them, at all events, by the side of the opposite party, and to clear them from any unjust imputations cast upon them.* (Cheers.) Farthest of all was it from his heart to cast any reflection on those absent from this meeting. No; he was reminded of the words of the poet,—

> "Love may sink by slow decay,
> But, by sudden wrench, believe not
> Hearts can thus be torn away."

And it was not a momentary difference of opinion could banish from his heart the strong love and affection which he felt for many who were absent that night. (Cheers.) All he had said sprung from a desire to bring them back again. He deprecated the introduction of the Woman's Question, and all other dividing topics, even to the very end of his speech. *Indeed, his speech was intended to show that it had never been introduced in America by the repudiated party.* Let them have their opinion, and let the other party have theirs. As to himself, it was of very small importance what his own views on certain abstract questions were. He had cautiously abstained from stating them, and he would promise that he would never bring them into an Anti-Slavery Meeting. He gave no verdict on the one side or the other, and advocated no doctrine but this, *that in the common cause they should be one.* (Cheers.)

The Chairman said he was quite satisfied with having exonerated himself; and he must say he had greatly misunderstood Mr Thompson, for he thought there was more than one sentiment fell from him in reference to the abstract question of the absolute equality of women with men.

Mr Smeal said, perhaps the Chairman would allow him a word or two in explanation. He believed there were suspicions in that meeting, and elsewhere, that there had been a disposition on the part of some individuals, in the Committee of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, to introduce females into that Committee; but he had no hesitation in declaring, that such a thing never for one moment entered into his mind, and he never heard it stated in the Committee, nor any where else, till uttered by the Chairman that evening. He had no wish to see females on that platform. He had his own opinions as to the equality of the sexes, and he thought he had a right to entertain those opinions, just as his worthy friend in the chair had a right to entertain his; but that he wished to have his own peculiar views on that or any other question, mingled up with the Anti-Slavery question, he firmly and conscientiously contradicted. And he might say the same for his colleague, who was then absent.

The Rev. C. J. Kennedy of Paisley, after some introductory remarks, proposed the next resolution:—

"That the history of the past year, in the Emancipated Colonies of Great Britain, calls for renewed expressions of thankfulness and congratulation from the friends of freedom, and for increasing confidence in the justice and policy of Immediate Emancipation:—

"That this Society rejoices in the still onward progress of the sacred cause of Freedom in the United States, and regards with especial satisfaction the late momentous decision in the case of the Amistad captives, now restored to liberty; and the Society would, in connexion with that important decision, mention with the gratitude and admiration they so highly merit, the generous and self-devoted exertions of the Venerable ex-President, John Quincy Adams. The Society, while they would renew to their fellow-labourers in America the assurances of their continued sympathy and co-operation, would also earnestly and affectionately exhort them to be of one heart and of one mind in their work—a work pre-eminently calculated to cement, in a common effort—*without compromise and without hostility*—all the true lovers of humanity and justice.

"The Society would, further, record the pleasure with which they have contemplated the interesting movements of various European States on the subject of Slavery; and their conviction that, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the cause of Emancipation has made cheering progress during the past year, throughout the civilized world."

Mr Kennedy referred, by way of encouragement, to the opposition at

one time given to the Emancipation of the Negroes by a large proportion of the wealth and intelligence of the country; but that measure had nevertheless been carried, and was now a matter of history. And now that these efforts in opposition to the cause of humanity had been overcome, they had also to look back to the complete frustration of those most distrustful auguries then drawn by the opponents of Immediate Emancipation. Our colonies were to be lost to the mother country. Had they been so? They were now cemented to the mother country; and he ventured to say that, if there should be a war between the two great Christian nations, and an attempt made to wrest these colonies from the British crown, the population would rise unanimously, and make the wresting of these colonies no easy matter to the assailants. (Cheers.) Then there was to be great commotion in the islands after the Emancipation, and the Planters would not be able to rest safely in their beds. Now, what had been the history of the Emancipated Negroes, but one large page written over with peace, peace, peace! (Cheers.) It was said the Negroes would be wholly unfit for freedom; but they had, in fact, shown themselves so fit for freedom, that it was with great difficulty the Planters could get them hood-winked. (Cheers.) Hence arose all their contentions about wages, and the like. The Planters represented them as ignorant, and so forth; but they had intelligence enough to say they would not work for almost nothing, and would not pay more than was requisite for their cottages. (Hear, hear,) Even the difference which had taken place in the sugar crop was a proof of their intelligence; for they rather preferred having their wives at home looking after their domestic affairs, and their children at school, than working at the sugar cane in the open fields. There had, in consequence, been a falling off in sugar, but this would soon right itself, and a greater supply than ever be produced. Religion and education had gone on increasing too since the Emancipation of the Negroes—chapels were rising in every corner, and schools along with them, and there was the prospect of our having a well-educated population in the islands. He rejoiced to hear that there was even some prospect of the Slave Trade being brought to a close. He was informed that there was a voluntary emigration of negroes from Africa to the West Indies. It was said they had gone there in considerable numbers, and entered cheerfully upon their work, and though it had been stipulated that they should be taken back to their own country, if they chose, and the offer was made to six of them to do so, in order that they might give a favourable report, they had refused. Now, from all this they might hope that there would be an improvement in the state of Africa, and that the Slave Trade would be gradually abolished. (Hear.) After referring to a conversation he had with Mr Gurley, of the American Colonization Society, on the subject of Emancipation, Mr Kennedy, to illustrate the feeling that prevailed in America against Emancipating the Negroes, alluded to the sensitiveness of some of his own relatives, long resident in America, on this subject, though they were not only pious, but liberal-minded men. He gave it as his opinion that the colonization scheme might be productive of good—it was like a black cloud in the heavens, on which the sun was shining—one side was light and the other dark—so had the colonization scheme its dark and its bright side. Now, he liked the African side of it, but he greatly disliked the American side of it. As to the recent dispute among Abolitionists, he did not think it would do much harm in Glasgow. Mr Thompson did not wish to introduce the abstract question; and he thought the ladies of Glasgow would be willing to leave it entirely as an abstract question. (Hear, hear.) None of the ladies were pushing themselves upon the plat-

form ; but, by and bye, they would all be needed as collectors, and in making themselves, in many ways, useful in the cause. (Cheers.)

The Resolution was then seconded by Mr R. Wright, and carried.

Mr Thompson proposed the next Resolution :—

" That this Society, believing that Monopoly (whether arising from intentional laws, or from accidental circumstances) is one of the main supports of Slavery, and believing also that Slave Labour is more expensive than Free Labour, and that, of all Slave Labour, that is the most costly which is maintained by the importation of Slaves, express their approval of the recently proposed reduction of the duties on Sugar, and other articles of Tropical growth, and their confident conviction that the ultimate result of an unfettered competition between Free and Slave Labour will be the entire Abolition of prædial bondage :—That official documents having fully demonstrated, to a lamentable and alarming extent, the existence of Slavery of various kinds throughout the British Indian Territories, it is the bounden duty of the Abolitionists of the United Kingdom to adopt immediate measures for its extinction ; and this Society pledges itself, in conjunction with kindred Associations, to continue its exertions, unabated, until Slavery and the Slave Trade are banished from every part of the British Dependencies."

Mr Thompson, in proceeding to move a Resolution in favour of an alteration in the Sugar duties, &c., stated at the outset that it was his intention to move in the East India House, as early as possible, on the subject of Slavery in the East ; he would not, at that stage of the evening, occupy their attention long in supporting the Resolution he had to propose. He might just say that, whether they looked to the great and natural principles on which trade should be conducted, or whether they looked to the origin of those duties, and their ascertained effects throughout a long series of years, in either case a change was demanded. If they remembered that they were duties imposed for the advantage exclusively of the West India Planters—if they recollected that at this moment these duties did not merely operate to exclude Slave-grown produce, but also Free-grown produce, to a very large extent—as from Manilla, Bengal, Cochin, Siam, Java, and other parts of the world, where Free Labour was in operation, and which could produce to an unlimited extent, and at a scale of prices that would immediately, if we could bring the system into operation, be more profitable than the cruel system in the Slave countries. And if they considered it as a question of abstract justice, which required that we should not do evil to promote any object whatever—considering, he said, all these views, he thought they were justified in proposing such a Resolution as the present. (Cheers.) They should remember, too, that their great, their steady argument, always gathering strength, was, that Free Labour was not only more natural and more just, but more economical than Slave Labour, and that nothing more was required than that men should have their energies unchained, and that the channels of trade should be unrestricted and impartial, to bring down every system that based on the monopoly of power and the application of that power to the compulsion of labour. (Cheers.) On the next Resolution it was unnecessary to say a word. Slavery existed still to a great extent in the British Dominions in India ; and a great work was before them in rooting out that evil.

The Resolution having been seconded and carried, a vote of thanks was given to the Chairman, and the Meeting adjourned till the following evening, when it was announced that Mr Thompson would give an explanation of the case of the Raja of Sattara, and that the other business of the Society would be proceeded with.

No. II.

ADJOURNED MEETING OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

The Adjourned Meeting of this Society was held in the Trades' Hall, on Tuesday Evening, August 3d, 1841.

On the motion of the Rev. James M'Tear, John M'Leod, Esq., was called to the Chair.

After a few introductory observations by the Chairman,

Mr Thompson said,—Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my object this evening to call your attention to a narrative of facts, connected with the dethronement of an Indian Prince; the confiscation of his property, and the banishment of his person to a distance of 800 miles from the principality over which he ruled. The case I am about to bring before you is important, in every aspect in which it can be viewed. Important,—if regard be had to the person who now complains of unjust and un-English treatment at the hands of the British Indian Government. That person is a Hindoo of high birth: a descendant from one of the most renowned among Indian warriors: the representative of the great Sevajee, who, in the middle of the seventeenth century, succeeded in bursting the thraldom of the Mogul power, and became the founder of the powerful and wide-spread empire of the Mahrattas. The successor of this great man has recently been hurled from his throne in the sight of all India, and appeals from the power, and alleged injustice of those who have deposed him, to the people in whose name the deed has been done. The case is important—if you connect it with the past history of British India, and view it as another illustration of the grasping policy of the rulers of that country; who, from the condition of lowly merchants, soliciting, with bated breath, permission to exchange commodities with the subjects of the Mogul, have risen, by the conquest of the sword, to be the lords-paramount of India; and claim the right of dethroning, at their pleasure, the hereditary occupants of Oriental thrones. The case of the Raja is but a late act, in a long career of bold and often guilty ambition, stretching over more than half a century. The case before us is important—as indicating the fate which awaits the still remaining States of India; which, to use the words of the late Governor of Bombay, who deposed the Raja, seem doomed, the whole of them, "to fall, at no distant day, into the vortex of British power." The case is a most important one, when viewed in connexion with its natural and inevitable effect upon the minds of the natives of India. It reveals the true source of our present danger—a danger growing not out of the designs of foreign foes, but out of the suspicion,

the jealousy, and the hatred, which are begotten by our continual acts of aggression and usurpation. It is not possible that the enlightened natives of India can witness our almost daily encroachments upon territory, which we have declared to be sacred to the possession of others, without being reminded of the near approach of their own doom, and without cherishing a desire, if possible, to avert it, by inviting the interposition of some power that shall humble the pride and prostrate the might of their oppressors, and prove milder in its rule over the dominion it may snatch from us. Neither is it to be expected that those whom we have already cast down and utterly spoiled, both of their ancient prerogatives and ancestorial rights, can entertain any other than hostile feelings, however those feelings may be disguised, against those by whom they have been subjugated and bereft. Let those, who measure with complacency and patriotic exultation, the length and breadth of our Eastern territory, and swell the number of the Queen's subjects by adding the hundred millions of India, look well to the elements of which the mighty mass is composed. Prostrate they may be, and are ; but, beneath the ruins of the empires we have razed, there are smouldering fires of inextinguishable hatred, which some unlucky wind may blow into a flame which may burn to our destruction. The present case will be found important—as exhibiting the true character of the home government of India. It will take us to the Councils of the India House and the Board of Control, and will show us to what extent those who have been wronged abroad, are justified in expecting sympathy and redress from the authorities at home. And, finally, the case before us will prove the absolute necessity which exists for the people of this country becoming better acquainted with the state of Indian affairs—with their own solemn and tremendous responsibilities—and with the power, which they may constitutionally exercise, to check the progress of evil government, and save, from ultimate ruin or alienation, the empire they have acquired.

It may be proper here to premise, that, exclusive of those portions of India which are considered and denominated British territory, there are upwards of thirty Native States, the surviving fragments of fallen dynasties, which have relinquished political relations with one another, and are connected with the British Government by treaties of various kinds. Sattara, the state of which I am to speak this evening, is in alliance with us by a treaty, which guarantees the protection of the British Government, and gives to that Government the right, within certain defined limits, of controlling the internal affairs of the principality. The territory of Sattara, at the present time, extends over a surface of about 7900 square miles, and yields a revenue of about £180,000 sterling per annum. Sattara became the capital of the Mahratta empire in the year 1698, and has ever since remained the residence of the Mahratta Princes. The descendants of Sevajee, the founder of the empire, and a man of inferior religious caste among the Hindoos, continued to exercise sovereign

sway, until 1749, when the Bramin minister obtained a deed, empowering him, as Peshwa, or Prime Minister, to exercise the sole power in the State. In this he was supported by the Mahratta chiefs, on condition that a suitable allowance was made for the descendants of the royal house; and, from that period, the Peshwas, in regular succession, were considered as the actual rulers—while the nominal Princes resided in the city of Sattara. These Princes, however, were accustomed to receive the homage, respect, and reverence of all classes. They were called upon to confirm all successions to great offices of State; nor was any war ever engaged in without the sanction of the Raja.

At the commencement of the Mahratta war in 1817, the Raja of Sattara, recently dethroned, was a State prisoner in the hands of Bajee Rao, the then Peshwa; and, on the conquest of the Mahratta Empire, which was completed on the 20th of February, 1818, the power of the Peshwa was entirely annihilated, and the British Government proceeded to carry into effect the terms of a previous proclamation to the Mahratta people and chieftains, that the Raja, on being released, should be placed at the head of an independent sovereignty, of such an extent as might maintain him and his family in comfort and dignity. On the 20th of May, the Raja made his public entry into Sattara, escorted by the British troops, and most of the officers, and was formally placed upon the gadi (or, throne) in full Durbar. The motive avowed by the Governor-General of India, in thus establishing the Raja on the throne of his ancestors, with a limited territory, was to afford an honourable maintenance to the representative of the ancient Princes of the country, and to establish among the Mahrattas a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the former Bramin Government. On the 25th of September, 1819, a treaty was concluded with the Raja of Sattara, by which the British Government ceded to his Highness, his heirs and successors, in perpetual sovereignty, certain districts specified in a schedule annexed. This territory was to be held in subordinate co-operation to the British Government, and the Raja to be guided in all matters by the British political agent or resident at his Highness's Court.

Having now seen the Raja placed on his throne—that throne secured to him by solemn treaty, ratified, sealed, and delivered, let us look back for a moment to the still earlier history of this interesting Prince. His father had died in the year 1808, leaving two sons, himself, then four years old, and his brother, Appa Sahib, now his successor, and then an infant in arms. Their mother was a woman of high family, of great spirit, and of considerable natural talent. She was proud of her elevated rank, devoted to the interests of her children, a hater of the Bramins, who had usurped the power originally wielded by the Mahratta princes, and was bent on giving her sons an education, which should render them, in some respects, equal to cope with the monopolized learning of the priesthood. She, besides, carefully instilled into their minds, the dislike which she herself

cherished to the whole race; and, as will be seen in the sequel, the ex-Raja was not slow to profit by her lessons. It had been the policy of the Bramins to prevent the Sattara Princes from being taught to read and write, and to confine their accomplishments chiefly to skill in horsemanship, and the use of the bow. The Dowager, however, contrived to have her sons instructed in letters, after midnight, while their attendants slept; and the result was, that they were both tolerably educated before they were released from the Peshwa's power. The conduct of the Raja, when placed on his throne, evinced so much gratitude and fidelity to the British; so much talent and aptitude for public business; so much enlightened liberality and zeal for the interests of his people, that, in three years from the time of his installation, the entire management of the principality was placed in his hands, and the designation of Political *Agent*, to whose advice he had been required to yield submission, was changed for that of Political *Resident*, whose advice was only to be enforced, when the Raja's conduct was likely to lead to inconvenience or injustice, or to a positive breach of the treaty. Left to himself, he displayed a laudable, and, in India, extraordinary desire for the education of the people. He was most anxious to fit the Mahrattas for business, that they might supply the places hitherto filled by the Bramins. For his own connexions, and the sons of the great officers of his government, he set apart a suite of rooms, in his own palace, as a college. On one occasion, when it was deemed necessary to ascertain what was the state of education in Sattara, a town containing 10,000 souls, it was found that it contained no fewer than *forty* schools. He manifested the deepest respect for the advice of those who had placed him on his throne, and superintended his early administration; and rigidly fulfilled the parting promise, which he gave to Captain Grant Duff, the Political Agent, on his quitting Sattara for England, in 1823, that he would never depart from the laws established for him by that gentleman, and confirmed by the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone. Such is the testimony borne to the virtues and fidelity of this Prince, before the Court of Proprietors, on the 15th of last month, by Major-General Briggs, who immediately succeeded Captain Grant Duff, and was for four years the Political Resident at the Raja's Court. Nor was it on the subject of education alone, that the Raja displayed his zeal for the welfare and improvement of his people, and his fitness to rule over the portion of his ancestors' dominions conferred upon him. He made Sattara, from being a small and insignificant place, a handsome and populous town. He planned and laid out broad streets in every direction. He supplied the want of water by an aqueduct, brought from the neighbouring hills, a distance of two miles, and with so much skill, that a well known civil engineer in this country, who saw and examined the work while in progress, declared that he was perfectly astonished at the science which had been displayed in every part of its construction—whether as to the knowledge of hydraulics, or the ingenu-

ity in discovering and leading to the main trunk, the several small streams of water which were conducted into it; and he even carried with him the *recipe* for forming the cement which was used in laying the pipes. The Raja also laid out large sums, in the formation of roads and bridges, and set aside other large sums, annually, out of his revenues, for that purpose. Such was the Raja of Sattara, as he appeared every day in the eyes of the men appointed to watch his conduct. From year to year he received the lavish praises of the Bombay Government, and from year to year he was complimented by the authorities at home upon the wisdom and beneficence of his sway. At last, in the latter end of the year 1835, seventeen years from the date of his elevation to the throne, sixteeen from the signing of the treaty, and fourteen from the period when he assumed the entire management of the affairs of his kingdom, the Court of Directors, desirous of bestowing upon him the highest and most gratifying mark of their admiration and respect, resolved that he should be presented with a sword, and at the same time with a suitable letter. In the letter, which received the signature of every one of the twenty-four Directors, they complimented the Raja upon the exemplary fulfilment of the duties of his elevated situation—they declared that, the whole course of his conduct reflected the highest credit on his character—that he had won their unqualified approbation—that his liberality in executing, at his own cost, various public works of great utility, had justly raised his reputation in the eyes of the princes and people of India; and that, therefore, they had sent him a present of a sword, in testimony of their admiration and high esteem. Such was the Raja of Sattara in 1835. The sword and letter went out in 1836, but never reached the Prince. Before they arrived, he had incurred the displeasure of the Bombay Government, and engines were already at work to effect his ruin. Unhappily, they succeeded, and this exemplary Prince is now—the ex-Raja of Sattara. We proceed to the story of his downfall—a story reflecting the deepest and most indelible disgrace upon all the parties concerned in effecting it.

The treaty which placed the Raja on the throne, secured to him the absolute sovereignty over certain estates, or jagheers, as they are in India called, which, on the death of their then occupants, were to lapse to the Raja of Sattara. It may be proper to observe that, it is the practice in India, to reward services rendered to the State, by the bestowment of jagheers, or certain portions of territory, over which the parties to be rewarded are empowered, during their lives, to collect the revenue. These jagheers stand in the place of pensions. The sovereignty over several such jagheers was secured to the Raja of Sattara, by the same treaty which placed him on the throne. If any power was competent to deprive him of these jagheers, the same power was competent to take from him his entire dominion. It became a matter of the utmost importance, therefore, that the Raja should assert his right in this matter, and claim the fulfilment of

the treaty. He did so, and was evaded. He offered to submit the point in dispute to Mr Elphinstone, the framer of the treaty, then in England, and gave his word that he would abide by Mr Elphinstone's decision, whatever it might be. This was never done. He prayed that the matter might be referred home for the opinion of the Court of Directors. This was promised; but never performed. The disagreement about the jagheers took place in 1832 and 1833. After the promise of the Bombay Government that the subject should be submitted to the Court of Directors, the Raja rested for some time contented; but, at the end of three years, he discovered that he had been deceived—that no reference of his case had been made to the home authorities. He was displeased—he lost his confidence in the Bombay Government—he became disquieted in his mind, and declared he could not take his food, so deeply had the conduct of the local authorities affected him. He announced his intention of sending agents to this country to represent his case, and to claim the fulfilment of the Treaty. This openly avowed intention of appeal, the Bombay Government construed into an infraction of the treaty, and, still more, into an insult to themselves; and they retaliated, by rejecting the Raja's customary annual present and letter, thus breaking off all amicable relations with him. They also withheld the sword and the Directors' letter. Let me here observe, that these alleged infractions of the treaty on the part of the Company, in the matter of the jagheers, are now admitted. Mr Elphinstone, who was always at hand to be appealed to, and whose word would have settled the point at once, has never been appealed to. Lord Clare, the Governor of Bombay at the time of the dispute, and who was at first inclined to sanction the resumption of the jagheers, has since confessed, that he was wrong and the Raja right. The treaty has been again and again produced in the presence of the Directors, and the three successive Residents at the Raja's Court, Generals Robertson, Briggs, and Lodwick, have all declared their unqualified opinion in favour of the entire justice of the Raja's claims. His right to appeal to the home authorities, by means of Vakeels or native agents, has never been disputed in open court. The right is undoubted; but it suited the purpose of the wholesale violators of treaties in India, to pervert a respectful application to the superior authorities in England, into a breach of treaty. The loss of the favour and good opinion of the Bombay Government was the signal for the rising of a host of enemies of the Raja, who found the local authorities but too willing to listen to every accusation they could invent. The first charge, gravely preferred against him, was that of seeking to corrupt two native officers in the service of the British Government. But, before I proceed, I must remind you of what I have already informed you. The throne of the Raja, who is a *Mahratta*, had been raised upon the ruin of the Peshwa, who was a *Bramin*. The Raja had been guided for years, by a policy which led him to adopt every legitimate means of destroying the influence of the Bramins,

and of raising the intellectual standard and political importance of the Mahrattas. He had, despite of all opposition, and all denunciation, prosecuted the work of educating the mass of the people; and he had filled up the measure of his offences, in the eyes of the Hindoo priests, by refusing to appoint to the office of Prime Minister, a talented Bramin, who, from the commencement of his reign, and before, had aspired to that high situation. He had, therefore, many powerful, malignant, and unscrupulous foes, who, though awed and held in fear during the period that the Raja was the favoured child of the Bombay Government, took immediate advantage of his quarrel with the British authorities, and determined to make it subserve the ends of their baffled ambition, their deep hatred, and their inextinguishable revenge. Accordingly, Untagee (one of the most profligate of Bramins) accused the Raja of tampering with the allegiance of two of the native officers, or soobadars. This charge was first gone into before a Commission sent up to Satarra, to try the Raja at his own capital, but behind his back. The Commission consisted of one of the Secretaries of the Bombay Government, a Colonel in the British Army, and the resident at the Raja's Court, General Lodwick. The last named gentleman, was appointed the President of the Commission, and I heard him the other day declare in open Court, that the originator of the plot, avowed himself actuated by revenge, and to be unworthy of belief; that while looking about for the means of revenging himself upon the Raja, heaven threw these soobadars in his way. He said, too, that one of these soobadars declared, that, to promote the plot, he took an oath which he had no intention to keep; and General Lodwick also openly stated that the Commissioners, with whom he was associated, would not allow these criminators of the Raja to be cross-examined; although their oral testimony was in many important particulars irreconcileable with their previous depositions. But you shall hear General Lodwick's own words in the Court of Proprietors, on the 15th of last month:—

"He would now state what he knew connected with the Commission at Sattara—a Commission which, in his opinion, was illegal and improper. He begged leave to observe, that these native officers were, at suggestion, ordered to attend the Commission for the express purpose of undergoing a cross-examination; that on the first question put to Subadar Seer Goolam Singh by himself (General Lodwick,) he became agitated and confused, and that his colleagues immediately interfered, and insisted upon no cross-examination taking place! Had that evidence been properly sifted, he felt satisfied that it would have been broken down. With respect to the other native officer, he declared before that honourable Court, that his appearance whilst giving evidence was that of a corpse, instead of an honest soldier deposing to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. He pointed out this man's appearance to the other Commissioners, but without effect. No cross-examination was permitted. After the depar-

ture of his colleagues, he observed that this native officer recovered his usual healthy appearance. Having thus disposed of the two principal evidences before the Sattara Commission, what remained but a mass of perjury, prevarication, and falsehood? He perfectly recollected saying, whilst the political Secretary was securing and placing the precious document in his official box, that it was utterly worthless; and when, in obedience to the positive instructions of the Governor, Sir R. Grant, 'That he should, on all points, in the future course of these proceedings, defer to the opinion of the majority,' he signed those proceedings, he did so in the firm conviction that no unprejudiced person could read them without coming to a similar conclusion." By such means was it sought to sustain, the *first* charge brought forward to ruin the unfortunate Raja of Sattara.

A *second* charge was brought forward—that of conspiring with Don Manoel de Portugal, the Viceroy of a petty, poverty-stricken, powerless Portuguese settlement, on the southern confines of the Sattara territory, some 200 miles below Bombay—a conspiracy, to raise 30,000 troops in Europe, bring them to India, and, with this splendid army, to drive the English, for ever, out of Hindoostan! The witnesses brought forward to support this monstrous, wicked, and contemptibly ridiculous charge, were almost to a man Bramins. Several among them were gang robbers, whom the Bombay Government pardoned. The precious evidence of a written character, consisted of a bundle of Mahratta and Portuguese letters, found in pawn with an obscure inhabitant of an obscure village in the Goa territory, and purporting to have belonged to two Bramins, who had died ten months before, and are declared to have been the agents of the Raja of Sattara; while it is admitted that these same persons had for years been in the service of a man who is regarded as the Pope of the Bramins, known by the name of the Swamee of Sunkeshwar, and a known enemy of the Raja's. These documents, which have been pronounced satisfactory evidence of the Raja's guilty intentions, and which, if genuine, might have made their possessors rich for ever, were purchased by the British Government for the astounding sum of £40 sterling. The Portuguese papers thus found, and affirmed to be signed by Don Manoel, have been declared by that nobleman to be utter forgeries, and his alleged correspondence with the Raja a gross fabrication and falsehood. But, you will naturally suppose that the British authorities, both in India and at home, took the earliest opportunity of calling upon our ancient ally, the Portuguese Government, to explain the conduct of the high functionary thus directly implicated in a charge of cherishing, through twelve years, the design of subverting the British power in India. How great will be your surprise when I tell you that, while pretending to hold the proof of the Viceroy's guilt under his own hand and seal, there has not been, that I am aware, down to this hour, the slightest reference made to the subject in any correspondence between the British Government and the Government of Portugal. I am equally

ignorant if there has ever been any correspondence on the subject between any person connected with the executive of the East India Company, and the Viceroy himself. But there has been between that ex-Viceroy and *other* parties. A friend of the Raja proceeded, in April last, to Lisbon, where Don Manoel now resides, and fills a high situation in the household of the reigning Queen. He took with him a letter from Mr Hume, who had expressed his determination to bring the matter before Parliament. Mr Hume called upon the ex-Viceroy to give full and explicit answers to the questions which he put, relative to the crime said to have been by him committed. The high-minded nobleman went before the British Consul in Lisbon, and made the following voluntary and solemn declaration:—"Having received a communication, dated on the 8th instant, from the Most Illustrious Senhor Joseph Hume, Member of the British Parliament, relating to the conspiracy that the Raja of Sattara, at present dethroned, is said to have contrived against the British power in India; and affirming that I was aware of the said conspiracy—I feel it necessary, for the sake of justice and my honour, to declare that, during the whole of the time I governed Portuguese Asia, I never had any correspondence whatsoever, upon political subjects, with the said Raja of Sattara, and that whatever documents may appear relating to it, must be considered entirely false."

What is to be thought of the conduct of the British Indian Government in this business? They have dethroned a virtuous and benignant Prince, upon a charge which they never took the most important preliminary step to substantiate, and at the same time have concealed from the Minister of the British Crown, all knowledge of the alleged guilt of a Government, in friendly alliance with us. It is not possible to believe that the British Indian authorities, either at home or abroad, ever entertained the most distant idea of the genuineness of the correspondence which they took out of pawn. Any thing approaching to a conviction of its authenticity, would have laid them under the most solemn responsibility, as loyal subjects, to bring the whole matter before the Queen's Ministers, that an immediate and rigid inquiry might have been made into the facts of the case. But no. The evidence that was considered abundantly sufficient to warrant the dethronement of the Raja, was known to be too foul, contemptible, and unsubstantial, to be made the subject of a moment's inquiry on the part of those who are sworn to maintain the integrity of her Majesty's dominions, and to bring to justice all, whomsoever they may be, who meditate the dismemberment or ruin of her empire.

The *third* and last charge against the Raja is in perfect keeping with the two I have already exposed. It is set forth that the Raja, with the same design of overthrowing the English, intrigued with the ex-Raja of Nagpore. And who, pray, is he? Why, at the time, a wretched fugitive; subsisting on the bounty of the Raja of Judpore. A dethroned Prince, residing in obscurity, without money and without friends. A state

prisoner, inclosed within a court-yard, 20 feet by 12. Yet, with this poor spectre of a pauper Prince, the Raja of Sattara is charged with conspiracy, for the purpose of overthrowing the collossal power of the British in India; and the overwhelming proof, at once of guilt and danger, is, that the ex-Raja of Nagpore sent the Raja of Sattara a complimentary letter, and that the Raja of Sattara sent the ex-Raja of Nagpore a pair of shoes!

So much for the charges. Now for the use made of them, by men who are citizens of a state, in which the meanest person, accused of the most petty offence, may not be condemned unheard. Did they call on the Raja for explanation? No. Did they send him copies of the charges brought against him? No. Did they tell him who were his accusers, and confront him with them? No. What, then, did they do? They made up their minds that he was guilty. The evidence was so clear, so satisfactory, so complete, so irresistible, that it would have been a waste of justice to call upon the Raja to rebut it, or even to let him know what it was. What mattered it that he felt himself innocent, if they believed him to be guilty? What need of putting the Raja to the trouble of defending himself, when he is already tried, convicted, and condemned? Sir Robert Grant, one of the chief actors in this affair, having died, Sir James Rivet Carnac, at the time a Director, was appointed Governor of Bombay in his place. On reaching India, he drew out certain articles and a preamble, with which he proceeded to Sattara, with a view of winding up the case of the Raja, and as it has been stated by himself and his friends, with the benevolent design of saving the Prince from the consequences of his infatuation and guilty folly. The preamble to the memorandum, which the Raja was called upon to sign, contained an admission of his guilt. The articles required him to pass an act of oblivion with regard to his accusers—to yield a certain sum from his treasury for the benefit of his worst enemies—and to put away from him the persons in whose fidelity he could alone repose. What reply did this Indian Prince make to such a string of propositions, submitted by a British functionary, with the assurance that, if he agreed to them, he should remain upon the throne, and be restored to the confidence of Government? He made an answer worthy of the brightest hero of ancient or modern times: an answer which places him at a sublime height above the petty persecutors to whose arts he has fallen a victim. His answer shall be given in the words of Sir James Carnac, who has reported at full length his interview with the Raja. Sir James, speaking of his address to the Raja, an address intended to induce him to agree to the terms of the amnesty, as it has been called, says:—

"When I had concluded, he (the Raja) stated, that he regarded me as his friend and well-wisher; asserted that the accusations against him originated in the intrigues of his enemies; that as long as the British Government entertained the idea that he had cherished hostile designs he could agree to nothing, but this idea being removed, he would agree to any thing

I proposed; that he would consent to any thing except to abandon his religion, or to acknowledge that he had been our enemy."

A second and third interview took place with similar results. The Raja persevered in his refusal to subscribe his own guilt, and thus sign away his honour, and put it in the power of the British Government at any time to publish him to the world a self-admitted traitor. He asked to be heard. He offered to lay aside whatever dignity might stand in the way of an ordinary trial, and to place himself before any honest tribunal. He offered to relinquish his person, his government, his kingdom, into the hands of the British, if they would grant him a fair trial. A trial was sternly denied. He was already guilty in the determination of the Bombay authorities, and must submit to declare himself to be, what they had undertaken to make him out to be, whether his conscience accused him or not. But these functionaries had to deal with a man whom they were incapable alike of understanding or appreciating. Perhaps they reasoned that he would do what, in like circumstances, they would have been willing to do. They thought that if they balanced his nice and fastidious ideas of honour and self-respect, against a throne, and the continued protection of the British Government, he would surely yield the former to secure the latter. But such views were far from the mind of this noble man. He said plainly —"Gentlemen, you mistake me altogether. I can relinquish a throne, I can go into exile, I can see my kingdom given to another, or absorbed into your own territory; but, I cannot forfeit the testimony of my conscience; I can sacrifice everything but my honour!" What was to be done? It was secretly determined that the Raja should be forthwith deposed. He had already expressed his willingness to remove without a murmur at the bidding of the Governor. Nay, he had said, when with the Governor at the residence of the political agent at Poonah, "I will stay if you please here, in this bungalow, nor ever enter my capital again, till I have established my innocence, before an impartial tribunal." Neither force nor rudeness, therefore, were required. The Governor had but to say "depart," and the Raja had passed his word that he would quit his kingdom immediately. But guilt is ever clandestine, timid, and stealthy.

"This Conscience, doth make cowards of us all."

At midnight, when the Raja was in his chamber asleep upon his couch—at midnight, to suit the better, the time to the deed, and cover it with darkness, if possible, black as itself—at midnight, did two British officers, instructed by a British Governor, and led on by a traitorous brother of the noble Raja's, conduct a troop to Sattara and surround the palace. The brother showed the way to the resting-place of the Prince. They seized him—thrust him half-clothed into a palanquin—thrust into the same palanquin his faithful cousin Balla Sahib Sennaputtee—placed the Raja and his family under the charge of a British Lieutenant and a company of

soldiers, and ordered the escort to march for Benares, a distance of 800 miles. While pursuing their way with all the speed of guilty fear, the pangs of child-birth overtook the wife of Balla Sahib. The anxious husband implored a halt, which was denied. In a few days Balla Sahib himself was brought to the point of death. A halt was again implored. Again it was denied by this man of fleshless heart, and, at the close of the day, the devoted cousin of the Raja,

"Faithful among the faithless found,"

lay a corpse in his palanquin. My friends, I see the paleness of a speechless horror, mingling with the crimson of a burning indignation on your cheeks. Too deep your detestation cannot be, at this recital of atrocities, perpetrated in your own name, by your own countrymen, upon the distant plains of India, in the eyes of a people whom we have robbed of their country. Give your indignation words. Put it into action. Rouse up at the great call of nature and of justice, and check the deeds of those who are covering you with infamy, by the spoliations and tragedies they are enacting, with the power you have placed in their hands.

Let us leave the lifeless body of Balla Sahib in the jungle, and the Raja in his exile, and return to Sattara. The Raja, out of all his private wealth, carried with him only the jewels which the women of his household were able, in the hurry of departure to secure. Immediately upon the abduction of the Raja, his ruthless persecutors made themselves masters of all his papers. But I may here, once for all, observe that, there is not in the possession of the British Government a single document, or fragment of one, in the handwriting of the Raja, affording the slightest evidence of infidelity to the British. How triumphant is this fact! An intriguer for twenty years—a man accustomed to make the most regular minutes of all his transactions, even the most trivial—accused by a Government that had offered liberal rewards, personal indemnity, and honourable distinction, as the premiums for evidence against him—and yet not a solitary atom of proof, under his own hand, of his ever having cherished a thought at variance with his fidelity as a prince, or his honour as a man. In a very few days after the expulsion of the Raja—while the sighs of a travailing mother, the cries of her new-born babe, and the groans of the expiring husband and father were disturbing the stillness of the jungle—Sattara was the scene of the installation and enthronement of a new Raja. And who is he? Surely, some one more worthy of the throne than the man who has been hurled at midnight from it, and chased into exile The deposers of the ex-Raja have, surely, found some paragon of perfection, who, by the lustre of his virtues, shall mitigate the "deep damnation" of the deed that has been wrought. Who is he, that is escorted by thousands of British troops to the capital, attended by the Governor and his staff to the palace, and placed, amidst the thundering of cannon, the clangour of trumpets, and

the explosion of fireworks, upon the throne of Sevagee, and proclaimed RAJA OF SATTARA—the ALLY and FRIEND of the British Government—the CHOSEN OBJECT of confidence and protection—in the place of the dethroned, despoiled, and desolated Purtub Sing? It is APPA SAHIB—the abandoned profligate—the companion of courtezans—the corrupt judge—the man who twice plotted the partition of the principality—the Judas Iscariot who betrayed his master—the inhuman brother who led the way to the chamber of the sleeping prince, and sold his mother's son into the hands of his enemies. He is the man, whom the Governor of Bombay delighteth to honour. He, is now the favourite of the East India Company, to whom, doubtless, the Sword which has been withheld from the brother, will be speedily presented, with a new and amended edition of the Court's complimentary letter, of 1835. In justification of the severe language I have used in describing Appa Sahib, I take the liberty of reading the following evidence. The Vakeels of the Raja—the ex-Raja, writing to the Court of Directors, thus describe the man who had displaced their Sovereign:—

"But, independently of his Highness's sufferings, we respectfully submit there are other grounds upon which the character of the British nation demands inquiry, with the view of ascertaining the principle of morality or justice by which it has elevated the present ruler of Sattara to a throne. The character of Appa Sahib has been long known to your honourable Court; it has been commented upon by your Governor-General; particularly exposed by Major Sutherland in his Sketches, and equally described by General Lodwick, previously to those misunderstandings; and lastly, he (Appa Sahib) acknowledged himself a conspirator."

Such is the reference made to this man in the letter addressed to the Court of Directors, by the accredited agents of the dethroned Raja. Next, let me place before you the testimony furnished respecting this exalted traitor by General Lodwick, in a letter written so far back as April, 1835. An official letter, addressed by him as Minister at the ex-Raja's Court, to the Bombay Government:—

"I have to observe, that Appa Sahib, has long been *separated from his wife*, who is a most respectable person. This lady does not even reside under her husband's roof, but in the palace of his Highness the Raja. Appa Sahib, has taken in her place, a common prostitute, well known at Poonah, upon whom he lavished immense sums of money. The Raja, on the late marriage of his own daughter, endeavoured to persuade Appa Sahib to send this woman to Poonah, and advanced 3000 rupees to satisfy her cupidity; but when it came to the point, the attempt failed, and his Highness very properly cancelled the order for the whole sum of money.

"Since this transaction, it has come to my knowledge, that Appa Sahib was *suspected of receiving bribes* to a heavy amount, as Judge of the Adawlutt, in which he presides. This I made known to his Highness at a

private interview in December last, who replied, that he had heard of the suspicion, and had endeavoured to ascertain the proof, but without success. His Highness was unwilling to act decidedly without certain proof, out of regard to his brother, to whom he is warmly attached, and whom he invariably mentions as his heir, though this is quite optional, as, in default of a son to succeed, there is no bar to adoption.

"With respect to the *presumptuous claim to equal authority* with his Highness the Raja, as set forth in the third, fourth, and fifth paragraphs of Appa Sahib's memorandum, I can attribute it to nothing short of mental derangement, as his relative situation to the Raja has been fully explained to him; and the gratitude he owes to his brother for invariable kindness has been frequently pointed out.

"In concluding, I request to be allowed to make his Highness the Raja acquainted with Appa Sahib's memorandum, in order to his meeting that punishment which is justly his due. I feel satisfied, from my knowledge of his Highness's character, that the punishment will not bear a just proportion to the offence; but should I be consulted on the occasion, and the document in question proved to come from Appa Sahib, I should be prepared to recommend Appa Sahib's removal from the Adawlutt, and the appropriation of a portion of his annual allowance to the liquidation of his just debts, admitted, by his own statement, to exceed the large sum of 175,000 rupees, and rapidly increasing."

I have given you the testimony of our own ambassador at the ex-Raja's Court, written in 1835, and will now adduce his oral evidence touching the character of the Company's *protegé*, as it was given in the Court of Proprietors in February, 1840. General Lodwick, after five years' additional observation of Appa Sahib, thus describes him:—

"With respect to the Raja's brother, *it is impossible to use terms that would sufficiently express my contempt for him;* he wanted both dignity and common decency of manner, and was *universally despised.* He became the *chief informer against his devoted brother the Raja,* and accused him of crimes which I shall not shock the delicacy of this Court by naming. Yet this is the man who has been placed on the throne, in the room of a most amiable and dignified prince—with some weaknesses certainly—but they were redeemed by noble qualities both of the head and heart."

Let me observe, also, that the Company have deprived the ex-Raja of all the private property he left behind him, consisting of money and jewels, and other valuables, the savings of the years that he had upon the throne, amounting to at least £150,000 sterling. All this has been appropriately handed over to the exemplary Prince, who now sways the sceptre. But I pass over many deeply interesting features in this history, that I may describe the conduct of the home authorities. On the news of the Raja's dethronement arriving in this country, a few of the friends of justice, Proprietors of the East India stock, signed a requisition for a Special Court for the 12th February, 1840,

"To take into consideration a recommendation to the Court of Directors, and to the Board of Control, to withhold their sanction to the dethronement of his Highness the Raja of Sattara, by the Bombay Government, until a full and fair investigation of the charges preferred against him shall have been made, according to his Highness's earnest and repeated request."

The Directors, who are, of course, proprietors, and, in consequence of their extensive patronage, most influential ones, came down, and, instead of following the dictates of delicacy, and leaving the Court to decide for itself, uninfluenced by their votes or dictation, themselves moved, and carried by their own votes, an amendment, that "it is highly inexpedient, and this Court accordingly, declines to interfere with its responsible Executive, in the affairs of the Raja of Sattara." What else did the Directors do?

In the "Blue Book," bearing the title of "Papers respecting the case of the Raja of Sattara," printed in conformity with a vote of the General Court, held on Wednesday, the 17th of June, 1840, we find, on page 347, a "Copy of a Political Despatch to the Governor-General of India in Counsel, (No. 15) dated 1st April, 1840."

This Despatch, consisting of fourteen paragraphs, purports to contain the deliberate decision of the Directors, after a careful and impartial re-examination of all the facts connected with the case of the Raja. I will read the concluding paragraph, and also the names of the Directors affixed to this extraordinary document; and I am much mistaken if the time is not at hand, when a far different judgment of this affair will be formed, from that pronounced by the "honourable" names which are annexed.

"14. In conclusion, we have to express OUR WARM COMMENDATION of the conduct of Sir James Carnac, in the transactions which we have now reviewed. He proceeded to Sattara with a manifest and earnest desire to save the Raja from the consequences of his own folly, and we are convinced that he left no means untried for the purpose. When this proved to be impossible, he adopted, with judgment and decision, the course which circumstances had rendered inevitable."

Here we find the full sanction and "warm commendation" of *thirteen* of the Directors of the East India Company, bestowed upon the chief instrument in the dethronement, spoliation, and banishment of the Raja of Sattara. It is due to the other Directors, to say, that four of them placed on record their reasons for dissent, in most able and argumentative minutes. The dissentients were—Messrs Tucker, Cotton, Shepherd, and Forbes. The last is now, I lament to say, no more. I will quote three short paragraphs from his most honourable testimony in favour of the Raja, and in illustration of the nature of the evidence upon which he was deposed:—

"No fiction was too gross to obtain the implicit belief, and enjoy the elaborate vindication of the Indian Governments, whilst the most unwearying ingenuity wove a web of intrigue, which caught in its capacious folds, and converted into accomplices, the great states of Europe, the Pacha of Egypt, the venerable but insidious relic of Portuguese greatness at Goa, the deposed and dependent princes of India, the tribes of Arbusthan, the Raja of Nepaul, forsooth; and lastly, the maritime power of the Hubshee!"

Again ;—

"So far from leniency and moderation, the terms submitted to the Raja were most harsh and oppressive. They could have been accepted only by conscious guilt or a debased spirit; but to a man who felt aggrieved, first by wrongs of which he had complained for years without redress, then by unjust charges; and lastly, by the refusal of a fair trial, or any trial at all, it was a gross aggravation of the injuries inflicted upon him, to assume that he was guilty of ingratitude and treachery. The Raja's prompt and steady rejection of all terms, unless full opportunity had been given for the vindication of his character, even though that rejection involved the forfeiture of his throne, is *the strongest moral proof of the Raja's innocence, worthy of his high and ancient lineage, and of universal respect and admiration.*"

Finally :—

"A mass of fiction, as I verily believe, consisting of *letters not proved to be authentic*, of seals and ciphers *forged*, of oral evidence *obtained under every suspicion of undue influence*, of partnerships contracted with bankers, and *false entries made in their books*—every artifice, in short, that the great cunning, great ability, deep personal interest, and inveterate hatred of Ballajee Punt Natoo, (now prime minister to Appa Sahib) and his ignoble instrument, Appa Sahib, could employ, has been directed against the *devoted prince;* and these, on the other hand, have been assisted in their fatal effects by *the weak credulity of every member of the two Governments abroad.*"

No further movement took place until the 23d of June, when further papers were moved for, and, after a sharp struggle in the Court of Proprietors, a day was named for the consideration of their contents. That day was the 14th of July. During a debate of five days which followed, the case was fully argued. It has been most truly said, in the paper which I hold in my hand, that "the advocates of the Raja went at once into the merits of the question. There was no special pleading—no torturing of words—no twisting of minutes—no mouthing of high names—no begging of the case by quoting mere opinions—(opinions mostly of men deeply compromised); but there was an appeal to the evidence produced against the Raja, though not printed by the Court of Directors—that evidence was discussed, dissected, put to the test of probability, weighed with living testimony of unimpeachable character; and we fearlessly assert, that the verdict of any twelve honest men would be the verdict so emphatically pronounced by General Robertson—that '*upon such evidence he would not hang a dog.*' Yet, upon such evidence, has a Prince—an ornament to his kind—been hurled, unheard, from his throne. A more wicked, disgraceful spectacle of lawless power arrayed against helpless right, the world has never beheld." What was the result? The gentleman who opened the debate moved for the reconsideration of the Raja's case, by the Court of Directors. Other gentlemen recommended amelioration. I felt it my duty to give notice of the following amendment :—

"That, in the opinion of this Court, his Highness, the ex-Raja of Sattara is innocent of the charges brought against him, of having entertained treasonable designs against the British Government in India, or, of otherwise, intentionally violating the treaty of September 25th, 1819: And that, therefore, his Highness, the ex-Raja of Sattara, according to the principles of British law, founded upon

immutable justice, and the unalienable right of prince or peasant, is entitled to an entire restitution of all his rights, and to ample reparation for all his wrongs."

The Directors modestly proposed that the Court should pass over again their resolution of the 12th of February, 1840. The original motion was lost by a majority of seventeen—the majority being *all* Directors. On the motion of the Directors being put from the Chair, one experienced proprietor got his amendment before the Court, which was, however, lost. The rest were jockeyed aside in the most shameless manner, and the Directors carried, *by their own votes*, their own resolution, that there should be no interference with the "responsible Executive."

I ventured to tell, the Honourable, the Court of Directors, that they must not lay "the flattering unction to their souls," that they had placed the question of the Raja of Sattara at rest. I reminded them, that there were other and higher tribunals before which this cause could be tried. That there was a legitimate appeal to the Imperial Parliament, the source of their power, and that—to Parliament we would go. I reminded them, that we had upon the throne a benignant Queen, who would listen to our petition in behalf of a prostrate Indian prince, and that—to the footstool of that monarch we would go. I reminded them, finally, that there was a bar, even before which, *they* might be placed on their trial, and, peradventure, be found GUILTY: and I promised them, that no humble efforts should be wanting on my part, to bring them to that bar, if they should turn a deaf ear to the pleadings of disinterested compassion, and obstinately refuse the demands of outraged justice. They have fulfilled my worst fears. They have resisted evidence, as clear, as cogent, as convincing, as authoritative, as ever was submitted to the judgment and verdict of the human mind. If, in hot haste, or blind ambition, or wounded pride, or partial or entire ignorance of the facts of the case, they drove the Raja from his throne, and chose a supple villain to supply his place; time, ample time, has been given them, to grow cool and thoughtful—to review and to retrace their steps, and, though late, to do something to redeem themselves, and to save the British name from lasting infamy. If they ever had a doubt respecting the Raja's innocence, that doubt must have been a thousand times removed, by the accumulated proof which has been furnished, that the Prince they have trampled upon and exiled, has been, from first to last, the victim of one of the foulest conspiracies ever hatched by perjured caitiffs for the ruin of an honest and noble-minded man. From day to day, and from the debate of one year to the debate of another, they have seen the most upright and distinguished of their own servants stand forth to declare, after years of the most intimate knowledge of the Raja, their firm and enlightened conviction of his entire innocence. They saw the other day the evidence, which they had bought in every market where falsehood was exposed to sale, dissected, and demonstrated to be utterly unworthy of notice, where but the life of a dog might be concerned. It was proved, that, *themselves* were the violators of the treaty with the Raja, when they cast upon the Jagheers a look, like that which Ahab cast upon the vineyard of Naboth, the Jezreelite, and felt like him, when the possessor said, "I will not give thee the inheritance of my fathers." Yet have they decreed, that there shall be no justice done. The man is proved to be *innocent*, but they abide by the award they made, in the day they declared

him to be *guilty*. It is upon record that the sentence under which the Raja lies, was not pronounced or inflicted because he was guilty, but for the act—the thrice noble, the ennobling act, of declining to keep his throne at the expense of his honour. What then remains, but that the lovers of justice out of doors should espouse the cause of helpless innocence, now enduring the unjust sentence of unrelenting power. This, I believe, will be done. Let the work commence here. To you, as to a part of this great nation, I appeal. I call upon you to send this cause for trial to that assembly where your representatives sit, under the solemn obligation to restrain the abuse of the power they have, by act of Parliament, delegated. I call upon you, to demand, through them, an impartial investigation of the merits of this case. We have witnesses at hand, who have not yet appeared, whose testimony will carry confusion into the camp of the adversaries of the Raja. Let the Raja have a fair trial, and I fear not the issue. I now submit the motion of which I last evening gave notice. I anticipate your vote with confidence, and, when it is passed, I shall accept it as the happy herald of a verdict which shall, ere long, place the Raja of Sattara on his throne ; vindicate the tarnished honour of the British name ; and prove to the world that, though the acts of the East India Company may be cruel, the heart of the British people is just.—Mr Thompson concluded by reading his motion, viz. :—

" Whereas,—The British power in India can be permanently maintained, only by the adoption and steady observance of an honourable, a just, and a conciliatory line of conduct towards the Natives ; and—

" Whereas,—It is the solemn duty of the People of this Country, on whose behalf, and by whose delegated authority India is ruled, to watch with vigilance the administration of affairs ; to denounce every act of oppression perpetrated in their name ; and to interfere with promptitude and energy for the redress of the wrongs of the injured and the helpless ; and—

" Whereas,—One of the specific objects of this Society is, to protect the liberties, and advocate the rights of the Natives of the British Dependencies ; and—

" Whereas,—A Native Indian Prince (his Highness, the ex-Raja of Sattara) has, by the British Indian authorities, been dethroned, deprived of his property, and driven into exile, without trial, upon charges which, in the late debate at the India House, were shown to be false and unfounded ; and—

" Whereas,—The Directors of the East India Company have twice, by means of their own votes in the Court of Proprietors, decided against any re-consideration of the case, and systematically rejected every petition for redress ; therefore—

" Resolved,—That this Meeting view with feelings of the strongest indignation, the treatment which the ex-Raja of Sattara has received at the hands of the East India Company and the Board of Control—treatment contrary to the spirit of British Law—repugnant to the first principles of Justice—calculated inevitably to degrade the national character, and dissolve the ties of native allegiance ;—And this Meeting pledge themselves to seek, through the medium of an impartial Parliamentary investigation and subsequent legislation, (and, if necessary, by a direct appeal to the Queen in Council,) the restoration of the ex-Raja to the Throne of Sattara, and the reparation of the wrongs inflicted upon him by the British Indian Government."

Mr Gunn seconded the motion proposed by Mr Thompson.

The Rev. Mr Brewster, of Paisley, said he rose to address them at the present moment with feelings somewhat akin to those of a person who intruded himself upon a meeting contrary to the inclination of that meeting. They had just been listening to the details of a case of great cruelty, for he conceived there could not be two opinions regarding the case of the Raja of Sattara. They had heard a most convincing, though no doubt a one-sided statement, from Mr Thompson, on this subject, but even one hundredth part of the evidence which had been laid before the public must have been sufficient to convince them of the cruelty and injustice of this case. (Hear, hear.) He confessed that there had been gross injustice and oppression in that case; and it was not with a view of paying any disrespect to his friend, Mr Thompson, who had submitted the details of that case to them with his usual eloquence and talent—it was not with the view merely of differing from him, or throwing any imputation on his motives, that he now rose to propose another motion, or at least a modification of the motion Mr T. had laid before them. He admitted that the motion which had been submitted to them was a perfectly competent motion, as the Emancipation Society had, by a vote of its own, brought within the range of its objects such cases as that of the Raja of Sattara; but he submitted, that the business of that Society was rather with multitudes of men than with individuals;—it was first confined to Slaves alone, and then it extended its sympathies to those of every class groaning under oppression. He for one, rejoiced that this was the case; and, in accordance with this extended principle, he had attempted to direct the attention of the Society to cases of great oppression, but had not succeeded. He brought before them the subject of Slavery at home, and had been told that the objects of the Society did not apply to them; now, if the *Glasgow Emancipation Society* was to be restricted to natives of India only—(no, no)—then he must declare that he was no longer a member of that Society. He maintained that there were thousands of cases in our own land more worthy of their sympathy, and as much demanding their assistance as that of the Raja of Sattara. Mr Thompson had asked why they should not do justice to the prince as well as to the peasant; and he (Mr Brewster) reechoed the question, and asked,—why not? Why not do justice to the peasant as well as to the prince? (Loud cheering.) They had among the working and industrious classes hundreds and thousands labouring under oppression—why not do justice to them? He would not detract from the strength and validity of the case which had been brought before them; but still this was the case only of a single individual; and though the Society stood pledged to be the protectors of liberty, and the advocates of the oppressed in India, yet this referred only to the great body of the people of that country, and not to single individuals. There were about 900,000 Slaves, and thousands of men and women had been crushed in that country through the influence of British sway. Then, why bring forward only the case of a single man—why ask the British Legislature to interfere in this one case, and not in the case of the thousands who had been plundered and oppressed? If they interfered in every individual case of oppression that arose in India, he could assure this Society they would soon find plenty of work upon their hands. Why, the whole history of India, since it came under the dominion of Britain, was one continued record of fraud, rapine, oppression, and bloodshed; and, if they were to go into every particular case, and demand justice, they would find that the whole country ought to be restored to the native Princes, and that nothing short of the ejection of the English would suffice for that object. He was,

however, for India remaining in our hands, in order that we might learn the native Princes how to govern their people. He gave Mr Thompson full credit for the eulogium he had passed upon the Raja of Sattara; but, perhaps, if he had opportunities of inquiring into the history of that Prince, he might have found many things in his history and character that would have made him appear in a different light. It was well known that the native Princes were almost all of them gross and cruel oppressors of their subjects—and he could give instances in which one of them, (the King of Queda,) when complaints were made by his subjects, sewed up their mouths. He did not impute such cruelties to the Raja of Sattara; but perhaps a better knowledge of him might show that he was not altogether a fit person to be in possession of the all but irresponsible power he possessed in his territory. At all events, his situation could not for a moment be compared to thousands in this country who were compelled, as compulsorily as he had been, to leave their country, and without the means of support he had enjoyed; for it must be recollected he was the possessor of a handsome pension even in his exile. Having given some proofs of compulsory emigration from this country, to substantiate this statement, Mr B. proceeded:—Had Mr Thompson confined his motion to an expression of indignation at the treatment received by the Raja, he would have been satisfied; but, when he wished to bring the matter before the Legislature, and to excite the sympathies of that great association in behalf of a single individual, while nothing was said about the thousands who were suffering at home, he contended that they were directing their exertions into a channel that would occupy almost all their time—that they were directing their sympathies away from their own people, and exerting them in behalf of one individual in a distant land. He contended that they should give those at home a preference—and that they should direct their energies in favour of those who were dying from want, and that in violation of a law enacted for their support. Mr B. then proceeded to point out cases of extreme destitution in his own parish—one in which a widow and five children were starving on 1*s*. 6*d*. a-week, 1*s*. of which had to go for rent—and other two cases of equal distress. The unemployed in Paisley, amounting to 700, were, he said, condemned to live on a penny a-day, and he proceeded to state the efforts he had made to get their allowances enlarged. The misery now existing was in defiance of a law specially enacted for the benefit of the poor, and he charged, as being guilty of slow murder, the administrators of that law who permitted such things to exist. In consequence of the refusal of the Relief Committee of Paisley to enlarge the relief given to the unemployed, he had thought it his duty to resign his situation in that Committee. Mr B. then referred, as another proof of the misery and want that prevailed, to Captain Miller's recent report, of 1038 cases of destitution in Glasgow. In short, he said, thousands were from want dying by inches in our land. Yet for them there was to be expressed no sympathy—(no,)—but here was a well-pensioned Raja in India, whose case must be made the subject of Legislative interference. He felt grateful to Mr Thompson for his labours in behalf of bleeding humanity all over the world; he felt specially grateful to him for his exertions to put down the iniquitous Corn Laws—(great cheering,)—and he hoped he would next turn his attention to the thousands of poor in our own land. Mr B. then went on to speak of the necessity of a total abolition of the Corn Laws—he was for no fixed duty, holding a fixed duty to be a fixed iniquity—and of a revision, or better administration of our poor laws; and concluded by proposing, as an addition to Mr Thompson's motion:—

"That this Meeting, while they condemn the conduct of the British

Indian Government towards the Raja of Sattara, as one of the numerous cases of oppression in that Country, feel themselves constrained, upon the same principle, and by a stronger claim, to express their deep sympathy with the great body of the British people, now suffering under the effects of those most impolitic and iniquitous statutes—the Corn and Provision Laws of Britain—by which many thousands of industrious labourers and artizans have been thrown out of employment, and reduced to starvation, or driven into exile; and when patiently enduring extreme privations in Scotland, refused aid by the administrators of the Poor Law, though that law expressly requires for them adequate relief; and they now pledge themselves to exert their best endeavours to obtain the total repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws, as in a great measure the cause of those privations and sufferings, along with a speedy revision of the Poor Law of Scotland, in reference to its present administration, as failing to afford the relief which humanity and justice alike demand: and, at the same time, to do their utmost to obtain immediate and sufficient relief for their oppressed and destitute Fellow-Countrymen."

This motion was seconded by a person in the body of the meeting, whose name was not given. A short conversation followed, carried on by members of the Meeting not upon the platform, (one of them, ex-Deacon Convener Neilson) two of whom supported the motion of Mr Thompson, and two that of Mr Brewster. The former contended that to mix up extraneous matters with the object for which the meeting was called, would tend to destroy its object; and that it could not be said to relate to one individual only, for whatever affected the Raja, necessarily affected all his subjects, who were now placed under the sway of a tyrant. One of the latter gentlemen argued that the privations of our own countrymen ought not to be overlooked by the meeting. Mr James Scott thought the Society ought not to take up individual cases, seeing that, if they introduced one question of such a nature as the present, it would open the road to fifty others; and they would come at last to be involved in all the shifting political questions of the day. He thought the Society should confine its attention to the question of Slavery alone, and he moved accordingly, but was not seconded.

Mr Thompson was then heard in reply. He said, were he disposed to follow in the train of Mr Brewster, he should have much to do indeed; but as he was not disposed to do that, he would take the liberty of referring to only one or two of his remarks. Indeed, the one part of Mr Brewster's speech eat up the other part of it, and there was little after all left to him to answer. (Laughter.) Mr B. said he would not impute motives, but he nevertheless did impute motives. The Raja was a good man, but still he might be a bad one. The Raja was a good and beneficent Prince, but he might not be so good a Prince after all. The King of Queda sewed up the mouths of his subjects, and therefore the Raja might be a tyrant to his people. (Laughter.) And there were many things which he (Mr T.) might have done, but which he had not done—and upon these Mr Brewster had dilated at great length. Now he had not asked them to give all their time, and all their money, and all their sympathy, to the case of the Raja of Sattara—he had not asked that the business of the House of Commons should stand still till they had settled the case of the Raja of Sattara—he had no wish, nor had he asked them, to advocate the cause of the oppressed in India, while he neglected the miserable at his own door. (Hear, hear.) He did not impute motives to Mr Brewster, though Mr Brewster had imputed them to him as he went on—but, as he withdrew them at the end, he had no wish to complain of them.

Mr Brewster here disclaimed having imputed any motives to Mr Thompson, and complained of the mode in which Mr T. was answering his speech.

Mr Thompson—Mr Brewster had said many things that went to an imputation of his motives. He attempted very skilfully to soften down the eulogium he had pronounced on the Raja of Sattara by speaking of the monsters who had governed the natives of India; as if he (Mr T.) had said one word in favour of the enormities which had been practised by native Princes; and every person present knew that he had not, and would not; and, besides, the cruelties of other natives Princes never could affect the Raja. He had not said all he might have said in favour of that unfortunate Prince. Instead of sewing up the mouths of his subjects he filled them; but one capital punishment had taken place in his kingdom during his reign. (Cheers.) He reserved to himself, in all cases, involving the punishment of death, the infliction of the sentence, and only one capital punishment had been inflicted, and that at the command of the resident. Though a Hindoo, and punctual in the observance of the rites of his religion, never did a widow offer herself to the Suttee without his offering her a handsome pension to live, and wait till Providence should take her to her resting-place. (Cheers.) Such was the Raja of Sattara. But they were told it was an individual case. Why, all the oppressions of the world were made up of individual cases. Mr Brewster was toiling nobly—and long might he live to toil till he commanded success, and obtained his reward—he was toiling for the relief of his suffering fellow-creatures—but all his cases were individual cases, and brought together, they made that black aggregate which he had exhibited before them to-night. But in the case of the Raja of Sattara the principles of eternal justice had been violated—as much violated as though 50,000 Rajas had been overthrown. Had no injustice, he asked, been done to the subjects of this Prince, by blotting out from the hemisphere of their hopes a star brighter and purer in its influence than ever shone upon India before?—(Cheers)—the subjects that once lived free and happy under the benignant rule of the Raja of Sattara, now trembled under the eye of a debauchee and a tyrant. But then, they were told it was an extraneous topic. Two years ago he had endeavoured to bring the merits of the British India question before the people of Glasgow. He then advocated not the rights of one individual, but of all—he laid bare the miseries, not of one, but of all—he took the great mass of the population, oppressed and wronged, robbed of their patrimonial inheritance, and their all torn from them by the grasp of an enslaving conqueror; and now, did he bring forward the case of the Raja of Sattara to the exclusion of these? Certainly not. (Cheers.) There was a motion now on the books of the East India House, which it was his intention to support, to the effect, that the British Government was not, either *de jure* or *de facto*, proprietors of the soil of India. Was this confining his sympathies to one individual, and overlooking the oppressed thousands of India? (Cheers.) Advocate the Corn Law question, said Mr Brewster. He loved that question better than to do so now—he was too sincere an advocate of the Corn Law repeal to mix it up with the case of the Raja of Sattara. (Cheers.) He had advocated that question—of late he had done something to promote it—and by to-morrow night's mail he would travel to a great distance from Glasgow, to join in a discussion for the abolition of the Corn Laws; but he was not practically so great an enemy of the repeal of those laws as to bring it forward with the case of the Raja of Sattara. He could tell Mr B. how well he loved that cause. He had taken upon him extra-officially,

and without fee or reward, the advocacy of the Corn Law repeal. He was working night and day to advance that cause; and he would tell Mr Brewster, that if he desired to alienate from any good work, he most effectually did so, when he attempted to coerce others into it—when he came among those met for other objects, and endeavoured to force upon them an extraneous topic. (Hear.) There was a time for everything: there was a time for the Raja of Sattara—there was a time for the hand-loom weavers of Paisley—and there was a time for those of Glasgow. The present was the time for neither. It was doing justice to none to be called upon to look at the sufferings of the Paisley weaver on the one hand, and of the Indian Prince on the other; but neither should be neglected. "This ye should have done, and not left the other undone." Mr Brewster told him he did wrong to labour for the millions of India, and he called upon him to bring forward this case and that case of oppression and misery in our own country. Had Mr Brewster called a meeting, (he knew not if he had done so, and he put the question,) had he called a meeting in Glasgow, in behalf of the 1000 destitute people in this city, or had he called a meeting in Paisley, to alleviate the miseries of his fellow-townsmen there? Had he, like him, travelled to London to advocate the cause of those in whom he had interested himself? If he had not let him pluck a leaf from his book,—travel to London, and there enforce the claims of his suffering fellow-countrymen. We ought not, he said, to do this, that, and the other thing, for India; but in reality they had, as yet, done nothing. Granted that there was distress in this country: they had also innumerable sources of amelioration: they had Infirmaries, and Hospitals, and Night Refuges, and Relief Funds, and a whole constellation of institutions, which, though not enough, yet formed a galaxy of benevolence and humanity that, in some degree, redeemed our land. But there was not, over the whole surface of India, from the white beach that looked upon the sea, to the snow-capped mountains of the Himmalaya, a vestige of one institution for the benefit of that vast empire. Talk of Paisley! He would cheerfully fight for them—he would struggle with them till the want that pinched their pallid cheek with the hue of death should be tinged with the hue of health, and their homes made the abodes of peace and plenty; but he would tell Mr B. that he was not bound by Paisley-bred philanthropy—man to him was man wherever he was found—on the shores of India as in Paisley; injustice was as insulting to God and to man in India as in Paisley, and if there was any difference it was felt by the Indian, for whom Mr Brewster did not plead. He would divide the work with him—strong as he was, he would give him Paisley, and weak as he (Mr T.) was, he would take India. He did not love Paisley less because he said so. In Paisley Mr Brewster had defended him from interruption. On the China question he had shown a strong desire that he should obtain a hearing; he thanked him for his kindness, and only wished that he had copied himself to-night. (Cheers.) In Paisley they had his friend Mr Brewster ever ready to defend their cause, but in India none stood forward to prevent oppression, and they were degraded and outcast, and subjected to every insult, because, shame to our nature! they had the colour of an Eastern sun. (Cheers.) In India, the granary of the world, famine sometimes carried off by death 600,000 in a few short months; and if he stood forward to denounce these gigantic oppressions, he was, forsooth, a monopolist, giving exclusive sympathy, and giving a preference—he never made use of the word—he never said one case should be preferred to another—nor did he ever brand any man with doing wrong, who did not come forward to help him. After some observations in reference to the spirit in

which he had penned the resolution submitted by him, he asked what good had ever been done to any cause by such interruption to the business of a meeting as the present, and by bringing in one question upon another? What was it, in such an instance as the present, but throwing a reflection upon the men and women there convened, that they did not care for the interests of the poor. (Hear.) If Mr Brewster wished to find such a description of persons, he could tell him it would be any where than in an Anti-Slavery Meeting; for he might depend upon it, that the best friends of the poor every where were the friends of the Negro. (Cheers.) Those hands which best ministered to the wants of the poor, were the hands of those that had been taught to feel for the sufferings of the Negro. While he said this, was he insensible of the value of Mr Brewster's services? He admired the very over-zeal which made him on the same occasion go beyond the bounds of propriety, because he knew that his conduct was dictated by the purest love of humanity. It was not that Mr Brewster wanted compassion, it was just that he wanted a little more knowledge and experience in conducting public business. He did not know the man he would wish more to be a despot—for he was only a despot in the cause of freedom—he was outrageous only in oppression, or in the cause of humanity. (Cheers and laughter.) After some other remarks of a similarly good humoured kind, Mr T. concluded by appealing to the justice of the case he had brought before them, and calling upon the meeting to vindicate, though in the person of one man, the cause of justice and humanity. (Cheers.)

Mr Brewster said they had heard from Mr Thompson a reply never equalled, he believed, for evasion and injustice; and he would confidently appeal to the decision of the public on that point. He entirely disregarded the attempt to throw discredit on the principles he held. His philanthropy, he would say, was not Paisley-bred philanthropy, and he trusted he was able to show that he had always advocated the rights of every human being, and that he had advocated those rights even more than Mr Thompson himself. He had periled his place in society—he had risked his professional standing, and he certainly did not deserve, at the hands of Mr Thompson, or any man, the imputations cast upon him. Mr B. then went on to observe that he had never, as represented by Mr Thompson, looked upon the case of the suffering poor as his case; he had never attempted to force that case upon a reluctant meeting, or where the rules of debate did not enable him to do so. Unless the objects of that Society were to be confined to foreign nations, he defied Mr Thompson to make good his declaration, but he had always understood that they extended their labours to oppression of every kind. He denied that he had said the Raja was a bad man; but he said he ought not, any more than any other human being, to be intrusted with irresponsible power. Mr Thompson asked if he had ever called a public meeting, to consider the 1038 cases of destitution in Glasgow, or to consider the state of the poor in Paisley. Now he should have thought it belonged more to the supporters of Mr Thompson's motion to call a meeting than to him, and he could tell him that, though they might have been indifferent or quiescent in this matter, he was not. (Hear, hear.) He had called a meeting; and in Paisley he had been the principal means of calling more than one meeting; and, by these means, had succeeded in getting the only relief that was given to the suffering unemployed. It was strange we should be charged with having no sympathy with foreign oppression, when foreign oppression was admitted in the case of one individual, and it was only asked that equal attention should be paid to the cases of oppres-

sion at home, yet he was told that he was not a friend to the poor. (No, no.) Mr B. then proceeded to make some further remarks, but the audience became impatient. He then challenged Mr Thompson to meet him before the public of Glasgow, and discuss the matter at issue before them. The audience latterly became very impatient, and the chairman, who reminded Mr Brewster that he was speaking only by sufferance, brought the matter to a close.

A division then took place, when Mr Thompson's motion was carried by a large majority.

The following resolutions were then, owing to the lateness of the hour, put from the Chair, *seriatim*, and carried:—

"That this Society, believing that the American Colonization Society is—as they have often previously declared—inimical to the Liberties of the Black and Coloured population of America, and that many of the British people are deceived by the representations of the Agents of that Society, we therefore feel ourselves called upon to re-publish a Letter from the venerable Thomas Clarkson to William Lloyd Garrison, upon that subject, that Letter being, in the opinion of this Meeting, well calculated to undeceive the people on that important subject."

"That the thanks of the Meeting be given to George Thompson, Esq., for his kindness in attending, at great personal inconvenience to himself, this Anniversary; and for the highly interesting information which he has, this evening, so eloquently laid before us."

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr Thompson for his eloquent and able address; which Mr Thompson briefly acknowledged.

Thanks having been voted to the Chairman, the Meeting separated.

After the Chairman had left his seat, Mr Brewster again challenged Mr Thompson to meet him and discuss the question between them. Mr Thompson stated he was ready to meet Mr Brewster upon any subject, but he wished to know what was to be discussed—as he could see no question between them, that called for such a meeting. Several persons in the meeting interfered, and Mr Brewster, instead of one, soon found himself in the hands of at least half a dozen opponents; and amid some little confusion, the matter terminated, near 12 o'clock.

No. III.

T. CLARKSON, ESQ., AND THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

LETTER TO WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

(*From the* British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter, *Sept.* 23*d*, 1840.)

Dear Sir,—When you was in England on a former occasion, you did me the favour to call upon me at Playford Hall, to take a part against the "Colonization Society." Long before this visit, my friend, Mr Elliot Cresson, had engaged me in its favour, so that I fear I did not show you the attention and respect (while you was at my house) due to so faithful an apostle of Liberty. You have lately been in England again, but your numerous engagements prevented you from seeing me, though it was your

intention to have done so, and to have conversed with me on the same subject. I understood from your friends in London, who sent me a message to that effect, that you wished to know the particular reasons why I have changed my mind with respect to that Society. I have no objection to give you a short account of the reasons which induced me to enter into it, and finally to abandon it.

My attention was first drawn to this subject by Mr Elliot Cresson, who said that there was at that moment an almost *universal* desire, in the people of the United States, *to abolish Slavery and the Slave Trade,* and that he and they had a plan for this purpose. The plan was to emancipate all those men in bondage there, and to send them to Africa, the land of their fathers, where they were to buy land and form colonies, on the principle of *civilizing* the natives thereof, *teaching them Christianity,* and of preventing the *Slave Trade* in their immediate neighbourhood, as well as of trying to put an end to it in other parts, wherever their influence might reach. This desire or disposition in the American people to accomplish so glorious a work, was, he said, almost *universal.* It was not confined to the Clergy, or persons of superior intellect, or high moral character, but it extended through the various classes of Society, *even to the Planters themselves,* who were then deeply *convinced of the sin of holding their fellow-creatures as Slaves,* so that Slaves for transportation might be bought for £7 10*s.* each —(the sum calculated to pay their passage.) Many masters were so convinced of *the sin of Slavery,* that they would emancipate, and were then emancipating their Slaves for nothing, that is, *without any pecuniary consideration,* or on the *condition* only, that they should be sent to Africa, and comfortably provided for there. Upon this *universally prevalent* disposition, the *Colonization Society* was founded, and a district to be called Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, was fixed upon for the purpose: this was the account given me by my friend, Mr Cresson, and I own that I was *overcome* with joy and carried away by it. I thought it was one of the sublimest plans ever devised. Here the two great evils of Slavery and the Slave Trade, were to be done away at one and the same time in the United States. But *that circumstance* which astonished me the most was, that there should have broken out *all at once,* and *over the whole land,* such a sunshine of benevolent feeling; that men should suddenly, and all at once, have given up long established customs, and the rooted prejudices of ages; and that the hardened hearts of Planters should have been all at once melted and softened, and their consciences so smitten, as to have acknowledged *Slave-holding* to *be a sin,* for which they were anxious to *make reparation at a great sacrifice,* namely, the free Emancipation of their Slaves. These feelings, on the part of the American people, were not to be accounted for upon any *ordinary principle.* I thought that nothing but the Spirit of God could have worked such a miracle, and that, as it was His will that the blessing of Freedom should come to American Slaves, through the means of the Colonization Society, we were bound most thankfully to accept the boon. My astonishment was so great at this miraculous change of things, that I questioned my friend, Mr Cresson, *over and over again,* if his account was not exaggerated. He replied always that it was strictly true—and these were the reasons why I patronized the Society in the very beginning of its formation.

I began now to think very seriously on what had been at different times related to me on this subject; and first, how such an immense work was to be accomplished. Nearly *two millions and a half of Slaves* were stated to be then in the United States; and all these were to be transported to Africa. It struck me, that no private funds could be collected by Mr

Cresson, either in England or in America, sufficient for this purpose—that it was in fact, and ought to be a government work, and I told him *my fears* that he would never accomplish his object. He told me in reply, that besides subscriptions by individuals, the different states in the Union would each give its quota of money towards it, sufficient to transport all the Slaves within its own districts or boundaries. He then showed me one or two American newspapers, in which it appeared that one of these States, Virginia I think, had already promised a very large sum, *some thousands of dollars* to the work, and he believed the rest of the States would follow the example. Thus my fears were quieted as they related to this part of the subject. I do not know whether Virginia has to this day fulfilled her promise. On going more deeply into this subject *new fears* rose up to my mind. I began to think that, if the Slaves in the United States amounted to the *immense number* reported, with the population every day increasing by birth, *no man* then living might see this good work brought to an end, and *that during all this time*, that is during their transportation, all the horrors of Slavery would be going on among those who were left behind. I determined, therefore, to satisfy myself on this point, and therefore, when I saw my friend Mr Cresson next, I inquired what was the state of Liberia; how many Emancipated persons had been already imported into it; and what was the number annually expected to be brought into it. I gathered from him, as far as I can now recollect, that between two and three thousand had already come into it, and that more were on their way thither; but that, if I waited a little time longer, he could give me a better answer. I accordingly waited for some months, when I found that the recruits began to come in *much more slowly than before*, and that judging by the last importations, or the number then imported in a given time, I could not expect that more than 1000 or 1500, or at the most 2000 Emancipated Slaves could be *then counted upon to be sent annually into Liberia*. This alarmed me, and I began to think that some difficulties had occurred in the way of the emigration; either that the *funds were then* not equal to the transportation of more, or that *more could not* be procured. *Not more than* 2000 *at most* could be expected to be brought into the colony *in a year*, whereas not less than 1000 *per day* should have been sent to that and other parts of the continent of Africa, to get rid of a population of between two and three millions in any reasonable time. No person, if Mr Cresson's plan were followed up in *such a slow and lingering manner*, could hope to see the extinction of Slavery in the United States in less than 500 years, if at all. Nor even could they take off by such a slow process even the rising generation as they were born, nor, if the American Government were to take the plan into their own hands, could they *in any reasonable time* accomplish the work, were they even to give to the project *every shilling of the surplus revenue in their* treasury, and *employ their whole navy in the transportation of those people*, taking in the rising generation, and all the difficulties which would occur. Even they, the American Government, could not accomplish it in less than fifty years.

I considered, therefore, Mr Cresson's plan, so far as related to the removal of these unhappy people, *as impracticable* within the life time of any man then living, and I told him so repeatedly, but I could never get a satisfactory answer from him; nor can any satisfactory answer ever be given to show that the scheme is practicable, and this ought to weigh with those, who, if this society still exists, *have a desire to enter into it*. Let such persons moreover consider that this Society has already existed, I believe, for upwards of twenty years, and that there is *not a Slave less in*

the United States now than when they began their work. Indeed, notwithstanding all their efforts, *during all this time* there are *hundreds of thousands more,* in consequence of the increase of population, than when the plan was first proposed, the Slave population according to the best accounts *amounting now to nearly three millions.* I may say further, that if this society still exists, it is criminal; for to hold out that their scheme would produce *the entire extinction of Slavery in America,* (and this was held out with an inconceivable obstinacy) what was it, or what is it, but to delude the public as well as themselves, and to teach people *to rely upon this one measure;* whereas if their scheme had never been proposed, they *would have been looking out for some other remedy or cure.*

But I began to have other fears as I looked into the subject farther, from a very different view of it. I began to question whether the persons to be sent out were the *proper persons* to *found a new colony* in an uncivilized *part of the world,* and whether they would not do *more harm than good.* The natives of Africa, besides being called upon to abolish the Slave Trade in their own territory, were to be *improved in their morals,* to be *civilized,* to be *christianized;* but *were Slaves newly Emancipated* fit persons to carry on such a work? And yet by the scheme such and such alone, except the officers, were to be employed in it. The scheme had reference *only* to those who were *then Slaves,* and who were to be made free on the occasion, that is, just before the sailing of the vessels which were to convey them to their new homes. Now it is obvious that, if these people were to be sent to Liberia and other parts of the same continent, they would go there *with all the vices of Slavery upon their heads.* Theft, lying, prevarication, and trickery of every kind are the characteristics of a Slave, brought on inevitably by the vicious system under which he had been obliged to live. To this are to be added the brutal and superstitious notions which such people must have; their want of education and of any knowledge of civilized life; but above all, their want of any moral principle to guide them, and their total ignorance of God and religion. Now I did not think that people of this description were fit to be sent to Africa to *form a pattern colony* for the imitation of the natives there, for they were not persons of a *pattern conduct* themselves. These were my thoughts upon this part of my subject, and I mentioned them several times to Mr Cresson. He said that hitherto he had taken all the care he could to make a selection, but admitted that 120 of this description had come into Liberia amongst the last importations. He candidly confessed that he did not see how he could help himself on a future occasion, indeed he spoke only the truth; for the scheme *related only to those who were then in bondage,* and who, as *soon as ever they* were Emancipated, (however unfit they might be) were to be the component parts of the new colonies in Africa.

You will see in this narrative my reasons for patronizing at first the "American Colonization Society," and my reasons also for having afterwards deserted it. I left it, first, because it *was entirely impracticable.* This is a *sufficient reason* of itself, for no man in his senses would pursue a plan which he thought could never be accomplished. I left it, secondly, because I thought that *newly Emancipated* Slaves were not qualified to become colonists in Africa to any good purpose. How could persons be sent with any propriety to civilize others, who *wanted civilizing themselves?* Besides the advocates for the Colonization Society in America had no right to send *the scum* of their population to Africa, to breed a moral pestilence there. As far, however, as *the Abolition of the Slave Trade* in Africa is concerned in the plan, it must be allowed that Liberia has done a

great deal of good. But then this was the *first* colony planted, and the people sent there, as Mr Cresson assured me, were more select. Many of these had been Emancipated a considerable time before, and had got their own living, knowing something of the habits of civilized life. My argument relates only to newly Emancipated Slaves, who, according to the scheme, were to be hurried off from the plantations as soon as their liberty was given them. If the Society did not take these people, then the prospectus offered to the public had no meaning in it, and Slavery could never, according to its promises, be *extinguished* in the United States.

Since writing the above, I have learnt from an American paper that a skirmish has taken place between the colonists of Liberia and the people of Gaytoombah's Town. I know nothing of the causes of this apparently little war, but am grieved to learn, when the skirmish was over, that a most wanton, deliberate, cold-blooded act of butchery was practised *by the missionaries themselves;* who boasted that, while the people of Gaytoombah's Town were gathering up their dead, they had the *best chance of any to fire into their groupes,* and, when they had turned their backs, to "*pepper their hams with buck shot.*" This was too bad, and contrary to the usages of war among civilized nations; but to rejoice in, to boast of, to make a joke of such a murderous deed, belonged only to *savages,* and yet these men were, we repeat, missionaries, *disciples of the Prince of Peace,* and perhaps, *leading men* in the colony. What effect such barbarous conduct will have upon the natives, to prevent future colonies from being settled on their coast, we may perhaps live to see. The news of this massacre will certainly be spread by the Kroomen all over the African coast, and the Colonization Society may be deprived of the power of making further purchases in Africa, except in their own immediate vicinity, where they may have done some good. If this should ever be the case, they may bid farewell to their future hopes. Where then will they provide land on this continent for three millions of Emancipated Slaves?

But I have not done with the subject yet. Mr Cresson had hardly left England the last time, when new information was given me on this same subject, by two American gentlemen *of the very highest moral reputation,* by which I was led to suppose two things—either that I had mistaken Mr Cresson in his numerous conversations with me, or that he had allowed me to entertain erroneous impressions without correcting them. It was true, as my two friends informed me, that there had actually been a great stir or agitation in the United States on this subject, and quite as extensive and general as Mr Cresson had represented it to be; but that the cause of it was *not a religious feeling,* as I had been led to imagine, by which the planters *had been convinced of the sin of Slavery,* but a base feeling of fear which seemed to pervade all of them, and which urged them *to get rid* of the *free people of colour* by sending them to Africa. These people were more knowing, intelligent, and cultivated than the Slaves, and it was believed were likely to join them, and be very useful to them in the case of an insurrection, so that, if these were once fairly sent out of the country, they, the planters, might the more safely rule their then Slaves with a rod of iron. This information was accompanied by an account, by way of proof, taken from American newspapers, of different meetings held by the friends of the Colonization Society in different States of the Union, and of the speeches made there. It appeared from these speeches, that the most violent supporters of this Society *were planters themselves,* and that the speakers did not hesitate to hold out the monstrous and hateful proposition that the negroes were *not men and women,* but that they belonged to the *brute creation.* It was impossible to read these speeches, which were so

many public documents, and not perceive that the persons then assembled were no friends, but bitter enemies to the whole African race, and that *nothing in the way of good intentions* towards the negro could be expected from them. It is unnecessary for me to attempt to describe what my feelings were upon this occasion. I will only say that I saw the scheme, shall I say the diabolical scheme, with new eyes; and that the new light thus thrown upon it, added to the two arguments before-mentioned, determined me to wash my hands clean for ever of the undertaking.

With respect to my dear and revered friend, Mr Wilberforce, I will tell you what was his opinion on this subject. He saw Mr Cresson through my introduction, and having heard patiently all that Mr Cresson had to say in favour of his scheme, put this important question to him, "Why, when the government of the United States have millions of acres of land, whole States indeed, at their disposal, why do you send them to Africa for a new home, when you can locate them in the country in which they were born, and to which they have a claim by birthright, and on account of services to the community?" Mr Cresson never answered this question so as to satisfy Mr Wilberforce, and Mr Wilberforce would not stir a step till it was answered. His opinion was, that if Congress were composed of just and honest men, they would locate these Slaves in a territory neighbouring to their own, and make a separate State of them, and have them represented on the floor of Congress; or that they would send them to a great distance, making an allied state of them there, and sending proper officers and magistrates with them to live among them, and to put them into the way of governing themselves. But he gave the preference to the former measure; he always thought that there was something hidden in Mr Cresson's plan, which was purposely concealed.

I have now given you my reasons for having once patronized the Colonization Society, and then deserted it, and hope you will consider them satisfactory.—I am, dear Sir, with great esteem, very truly and cordially yours,

THOMAS CLARKSON.

To W. L. Garrison, Esq.

No. IV.

HISTORY OF THE DIVISION IN THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.*

WITH MR GARRISON'S REMARKS THEREON.

(*From the Second Annual Report of the* Massachusetts Abolition Society.)

The Committee have long felt that a full and accurate history should be given to the public, of the origin and progress of the unhappy division

* This history is furnished by the Separatists themselves; and it may be proper to note, for the information of the reader, that the Society in New England, with which Mr Garrison is connected, is the oldest in the United States on the principle of *Immediate* Emancipation, and is known by the name of the Massachusetts *Anti-Slavery* Society.

among the friends of the slave in this country, and of the causes that led to it. The developments of the past year have increased their conviction of its importance, and encouraged them to believe, that the abolition mind in this country and abroad is prepared to receive and credit *all* the facts in the case—those especially, which, as they implicate personal character, have hitherto, from personal friendship and a regard to the cause, been withheld from the public generally, but which, though not the *grounds* of the secession, are yet important, as throwing light upon and giving meaning to those that were the grounds of it. The Committee feel that such a history of the case is due to themselves, to those who, having been providentially prominent in making the secession, have been the special objects of assault and abuse by those from whom we have separated, to the friends of the Slave generally, and to posterity. Such a history is the more important, also, from the many partial and erroneous representations of the facts which have been given to the public by our former associates and friends. Such a history, the Committee directed their Secretary, some months since, to prepare. Various causes prevented his doing it then, and entering soon after on another field of labour, he has been unable to do it since. As the best substitute which the circumstances now allow, he has grouped together a few of the facts of the kind referred to. To these the Committee invite your special attention, and with the exposition of the case which these furnish, the Committee hope to be able to close this unwelcome, yet, as they believe, necessary controversy.

The Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in their last Annual Report, say:—

"The position assumed by that (the Abolition) Society is one of unmitigated hostility to ours. By its MANAGERS, its OFFICIAL ORGAN and AGENTS, it has left untried no device to prejudice the public mind, and especially the religious portion of the community, against the State Anti-Slavery Society, and ourselves as its official representatives. All this has been done with such a *wanton disregard of truth*, such a wide departure from the ground of Anti-Slavery union and fellowship, such *palpable intent* to gratify *personal and sectarian feelings*, that it is in the highest degree painful to contemplate such a development of moral character."

These are grave charges. They are made *officially*, by the State Society and its official representatives. They have been repeatedly made before, by those whose influence controls and gives tone to that Society. They aver that the Secession had its origin in feelings of *personal and sectarian hostility*. Nothing can be more untrue. It is not known that any of those, who have been prominent in the Secession, have *ever* had the least personal difference with the individual, (Mr Garrison) out of hostility to whom it has been so often alleged the Secession arose. It is believed that to this hour they are *all* on terms of perfect personal friendship and good will to that individual, and that when they meet him, as they occasionally do, they meet as friends, with no personal animosities whatever toward each other. At all events, this is true of the Secretary of this Society, whose alleged personal hostility has been the subject of frequent and extensive remark. Such personal hostility has never existed. Equally unfounded is the charge of Sectarianism, as the sequel will show. The charge that the "managers, official organ and agents," of this Society have conducted the controversy with "a wanton disregard of truth," is a polite way of saying that we are all liars. This Committee will not retort the charge. Yet, when such a charge is gravely and officially preferred, when it has received the sanction, not only of the general meeting, but of the cooler and deliberate reflections of such men as Edmund Quincy,

Francis Jackson, and Ellis Gray Loring, and, with such sanction, has been put on record to go down to posterity, it is surely time to make known *all* the facts, whatever may be the results to personal character in return.

CAUSES OF THE DIVISION.

At the formation of this Society, its Executive Committee were "instructed to prepare and issue at an early day an Address to the public, setting forth our objects and reasons for separate action." In that Address, the "causes of division" were declared to be the introduction into our cause of what is technically called the "Woman's Rights question," the departure of the old Society from the "original doctrines and measures" of the Anti-Slavery Associations on "the subject of political action," and a serious "defect in regard to the composition of its business meetings." The defect in question practically destroyed the representative character of the Society, and, as experience proved, enabled Lynn and Boston to legislate for the State. It was by taking advantage of this, that the action of the Society, on the two topics named, was controlled, and the Society carried over from the ground of simple and original Abolition, to that of a Woman's Rights and Non-government one. Lynn and Boston sent their scores of delegates, so-called, to the meetings of the Society, while towns more remote, with an equal proportionate amount of Abolitionists, could send but two or three. Such was the fact at the meeting at which the revolution in question was effected. Lynn had a delegation of 120 present. Boston had a greater number. Of those from Boston, *eighty* were appointed by a meeting of *seven* members of a new city Society, that had been formed with special reference to the then approaching meeting of the State Society. This was in fact the appointment of nearly the whole membership of the Society, as delegates.

And what is worse, not less than twenty or thirty of these were induced to join the City Society, merely that they might be appointed as delegates to vote at the State Meeting. And so prominent an individual as the Treasurer of the State Society, was a prominent actor in this shameful proceeding! Yet each of the so-called delegates, from Boston and Lynn, claimed and exercised an equal voice with those from remote parts of the State, in deciding the action of the State Society. Nor was there any thing, in the constitution of the Society, to forbid it. To remedy this defect, to bring the cause back to its original ground, that so it might be presented to the public on its merits, unincumbered by the extraneous and sectarian questions with which, in the action of the old Society, it had been identified, were the avowed reasons for the formation of the new Society—these, connected with the hopelessness of effecting any reform in the old Society, were the avowed "causes of the division." They were its *true and real causes.*

THE REAL "PLOT."

In presenting them to the public as such, your Committee have hitherto rested their defence of the case upon these simple facts. From a regard to former friendships and the general cause, they have been anxious, as far as possible, to spare the personal character of leading individuals from whom we have separated. It was enough, that in the action of the old Society, the Anti-Slavery cause was, as a *matter of fact,* turned aside from its original character, and identified with other matters, and that the determination to turn it aside thus, from whatever motives, was, *as a fact,* deliberate and settled. These two facts the Committee have ever regarded as ample jus-

tification of the separation. On their presentation *as facts*, have they hitherto rested their defence in the case. They believe, however, that the time has now come, and that the circumstances of the case are now such, as to require them to go behind these facts, and give the public some of the evidences, which have for some time satisfied them of the existence of a *deliberate and well-matured design*, on the part of those who have controlled the action of the former Society, *to make the Anti-Slavery organizations subservient to the promotion of their personal and sectarian views on the subjects of Woman's Rights, so-called Civil Government, the Church, the Ministry, and the Sabbath.*

THE DESIGN DISCREDITED AND DISCLAIMED.

It was a long time before those who have been active in the separation could believe in the existence of any such design on the part of individuals with whom they had been so intimately associated, and to whom they had been accustomed to look as counsellors and leaders in their efforts for the enslaved. When such a design, indeed, was charged on them, particularly upon Mr Garrison, as it sometimes was, it was indignantly disclaimed.* Such was the fact at the time of Mr Garrison's first assault upon the Sabbath, and at the subsequent period of the Clerical Appeal. In the conclusion of the Sabbath discussion in 1836, Mr Garrison said:—

"Once for all, we beg our readers to be assured that we have not for one moment cherished the purpose either of being diverted from the special advocacy of the *one great cause* which we have so long espoused, or of making the *Liberator* the arena of a controversy *which does not belong to its character or its object*. Our Sabbatical animadversions upon Dr. Beecher's speech were purely *incidental*, and *quite subordinate to the main design* of our review. * * * We take our leave of the Sabbatical controversy, so far as the columns of the *Liberator* are concerned, merely remarking again that we shall not suffer ourself or our paper to be diverted from the steadfast and zealous advocacy of the Anti-Slavery cause. * * As the *Liberator* is patronized by persons of almost every religious persuasion, and chiefly because it is an Anti-Slavery paper, it is obvious that it does not properly come within our province to attack the peculiar tenets or ecclesiastical arrangements of any sect. We shall studiously aim not to do so."

And subsequently, in January, 1837, when it was proposed to have the State Society assume the pecuniary support of the paper, Mr Garrison referred to the same discussion in a similar manner, and added:—

"The leading, all-absorbing object of the *Liberator* shall continue to be, as it has been hitherto, the overthrow of American Slavery—*not to conflict with any religious sect or political party.*"

DEFENCE OF MR GARRISON AND OTHERS.

In the full belief of the sincerity of these disclaimers, we were ready to defend him and others of kindred views, as members of the Anti-Slavery Society. Our plea was, that the Anti-Slavery Society, as such, had nothing to do with, and was not to be held responsible for the private opinions of its Members on any subjects other than that of the Abolition

* In Mr Garrison's phrenological development, as given by Mr Fowler, and published in the *Liberator*, is the following:—

"He generally keeps his plans and feelings to himself, and carries his plans into execution without divulging them. * * He has more forethought than he manifests. He has great literary ingenuity, and is full of new schemes and projects. He shows a great deal of tact as a writer and reasoner. He seldom or never commits himself."

of Slavery. And, giving Mr Garrison the full benefit of this plea, the Secretary of this Society, then Editor of the *Emancipator*, (August 18th, 1836,) said :—

"We trust that we love the Sabbath, and dissent from Mr Garrison's views on the subject as much as any one—but what then? Nay, what if he were throughout a thorough Quaker? Must I therefore abjure his sentiments on the subject of *Abolition*, or temperance, or any other similar question, and refuse to co-operate with and sustain him in their promulgation? Nonsense."

And in so saying, the Editor did but express his own and this Committee's present as well as former views in the case. With the private, religious, or other opinions of its members, the Anti-Slavery Society, as such, and we as members of it, have nothing to do. It is only when these opinions are thrust upon the Anti-Slavery platform, as part and parcel of Abolition, and the attempt is made to model the action of the Anti-Slavery Societies in accordance with them, that we have any right to complain, and the community a right to hold us responsible for them. Nor was it until this was actually done, and conclusive evidence was furnished that it would be persisted in, that remonstrance and resistance, finally issuing in separation, began.

VIEWS AND FEELINGS OF MR GARRISON AT THIS PERIOD.

The Clerical Appeal controversy commenced in August, 1837. In the progress of that discussion, it became manifest that Mr Garrison's heart was set upon other reforms more generic in their character, and, in his view, more important, than the Anti-Slavery reform. He used frequently to remark, that nothing thorough and effectual could be effected for temperance or Abolition, until we had had some more radical and generic reform. *At this period he gave up all hope of the Abolition of Slavery by moral and peaceful means.* In the New England Convention, June 2, 1837, he said "he was led to fear that all efforts to avert the pending calamity" of the annexation of Texas to the Union "would prove abortive, and that our national destruction was sealed." (*Lib.* vol. 7, p. 110.)

On the 4th of July of the same year, in a public address at Providence, (*Lib.* vol. 7, p. 123,) he said he "stood forth in the spirit of prophecy, to proclaim in the ears of the people that our doom *as a nation* is sealed; that the day of our probation has ended, and we are not saved. * * Nor form of government, nor representative body, nor written parchment, nor social compact, nor physical preparation, can give us perpetuity, or hide us from the wrath of the Lamb. *The downfall of the republic seems inevitable.* * * If history be not wholly fabulous—if revelation be not a forgery—if God be not faithless in the execution of his threatenings—the doom is certain, and the interpretation thereof sure. The overthrow of the American confederacy is in the womb of events. * * The corruptions of the CHURCH, so-called, are obviously more deep and incurable than those of the STATE; and, therefore, the CHURCH, in spite of every precaution and safeguard, is first to be dashed to pieces. 'Coming events cast their shadows before.' * * *The political dismemberment of our Union is ultimately to follow.*"

On the 11th of August following, in reply to an invitation to attend a Peace Convention in Vermont, Mr Garrison (*Lib.* vol. 7, p. 146) wrote the Rev. O. S. Murray as follows:—"In giving my attention to the degradation and misery of two millions of American bondmen, I do not forget mankind. *My mind is busy* in the investigation of many subjects, which, in their full elucidation and practical bearings, are destined to shake

the nations. The subject of peace" (by which he meant "non-resistance," so-called) "is among them, and is peculiarly dear to me. * * *I hope to be more deeply engaged in it by and bye* than I am at present, and unless they alter their present course, the first thing I shall do will be to serve our Peace Societies as I have done the Colonization Societies."

On the 2d of October, Mr Garrison was at Worcester, in attendance upon the Massachusetts Young Men's Anti-Slavery Convention. At noon, at the house of Mr Earl, Messrs. Stanton, Green, and others being present, the conversation turned upon the merits of Thompsonianism. Mr Garrison avowed himself a believer in the theory, and added, with much emphasis, "law, medicine, and divinity are the three great impostures of the day." On the 13th of the same month (*Lib.*, vol. 7, pp. 166, 167) he published a letter dated "Newark, N. J., March 22d, 1837," and which had therefore been on hand some *six months* before its publication was ventured upon! In the letter, the writer said,—"The present governments stand in the way of God's kingdom, just as Colonization once stood in the way of Abolition. They occupy the ground without effecting the object. *. * By the foregoing considerations, I am authorized not only to hope for the overthrow of the nations, but to stand in readiness actively to assist in the execution of God's purposes. And I am not forbidden to do so by any *past order*" (referring to the Bible) "to be subject to earthly governments." * * *My hope of the Millennium begins where Dr. Beecher's expires, viz.*, AT THE OVERTHROW OF THIS NATION." The writer then declares, "God, by his spirit, has moved me to nominate Jesus Christ for the Presidency, not only of the United States, but of the world." He also says, referring to a former interview with Mr Garrison, "You said your mind was heaving on certain momentous subjects, and you only waited to put Anti-Slavery in the sunshine before you turned your mind toward those subjects." Mr Garrison, in an accompanying editorial, called this, "The solemn and powerful letter from Newark," and said, it "is in accordance with our views and feelings."

These extracts make obvious what was well known to the intimate and careful observers of Mr Garrison, at this period, but what was not generally noticed or duly weighed by Abolitionists as a body. It was at this period, that James Boyle of Ohio, in his famous letter, endorsed by Mr Garrison, said, "I have observed of late, that you have become satisfied that moral influence will never abolish Slavery in this country." Mr Garrison *had given up all hope for the Slave from such means;** his mind

* And yet, when in October, 1839, it became necessary to issue a "*Liberator* extra," for the purpose of warning "the Anti-Slavery electors of Massachusetts," against lending any countenance to the "Independent Anti-Slavery nomination," then this same Mr Garrison was foremost and loudest in the outcry for "moral action," in distinction from political, as the sure and only hope for the Slave. In the "address" of the board of managers of the old Society, issued at that time, and to which his name is attached, Mr Garrison, in common with the others, says:—

"It (the formation of an Abolition political party,) would be virtually denying the power of *moral suasion* and *eternal truth* to overcome corruption and prejudice. * * It is to be feared that some who bear the name of Abolitionists, are beginning to lose their faith in truth, and the God of truth, *to despair of obtaining victory by the use of spiritual weapons*, (!) and hence their anxiety to go down into Egypt for horsemen and chariots. * * It will take but a very short time, comparatively, for the 'little leaven' of Anti-Slavery to leaven the whole lump of politics, provided Abolitionists hold fast their integrity, and have faith as a grain of mustard seed. Both political parties *will yet be compelled to do homage to the* MORAL MAJESTY *of our enterprise*, and be emulous to do it service, because of the great *moral change that* WILL BE

was labouring and his heart intent on those great reforms, with the idea of which he had become intoxicated, and compared with which, he more than once remarked, that the Anti-Slavery reform was but as a drop to the ocean.

PRIVATE REMONSTRANCE.

In this state of things, Mr Garrison was pressed by private and fraternal remonstrances, either to waive the pressure of his views in connexion with the Anti-Slavery cause, or to come out at once boldly, and fling the banner of universal reform to the breeze. The evidence of such remonstrance is on record. On the 19th of January, 1838, (*Lib.* vol. 8, p. 9,) Mr Phelps, in reply to a communication of Professor Smyth of Maine, after making sundry admissions, said:—

"And does Professor Smyth exclaim now, that against these things, Brother Phelps has never felt it his duty to remonstrate? A little pains to get light would have told him a different story. It would have told him, not indeed that I had carried my griefs to the bar of the public in the form of 'Appeals,' and 'Protests,' and 'Voices,' in the belief that 'private remonstrances would be entirely unheeded,' but that I had sought my end in a more fraternal way. It would have put him in possession of the following, among other facts, * * that when the connexion of the *Liberator* and the Society first came up for consideration, Brother Phelps expressed his firm conviction, that it was, in itself, an improper one, and ought to cease with the end of the year; that on the other topics there has been private and personal remonstrance, and that at times, on some of these points, Brother P.'s feelings have been very strong, and his remonstrances very earnest."

The Editor of the *Liberator* accompanied the article containing these statements with editorial remarks, commending it to the attention of his readers; but did not intimate that such remonstrances had not been made. Indeed so great was the dissatisfaction of Mr Phelps with his course, toward the close of the Clerical Appeal controversy, that, on one occasion, after conversing on the subject at some length, he assured Mr Garrison, in distinct terms, that he could not and would not sanction the course he was then pursuing, and that if he persisted in it, he must and should come out against him. At the same time, October, 1837, he also wrote to some of Mr Garrison's most intimate personal friends, stating what his feelings were, and urging them to use their influence to induce him to modify his course. Among others, he wrote to Dr. Farnsworth of Groton, then and now a firm adherent of Mr Garrison. In his reply, dated "Groton, October 27th, 1837," Dr. Farnsworth said:—

"Garrison will have a large party, and it cannot be otherwise, but there will be strife between the two divisions. Besides, would not his power for doing mischief by the circulation of his sentiments on other matters, be greater than it will be if we keep with him, and surround him with our influence, which must restrain him to a very great degree. * * I know your regard for the Anti-Slavery cause, and have full confidence in your judgment and discretion to navigate safely in this dangerous sea. And allow me to believe, that the obstinacy of Garrison will not stimulate you to any sudden act which the circumstances of the times do not imperiously demand."

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wrought in public sentiment. Friends of the sighing bondman! let us never give them occasion to think, for a moment, that we have no abiding faith in the promulgation of truth,—*Anti-Slavery truth*,—to overcome their opposition. Let us ever speak in the language of *victory*, and regard their *absolute subjection* as a SETTLED EVENT."

And this was the man, who, two years before, had proclaimed it to the world, that moral influence would never Abolish Slavery in this country?

John G. Whittier, in a letter to Mr Phelps, dated "Amesbury, 22d 10th month, (October,) 1837," said:—

"As to the *Liberator*, I have just forwarded to Garrison a letter in reference to the Newark Perfectionist's letter. I sent a resolution and a letter to the Essex County A. S. Society, (being unable to attend,) disapproving of the course of the *Liberator* in this matter, but it was voted down. I am anxious to do all that I can to preserve peace."

Other individuals, ignorant at the time, of Mr Phelps' feelings, wrote him of their own accord, giving an expression of their feelings, and urging him to use his influence with Mr Garrison, and announcing the fact that they also had sent their private remonstrances to Mr Garrison. Among others, "Father Ward," so-called, wrote Mr Phelps a long letter on the subject, and as he was in doubt whether Mr Ward intended that he should show the letter to Mr Garrison, he wrote Mr Ward for information. In reply, Mr Ward, "October 26," said:—

"As you express a doubt as to my object in writing you, I would observe, it was not that you should 'show the letter to Mr G.' *As I had previously written to him*, he knew my views as to his course."

On the same week, N. Crosby, Esq., now General Agent of the Mass. Temp. Union, and then resident in Newburyport, wrote as follows:—

"I sent, by yesterday's mail, a long letter to Mr Garrison, which I wish you to read, and you will see what considerations I have urged upon him. I have suffered amazingly from the appeal, answers, attack on Sabbath, clergy, &c., and that so much of the *Liberator* has been taken up in resolutions, letters, &c., to the almost entire neglect of the poor Slave."

Elizur Wright, Jun., writing on another topic to Mr Phelps, on the 26th of the same month, and referring to the correspondence below, said:—

"I have just received a letter from Garrison, which confirms my fears that he has finished his *course for the Slave*. At any rate *his* plan of rescuing the Slave by the destruction of human laws, is fatally conflictive with ours. Only one of them can lead to any good result. Still, if he would run up his *perfection flag*, so that Abolitionists might see what they are driving at, shouting for him, he would not do us much hurt. I have *conjured him to do so. Honesty requires it of him.*"

The remainder of the story in regard to this correspondence with Mr G. is thus told by Mr Wright, in a "Chapter on Plots," in the *Abolitionist*, December 5th, 1839; nor has Mr Garrison ever dared to deny one of the facts here stated.

"Now that our hand is in for this chapter, we *will* plead guilty to certain anterior plots. We will go back to the beginning—the *fons malorum*, of all our plots. In the summer of 1837 we were vehemently urged by Mr Garrison and Mrs Chapman, to come out in condemnation of a certain not very powerful document, since known as the 'Clerical Appeal.' We replied, for substance, that we considered that document a personal affair, with which the *Emancipator* was not called upon to meddle, especially after the *Liberator* had so fully disposed of it; but that if we *did* take notice of it, we should feel bound impartially to make a clean breast, and rebuke the *Liberator* and Mr Garrison for faults *not* charged in that 'Appeal.' What these faults were, we at once *plotted* to make known to Mr Garrison, by a correspondence which was kept religiously private on our part. On the first part of this correspondence, we cannot at this moment lay our hands, but the following extract of a letter from Mr Garrison, dated October 23d, 1837, will show of what sort it was:—

"'My Dear Brother,—I am indebted to you for two long letters, to which perhaps, I shall reply at equal length, at some leisure hour. The first—though written, I am sure, with the most friendly feelings—excited my surprise far more than the Clerical Appeal; and, you will pardon me for saying, was as illogical in its reasoning as it was cruel in its impeachment of my motives.

Elizur Wright, Jun., never wrote that letter. Some other spirit than your own free-born, generous, independent spirit, prevailed with you for the time being, and made you indite that strange composition.' &c.

"Though we were not sensible of making any cruel impeachment of motives in that letter, its language certainly was stronger than we would use *about* any friend, *behind his back*. We did not then consider it inevitable that Mr Garrison's faults should be discussed by us before the public, but continued to hope that by 'plotting' with him, like a brother, he might be prevented from saddling his own vagaries upon the Anti-Slavery cause. What was the precise position we took with him, will appear from a subsequent letter of our own, dated November 4th, 1837, in which we read;—

"'Perhaps your 'surprise' at my first letter would be less, if you were to reflect that, not believing in the doctrine of 'perfect holiness,' I am not unprepared to see faults in my very best friends, and can reprove them without hating or despising them. Whether such reproof betoken on my part a lack of freedom, generosity, and independence of spirit, I leave to the verdict of your own good sense. Sure I am that there is little enough cause in me, but my letter to you was dictated by my conscience, if any letter of mine ever was. My sentiments in regard to your freedom of speech, you know from a letter more recent than those to which you replied. When the Anti-Slavery Society fairly stands before the world clear of all responsibility for the *Liberator*, I shall not charge it upon you as a sin against the Abolition cause that you advocate in its columns your own religious views. You say, 'truth is *one*, and not conflictive or multitudinous.' True, but the *people* are conflictive. Abolitionists do not agree on many points not involved in their Declaration of Sentiments. Hence it is no more than right that the paper which is understood to speak the common language of all, should confine itself to the subject on which all agree, or rather on which they do not seriously differ. If any brother has discovered what he deems to be important truth, heaven forbid that Abolitionists should *hinder* him from the full development of it, *on his own responsibility*.

"But it does appear to me that *your* 'truth'—that human government has no rightful authority, does conflict with the *truths* of our Declaration of Sentiments, and especially with our measures. In our Declaration we maintain 'that the Slave ought instantly to be set free and brought under *the protection of law;*' and that 'Congress has the *right*, and is solemnly bound to suppress the domestic slave trade.' Now here is downright *untruth*, if human government has no right to exist. And as to our measures, the discrepancy is still more glaring. *We* labour to bring the Slave under the protection of government, *you* destroy the government that is to protect him. I suppose you will say that you would only supersede human authority by the establishment of the divine. Still our action militates against yours, for ours tends more thoroughly to establish the human government—the latter being never so firm as when the weakest are enjoying its full protection. Still, conflictive as are your truths with ours, theoretically, I have little apprehension that we should receive any injury from them practically, if they made their home in their own tub—and that stood on its own bottom. What I should then most fear, would be that they would suck *you* into a vortex of spiritual Quixotism, and thus absorb energies that might have shaken down the mountain of oppression."

"Had we written such letters to any mortal on earth *about* Mr Garrison, would not excerpts—all the blood and 'murder' of them—have certainly come 'out' in Mrs Chapman's last book? But, some how or other, they have totally sunk out of her grand *complotation*, and her pages make up a face of the most wide-orbed surprise at the positions which H. B. Stanton and ourself have taken in 1839—as at *laymen* carried away by a sudden clerical plot and side wind. Just as if Mr Garrison and Mrs Chapman did not perfectly know, more than two years ago, that other names besides the honoured one of H. B. Stanton, names far more prominently and worthily identified with the Abolition cause than our own, had plotted this same new organization plot to their private ears—that is, had pressed upon them the doctrine which has at length made it proper and necessary for the new organization to exist! But they understand the power of *plot*.

Rev. C. W. Denison, then in Maryland, and one of Mr G.'s earliest friends, remonstrated in a similar way about the same time. Other individuals did the same. But amid all the clamour in the *Liberator*, in Mrs Chapman's books, and elsewhere, about "plots," and "treasons," and

"detected letters," not a hint of these private remonstrances has ever yet been given, nor one solitary line of *these* private letters been printed! This single fact speaks volumes.

THE DESIGN MATURED AND DELIBERATELY ADOPTED.

These remonstrances all coming upon Mr Garrison about the same time and from different quarters, effected a temporary modification of his course. Nevertheless, his mind was "busy" and "heaving" with the supposed great reforms that in his imagination had already "shaken the nations." The circumstances of the case were peculiar. *He* was panting for the conflict with principalities and powers. His friends were remonstrating. *They* thought his schemes ruin, not reform. At all events, they were quite sure that their advocacy in connexion with the cause of the Slave would be ruin to that; and they urged him, for the Slave's sake, to desist, or else to quit the Slave and fling out his banner without fear and without disguise. What should be done? It was a serious question, but must be met. There were but three courses that could be taken. One was, to waive their advocacy for the Slave's sake. That would have been generous, and would have evidenced a sincerity and fervour of devotion to his cause alike honourable and above suspicion. This was not done. A second course was to lift the banner of universal reform on independent grounds, and separate entirely from the cause of the Slave. That would have been manly and honest. That was not done. The only other course was to push on the schemes of universal reform under the banner and in connexion with that of Freedom to the Slave. *This was done.* If done in the sincere and heartfelt belief that thereby the cause of the Slave would be most effectually promoted, it was the mistaken policy of sincere yet misguided zeal. If done with the deliberate design of taking advantage of the Anti-Slavery cause to give currency to views that it was well known could not gain a hearing or stand a moment on their own merits, it was a treachery to the slave, as base as it was cowardly and mean. If done with such design, the natural and obvious course would have been first to consider and decide on this as the policy to be pursued; second, in pursuing it, to seek to shape the Anti-Slavery cause to the principles of the other reforms; third, in doing this, to urge those modifications first which would be least obnoxious, and least likely to create alarm; and finally, to bring other organizations and instrumentalities into the field to do that portion of the work which could not be effected through the Anti-Slavery organizations and instrumentalities. And this, the Committee are obliged to say, *is just what was actually done.* The policy to be pursued was considered and deliberately decided upon: it was that of "*sifting them in*" upon the Anti-Slavery reform; and it was chosen because, *avowedly*, the other reforms, standing alone and on their own merits, could not get a hearing or make any general lodgement in the public mind.

It is well known that at the period referred to, when Mr Garrison's mind was "heaving" with these other great reforms, so-called, he had frequent consultations with some of his most intimate friends in respect to the course to be pursued. George W. Benson, his brother-in-law, Maria W. Chapman, the Misses Grimke, and others, were so consulted. One plan proposed was to give up the *Liberator*, or retire from its editorial care and start a new paper. Another plan was to make a formal change of the *Liberator* itself, and announce the fact that its leading object would no longer be the Abolition of Slavery, but generic and universal reform, including the Abolition of Slavery as a part of it. Another plan was to continue to hold out

the Abolition of Slavery as the leading object of the paper, and then to "sift in" the other reforms, as the people could bear them. The latter, as appears from the following correspondence, was adopted.

The Rev. Mr Cummings, an agent of this Society, had been told the facts stated in this correspondence, by some friends in this city. In the prosecution of his labours as an agent, he came in contact with a Mr Whiting, an agent of the old Society, and in the course of the conversation or discussion repeated the facts to him. He at once denied their truth, said he knew they could not be so, and that he would write Mr Garrison about it. Weeks passed on, and nothing was heard, either from Mr Whiting or Mr Garrison. That there might be no apology for longer silence, if the facts were not as stated, Mr Cummings addressed a letter of inquiry to Mr Fuller, through the columns of the *Abolitionist*, to which Mr Fuller gave the following reply :—

THE INQUIRY ANSWERED.

Mr H. Cummings:—Dear Sir,—I find in the last *Abolitionist*, a letter from you, addressed to me, of which the following is an extract :—

"I have been very crediby informed, that some two or more years since, Mr Garrison called a meeting of his special friends, in the Marlboro' Hotel, Boston, among whom was yourself, and after reading Mr J. Boyle's letter on non-resistance and perfectionism, distinctly proposed to inculcate and spread those doctrines. The *medium* through which he proposed to propagate them was the *Liberator* and the *Anti-Slavery organization.* The *manner* was to sift them in *incidentally*, and press them upon the people as fast as they were prepared to receive them. The *reasons* assigned for such a course were, a new paper and separate organization could not be sustained, for the people were not prepared to receive such doctrines when presented in their fullest light, as they would be in a new paper, but if "*sifted*" into the Anti-Slavery organization, they would drink them in imperceptibly, and thus would not be so offensive to them. The substance of the above facts I have frequently stated in public and to private individuals; and the general inquiry has been, 'why have not these facts been published?'"

Satisfied that the present state of the Anti-Slavery cause demands a publication of the facts of the case, I do not feel at liberty to shrink from the responsibility of giving them to the public in answer to your inquiries. They are briefly these. Some two years ago, Mr Garrison received a letter from Mr James Boyle of Ohio, which was subsequently published in the *Liberator* under the caption of "A letter to William Lloyd Garrison, touching the Clerical Appeal, Sectarianism, and True Holiness." The character of the letter may be judged of by the following extracts:—

"For your (Mr Garrison's) independent expression of your sentiments respecting human governments,—a pagan originated Sabbath, (sun's day,) your wise refusal to receive the mark of the beast, either in your forehead or in your right hand, by practically sanctioning the irreligious sects which corrupt and curse the world,—your merited denunciations of these sects, of the sordid, dough-faced, popish leaders, but above all, for your Christ-exalting poetry, 'Christian Rest,' you are in my heart," &c.

"It would seem, from the sympathy manifested by 'Clerical' men in this country toward the religion and priesthood that were abolished in France, that they would rather have a religion and priesthood from hell, than none at all.

"I have observed of late, that you (Mr Garrison) have become satisfied that moral influence will never Abolish Slavery in this country.* Of this I have long been certain. 'The signs of the times' indicate clearly to my mind, that God has given up the sects and parties, political and religious, of this nation, into the hands of a perverse and lying spirit, and left them to fill up the measure of their sins," &c., &c.

In publishing the letter, Mr Garrison said,—

"It is one of the most powerful epistles ever written by man. We alone are responsible for its publication. It utters momentous truths in solemn and

* This was Mr Garrison's opinion at that time.

thrilling language, and is a testimony for God and his righteousness, which cannot be overthrown."

Mr Garrison had the letter on hand some considerable time previous to its publication, and read it repeatedly to individual and particular friends. On one occasion, before its appearance in the *Liberator*, myself and several others were invited to meet at a room in the Marlboro' Hotel to hear it read. Mr G. having read it, spoke of it in terms of the highest commendation—saying, in substance, that however unpopular its doctrines, they were true, and would yet be received by the people. That they were not now prepared for them—that if a new publication were started for the purpose of promulgating them, (a measure which he had under consideration some months before, and in respect to which he consulted some of his most confidential friends,) it would not get sufficient circulation to sustain it—that the Abolitionists indeed, were the only class of the community that had been so trained to free discussion as to bear their discussion; "and therefore," said he, "as our enemies say," (referring to the charge of Mr Woodbury some time previous,) we must "sift it in" to the *Liberator*.

This is the substance of what he said. The impression I received from it at the time was, that it was then his deliberate design to take advantage of the abolition character of his paper to "sift" his peculiar opinions on other subjects, into public favour. As I had never before believed that Mr Garrison had any such design, and had repelled the charge as a slander upon him, I was, of course, surprised at this avowal of it by himself.

That he made what amounted to such an avowal I am sure from these facts. First, I mentioned it to Mrs Fuller the same evening. Second, *up* to that time my confidence in Mr Garrison's integrity was entire and implicit, and *from* that time it began to be shaken. And third, the columns of the *Liberator* have since been in exact keeping with such a design.

I make these statements in answer to your inquiries, in no ill will to Mr Garrison, but solely because I believe that the cause of truth and freedom demand it.—Yours for the bondman,

JOHN E. FULLER.

Boston, *Nov.* 25*th*, 1839.

These statements have been before the public, have been copied into various papers, and been repeated in private conversation and public discussion for nearly a year and a half, and to this hour Mr Garrison has never said one word in explanation or denial of them.

THE DESIGN CARRIED OUT.

The design thus deliberately conceived has been steadily and perseveringly carried out by the two leading minds in the case, (Mr Garrison and Mrs Chapman,) through their subordinate agents and friends. As subordinates, Messrs. Johnson, Collins, and Whiting, as agents; Messrs. George W. Benson and William Chase, as family connexions of Mr Garrison; Mr Phillips, whose wife is a relative and when here an inmate of the senior Chapman family, and Mr Quincy, whose recent confession is, that for years he has played the hypocrite in regard to his religious opinions—these, as subordinates, have been specially prominent and active.*

To trace the design in question in all the instances and steps of its development, would swell this report to a volume. The Committee can notice but a few of them, as specimens of many others.

* Mr Quincy's confession (see *Lib.*, March, 1841,) is as follows:—

"As for myself, I had attained the views I now hold on the church, ministry, and Sabbath, before I knew of your (Mr Garrison's) existence, I believe: certainly several years before I had any acquaintance with you, or knew any of your opinions on any subject except Slavery. My error and sin (which I confess and repent) consisted in giving my countenance to them for a time, from a mistaken idea that the views I held were dangerous to be known by the common people, who needed a little jugglery (!) and legerdemain (!) to keep them in order."

THE WOMAN QUESTION.

The first illustration of the kind is furnished in the manner and history of the introduction of the "Woman's Rights Question," so called. As was to have been expected, on the supposition of the design named, this being the least obnoxious of the proposed modifications of the cause, the least likely, from the circumstances of the case, to create alarm and provoke resistance, or if it did so, the most easily to be effected, was the first to be attempted. The New England Convention of 1838 was chosen as the occasion, and Oliver Johnson, the well known echo of Mr Garrison's wishes on such occasions, as the agent for introducing the attempt.—For several years the form of invitation to membership and action in the Convention had been "*all gentlemen* present." On this occasion, at an early period of the Convention, when Messrs. Phelps, Smith, and some others, who from various causes had been more awake to the progress of things than their brethren generally, and would have been more likely to have detected and resisted the movement on the threshold, were out of the room preparing business for the Convention, Mr Johnson brought forward a carefully worded resolution, inviting, not "gentlemen" merely, as formerly, but "all persons present, or who may be present at subsequent meetings, *whether men or women,* who agree with us in sentiment on the subject of Slavery, to become members and participate in the proceedings of the Convention." In the bustle of the moment, and not dreaming that this "was to be the first public act of a mighty reform," the difference in the form of invitation was not generally noticed, and the resolution was readily adopted. Its adoption was received by the initiated with a burst of applause, as if conscious of having achieved some anticipated and mighty victory. The proceedings of the Convention on a subsequent day, opened the eyes of all to the meaning of the vote and the design of its introduction. At once a private meeting of the leading Members of the Convention, on both sides of the question, was called to see in what way the matter should be adjusted. The Woman's Rights men were resolved on retaining the ground they had gained, and would not listen a moment to the idea of reconsideration or compromise. Others who regretted the resolution and said they would not have voted for it had they been aware of its import and extent, thought that as the money of the ladies as members had been received, and as the Convention had proceeded so far on that basis, the resolution could not be reconsidered without undoing all the proceedings of the Convention through the two preceding days, and therefore that the better way, on the whole, was to let the matter pass, and look out for the remedy the next year. Mr Garrison at first refused to come nigh the meeting. He did at last come in a few moments when the Conference was nearly closed, and all but four or five of the persons present had retired; and after sitting a short time, remarked, with a smile of seeming exultation, that he did not see that any thing could be done. Thus this fraternal effort at an adjustment of the matter at the threshold was sternly and resolutely repulsed, just as we should expect it to have been on the supposition that the initiated had made up their minds beforehand to push the measure at all hazards. From this point, the measure has been carried by the same persons and with the same pertinacity, first to the Massachusetts State Anti-Slavery Society, then to sister State and local Societies, then to the National Society, and finally to the World's Convention, and there contested in such a manner as to show that William Lloyd Garrison and his associates crossed the great Atlantic, not to further the cause of the Slave, but to take advantage of the Slave's Convention to

test and give currency to his and their Quixotic schemes of "Woman's Rights." And all this, when the evidence is indisputable on their own confessions, that *that* public action of Women in our State and National Societies for which they have so strenuously contended, was never contemplated in the original formation of those Societies. The evidence of such confessions is at hand.

On the 11th of March of 1836, the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society wrote, by their Secretary, to the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, stating that that Society was auxiliary to the American, and that, at a recent meeting of its Board of Managers, it had been proposed to inquire of the Executive Committee of the National Society, whether or not they would be expected to send a delegation to its annual meeting, &c., &c. The proposition occasioned some debate, and as they supposed the Boston Society was auxiliary to the State or national, they wished to be informed what their "opinion and practice were respecting the sending of delegates to its annual meeting"—a strange inquiry truly, if the sending of such delegations, and the public action consequent upon it, has always been contemplated, and is in keeping with the constitution of that Society, as originally adopted in that same city, and in presence, too, of the very women that now urged it! The Boston Society was not auxiliary to either of the Societies named, and of course had no "*practice*" on the subject. A meeting was accordingly held to consider and give an "*opinion*" in the case. A majority of the meeting were opposed to the measure. Mr Garrison was then boarding at Miss Lucy Parker's, and manifested great anxiety in respect to the result. The following certificates will show what he said when informed of it, and what he then thought of the measure proposed:—

"I hereby certify that on our return from the meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, at which the opinion of the Society was taken in regard to the question submitted to it by the Philadelphia Society, Mr Garrison inquired what we had done, and when informed that a majority were against the measure proposed, he said, '*I am glad of it, for it was never contemplated.*'

"MARY S. PARKER."

This is the Miss Parker that was, for several years, the President of the Boston Society. Her sister says:—

"The impression of the undersigned is that Mr Garrison said, 'I am glad of it, for it would only make trouble.'

"LUCY PARKER.

"BOSTON, *January* 14*th*, 1840."

Both these testimonies were given Mr Phelps in writing at the date of the latter. They are both identical in fact, though not in terms; for why would the measure "make trouble," but on the ground that it "was never contemplated?"

On the 8th of March last, Mr St. Clair writes Mr Phelps, in respect to Mr Johnson's confessions, as follows:—

"A short time after the New England Anti-Slavery Convention of 1838, at which Mr Johnson presented the Woman question, he observed to me that you had said, in a conversation with him"—(this was so)—"if the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society should take the same course the New England Convention had upon the subject, you and many others should leave it. I replied, then it must not be brought forward. He said, it certainly would be. Then, I inquired, why not make the motion in the language of the constitution, inviting all '*persons*' to act, and leaving it to each to give his own construction. Because, he replied, when the constitution was adopted, it was not contemplated that women should act in the public meetings of the Society; and unless specially invited they would not. I inquired if he would push that subject if he knew it would

divide the Society. He replied, Yes; it would drive off only such men as Phelps—the orthodox and the clergy would leave, and they could be very well spared."

These facts need no comment.

THE QUESTION OF POLITICAL ACTION.

A second instance of the development of the same design, is furnished in the attempt to modify the action of the Anti-Slavery Society, in accordance with the views of the Reformers on the subject of civil government. The intention obviously was to prepare the way for this modification by the same silent and "sifting-in" process, that had done the work in the case just named. Hence the discussion was introduced, little by little, in the *Liberator*, great care being taken at the same time to reiterate the assurance that Anti-Slavery is still its leading and distinctive object, (*Lib.*, vol. 8. p. 155,) and that "the discussion of the peace question in its columns, will continue to be, as it has been hitherto, *merely incidental!*" The impression was also studiously made that Abolitionists were rapidly going over to the new doctrine, especially the most ultra and thorough of them.

The providence of God, however, hastened the development on this subject sooner than had been anticipated, and before the leaders in the matter were fully prepared for it. Various causes combined, in the summer and fall of 1838, to call the attention of the Abolitionists of this State and of the country, to the consideration and discharge of their duty, as citizens, in the use of the elective franchise. The doctrine of the Anti-Slavery Societies always had been that the use of that franchise for the Slave was a solemn duty—a matter demanded not on the ground of consistency merely, but of sacred obligation.*

* The doctrine of the Declaration of Sentiments, drafted by Mr Garrison, and put forth by the convention that formed the American Anti-Slavery Society, in December, 1833, was as follows:—

"*We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the* HIGHEST OBLIGATIONS *resting on the people of the free States, to remove Slavery by moral* AND *political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States.*"

"Political action" is here affirmed to be a matter of "*highest obligation.*" It and "moral" action are put on the same footing—that of *duty*, not of *consistency* merely with one's professions. That this sentiment had main and ultimate reference to the use of the elective franchise, is proved beyond a doubt. Some two years since, JOHN G. WHITTIER, then editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, said:—

"We were a member of that Philadelphia convention—one of the three constituting the Sub-Committee, which drew up the Declaration of Sentiments. No one at that period objected to political action in its fullest extent. Our friend Garrison told us how the Abolitionists in Great Britain were carrying their principles to the ballot box, as an earnest of what we shall be able to do ere long in our own country."

Mr Garrison has never denied this statement. Indeed, in the autumn of 1834, he virtually declared the same thing himself. In reply to a correspondent, who complained that he had too much politics in his paper, he (*Lib.*, December 27th,) said:—

"Hitherto, we have said little or nothing in reply to the hypocritical cant and lugubrious outcry which have been uttered by the pro-slavery party, respecting the 'Political action' alluded to in the Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention; but in our next volume we shall take up this subject, and tell Slave Traders, Slaveholders, Colonizationists, and all others, what we mean to do with our elective franchise, towards breaking up the impious system of Slavery. *As that Declaration was penned by us, we presume that we are competent to give an exposition of its doctrines.* One thing we will say, in advance

So soon, therefore, as the course of events called on Abolitionists to give expression to their opinions in resolutions of conventions and societies, this was the doctrine which they everywhere avowed. Among other events, in consequence of successive defeats, the several contested elections in the fourth Congressional District in this State, came on.

On the 11th of December, 1838, preparatory to the election on the following Monday, the Abolitionists of the District held a meeting at Concord. Messrs. H. B. Stanton, A. A. Phelps, A. St. Clair, Francis Jackson, Wendell Phillips, and William Lloyd Garrison, were there. Among the resolutions adopted on that occasion, and in support of which, Wendell Phillips made a most eloquent speech, were the following:—

Resolved, That we will not content ourselves with simply staying away from the polls, and neglecting to vote for the candidates in question, but, Providence permitting, will be at the polls without fail, and vote *for* some one who is true to the Slave—deeply sensible that it is quite as important, and AS MUCH OUR DUTY, to be at our post, and vote *for* a good and true man, as it is to *decline* voting for one who is not; and that we earnestly recommend to all Abolitionists in the District to do the same.

Resolved, That the more effectually to secure this object, it be recommended to the Abolitionists in each town, to appoint a Committee of one, two, or three, as the case may require, whose duty it shall be to see that every Abolitionist in the town is at the polls, that he may there vote for the Slave.*

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of our essays, that the IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION of the Slaves in the District of Columbia and the territories, is to be made A TEST AT THE BALLOT BOXES, in the choice of representatives to Congress; and that no man, who is a Slaveholder, will receive the votes of conscientious and consistent Abolitionists, for any station in the gift of the people—especially for the Presidency of the United States."

This is a plain confession that "the political action alluded to in the Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention," and urged as a duty, had special reference to the use of the "elective franchise." Yet when the same doctrine was urged in 1838, it was resisted as an attempt to drive non-governmentists in general, and Mr Garrison in particular, from the Anti-Slavery ranks! The "essays" promised never made their appearance.

* In the *National Standard* of July 23d, 1840, there is an "Address of the (new) Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to the Abolitionists of the United States." It is signed by JAMES S. GIBBONS, Chairman, and JAMES C. JACKSON, Secretary. It purports to give a history of the division among the Abolitionists. "We have made this development," say they, "by order of the Society, to the end that Abolitionists, of this and of coming time, may understand the true causes of the alienation which has been consummated by the act of forming a new organization at New York." The document is, throughout, *one continued tissue of misrepresentatian and of mis-statement of facts.* As one illustration of this, by no means the worst, we select the following:—

"It is proper to observe that Messrs Stanton and Phelps had the whole control of that field"—(the 4th District.) *They* put in nomination the Rev. James Woodbury as the Abolition Candidate, and circulated printed votes in his behalf. This step, we think, was in itself wrong. The Abolitionists of the District generally, and the Massachusetts Board in particular, at whose expense these operations were carried on, had a right to be consulted, both whether a separate nomination should be made, and if so who should be the individual selected."

And then, as the *motive* of the nomination, the address adds:—

"Mr Woodbury had been a distinguished sympathizer with the clerical appellants, was a friend of the national administration, and in this respect, harmonized with Mr Stanton, as he did with both Stanton and Phelps, in his *sectarian attachments.*"

Now it so happens, that not a solitary item in the above statement is correctly given. Messrs. Stanton and Phelps did *not* have the whole control of that field; they did *not* put Mr Woodbury or any one else in nomination as the

These are a specimen of the character of the resolutions that were being adopted at that time in all parts of the land. They affirmed voting for the Slave to be a *duty*. This, of course, was in flat contradiction of the principles of non-governmentism. Nevertheless, so obvious was it that they were only expressive of the doctrine of original and genuine Abolition, that Mr Phillips eloquently advocated them, and Mr Garrison said not one word in opposition. This was on the 11th of December, 1838. A *crisis* was at hand. The "sifting in" process would no longer answer. Some bold push must be made, or political abolition, without one word of controversy, would drive non-governmentism from the field. At the annual meeting of the State Society, within one short month after, that push was made; it was to drive from the field that *form* of political action, which, recognizing the right of government to exist, affirmed the use of the elective franchise for the Slave to be a duty, and to substitute in its place a non-government form, *i.e.*, one that should not affirm the use of the franchise to be the *duty* of any one, but should say, merely, that if any *one thought* it his duty to vote for the Slave, and then did not, he would act inconsistently! Accordingly, when Mr St. Clair brought forward his resolution, saying, "it is the imperious duty of every Abolitionist who *can conscientiously* exercise the elective franchise, to go promptly to the polls and deposit his vote," &c., it was seen that although it had a saving clause in favour of those who could not conscientiously do it, which the resolution at Concord had not, yet it contained the obnoxious principle—it affirmed it to be the duty of somebody to do it.

At once the hue and cry was raised, that the presentation and passage of such a resolution was all a piece of persecution—a deep laid plot to drive non-resistants in general, and Mr Garrison in particular, from the Anti-Slavery Society. And this hue and cry was led off by the very men, *who one month before, at Concord, had advocated or silently acquiesced in the passage of a resolution which affirmed the same doctrine, and had no sav-*

Abolition Candidate; no such Candidate was put in nomination by any one; nor was any thing important done, in that whole campaign, without careful consultation with the Abolitionists of the District generally, and the Massachusetts Board in particular. It was by the direction of the Board, *as their records will show*, that Messrs Phelps and Stanton gave their attention to that field at that period. It was by their direction, too, that, preparatory to one of the trials, Messrs. St. Clair, Wise, Phillips, and Russell, were all sent, in connexion with Messrs Phelps and Stanton, to lecture in the several towns there. It was under their eye, and especially that of Mr Garrison, and only partially at their expense, that the *Liberator's Extra* and other documents were printed and sent into the field at each of the successive trials there. Previous to all, or nearly all of those trials, a convention was held of the Abolitionists of the District. Those conventions—and there were at least three of them—were well attended, representatives being present from a large majority of the towns. Each convention decided for itself, and as the representative of the Abolitionists of the District generally, the course to be pursued at the election then at hand. At none of these conventions was Rev. J. T. Woodbury, or any other individual, put in nomination as the Abolition Candidate. The *scattering system was universally adopted.* To facilitate its operation, the names of some five of the most prominent Abolitionists in the District, of both political parties, were printed on a slip of paper and circulated, that each might make his own selection, and vote for which of the five he might prefer, or for neither if he pleased. This was all; and *this* was done at the convention named above; Messrs. Garrison, Jackson, and Phillips, as Representatives of the Board and members of the convention, participating in the deed!

The above is a fair specimen of the general inaccuracy of the Address, and also of Mrs Chapman's books, in respect to their representations of the facts connected with the late division in our ranks.

ing clause whatever for conscientious scruples. It was to no purpose that they were assured there was no such design; that there was a saving clause for the sake of the very men whom they alleged it was designed to drive off. There was a plot and they knew it, and there was an end of argument and of reason in the case. Moreover, they said that the resolution did affirm it to be the duty of somebody to vote, and they, as non-resistants, could not say that; and so long as the Society said it, it conflicted with their views, which it had no right to do, but was bound to modify its action so as not to do it. And so Mr Garrison brought in his substitute, and the modification was effected; the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was made to abandon its own original doctrines on the subject of political action, and become subservient to the promotion of the dogmas of non-governmentism!

THE MASSACHUSETTS ABOLITIONIST.

In exact keeping with the same policy and the same design, was the conduct of the same individuals and their associates in respect to the establishment of the Massachusetts Abolitionist. The repeated political conflicts in the 4th District, concurred with various other causes to beget the feeling in many minds of the want of a new and cheaper paper, that should specially urge the duty of political action, be adapted to general circulation, and be the organ of the State Society. The Board of Managers of the Society had been fully apprised of the existence of this feeling. As early as the middle of November, Dr. Farnsworth of Groton, called at the Anti-Slavery office to see Mr Phelps about what should be done in reference to the then next election, in the 4th District. In the course of the conversation, he, of his own accord, said we needed a new Anti-Slavery paper; to which, without hesitation, Mr Phelps responded. Dr. Farnsworth had suggested the same thing before, at his house, to Mr St. Clair. He was indeed among the first to suggest and favour the measure, though afterwards opposing it. On the occasion just referred to, he told Mr Phelps he would go and see Messrs. Garrison and Johnson, and talk with them about it. He did so. About a month after this, on the 14th of December, the subject came up informally, in board meeting, and then Mr Phelps stated fully and frankly what the feeling was and what the kind of paper that was needed, so far as he knew. Toward the close of that month, Mr Phelps being absent from the city, the Board took up the subject in form, of establishing such a paper. A Committee was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Quincy, Garrison, and Phelps, to consider and report upon it. On the 31st of December, Mr Phelps being still absent, Mr Quincy, in behalf of himself and Mr Garrison, made the following Report:

The Committee to which was referred the subject of a new Anti-Slavery paper to be the organ of the Massachusetts State Society, and to be conducted under its direction, beg leave to submit the following

REPORT.

Your Committee are given to understand that the want of an Anti-Slavery newspaper, of a cheaper description than the *Liberator*, *Emancipator*, *Friend of Man*, &c., for gratuitous distribution by societies and individuals, has been *widely felt and loudly expressed throughout the State.* If such a want exist, your committee can entertain no doubt that it would be for the advantage of the cause that it should be supplied. If properly conducted, such a periodical would contain in a cheap and condensed form, a great amount of Anti-Slavery reading which might be widely disseminated by the local Societies at a small expense. Such a periodical, it is believed, would not interfere injuriously with

the circulation of any of the larger sheets which are issued in various portions of our country for the promotion of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. A publication not unlike the one proposed, has been lately issued by the New York Anti-Slavery Society entitled the *Anti-Slavery Lecturer*.

As the periodical which is believed to be demanded by the friends of the cause, must be in a great degree local in its character, and devoted to the peculiar wants of this State, there *seems to be a peculiar propriety in its being sent forth under the auspices of the State Society.* This Board, moreover, will find it a convenient organ for the publication and recording of its proceedings and official acts. Its being made the organ of this Board, too, would give it an importance in the eyes of the Abolitionists throughout the State, which it would want if issued by any individuals, of however high standing in the Anti-Slavery ranks. The principal objection which your Committee apprehend will be urged against this proposition, will arise from the expense which will attend it.

The Committee show that nothing is to be apprehended on this ground, and then add:—

"Your Committee are of opinion, that the arguments in favour of such a publication are of more weight than those which occur to them against it. They therefore recommend that the experiment be tried; and would respectfully submit the following details of the plan in the form of Resolutions, which they deem the most feasible, leaving it with the Board to adopt or reject it in whole or in part.

"Resolved,—That it is advisable that a periodical be published monthly, under the direction of this board.

"Resolved,—That the name of this periodical be 'The Abolitionist.'

"Resolved,—That the Abolitionist be edited by a Committee of Three Members of this Board, to be chosen by ballot.

"Resolved,—That the *Abolitionist* be furnished to individual subscribers at 50 cents a copy, per annum, only on condition of payment in advance, and to societies or individuals for gratuitous distribution, at 25 cents a copy, per ann., provided the number so taken be not less than ten. All which is respectfully submitted,

"EDMUND QUINCY, *for the Committee.*

"BOSTON, *December* 31*st*, 1838."

This Report was accepted, and a Committee of three appointed to edit the paper, with directions to issue an edition of 3000 copies of a specimen number, to be laid before the approaching Annual Meeting of the Society for its approval or otherwise.

The Report is the Board's official confession (1) that they had been fully apprised of the state of feeling in respect to a new paper, and (2) that, in their view, if established, there would be "a peculiar propriety" in its being their "organ," rather than that of "any individuals of however high standing in the Anti-Slavery ranks." Let this be noted.

The paper they proposed to issue, however, did not meet the views of those who desired a new one. Mr Torrey, having been informed of their action in the case, immediately wrote them, urging the necessity of a weekly.* Mr Phelps also assured Members of the Board, and among them Mr Garrison, that it would not meet the wants of those who desired it if it were not weekly. It was seen that this project would not answer. At once the whole system of tactics was changed. Instead of seeking to soothe and win the "malcontents," and "disorganizers," so called, the policy was adopted of forcing their submission, or driving them, as "insidious plotters," "traitors," &c., &c., in disgrace from the ranks. The maxims of policy plainly were, "rule or ruin"—"submission or

* It is worthy of note that among all the plot-wise letters of Mr Torrey that have been carefully gathered up and printed, the two letters written to the Board at this time have never yet seen the light of day, nor has a hint been given to the public, by the "plot" manufacturers, of their existence.

death." The Committee to issue the specimen number did nothing, and on the 11th of January, in an editorial headed "Watchman, what of the night?" Mr Garrison raised the cry of treason and of plots. He said:—

"Strong foes are without, insidious plotters are within the camp. A conflict is at hand—if the signs of the times do not deceive us—which is to be more hotly contested, and which will require more firmness of nerve and greater singleness of purpose, (combined with sleepless vigilance and unswerving integrity), than any through which we have passed to victory. Once more, therefore, we would speak trumpet-tongued—sound an alarm bell—light up a beacon fire—give out a new watchword—so that there may be a general rallying of our early, intrepid, storm-proof, scarred and veteran coadjutors, at the coming anniversary—all panoplied as of yore, and prepared to give battle to internal contrivers of mischief, as readily as to external and avowed enemies.

* * * * * * *

"With pain we avow it, there is a deep scheme laid by individuals, at present somewhat conspicuous as zealous and active Abolitionists, to put the control of the Anti-Slavery movements in this commonwealth into other hands. This scheme, of course, is of clerical origin, and the prominent ringleaders fill the clerical office. One of the most restless was a participant in the infamous 'Clerical Appeal' conspiracy, though not one of the immortal FIVE. The design is, by previous management and drilling, to effect such a change in the present faithful and liberal minded Board of Managers of the State Society at the Annual Meeting, as will throw the balance of power into the hands of a far different body of men, for the accomplishment of ulterior measures which are now in embryo. The next object is, to effect the establishment of a new weekly Anti-Slavery Journal, to be the organ of the State Society, for the purpose, if not avowedly, yet designedly, to subvert the *Liberator*, and thus relieve the Abolition cause in this State of the odium of countenancing such a paper. Then—make way for the clergy! For, by 'hanging Garrison,' and repudiating the *Liberator*, they will surely condescend to take the reins of Anti-Slavery management into their own hands.

"The plot, thus far, has been warily managed, so, if possible, to 'deceive the very elect.' Many, we know, are already ensnared, and some, at least, who neither intend nor suspect mischief. The guise in which it is presented is one of deep solicitude for the success of our cause. No attempt is to be made to lower down the standard—O, no!—but simply to change the men to whom has been so long entrusted the management of the enterprise, and put in their place younger men, better men, who will accomplish wonders, and perform their duties more faithfully—that's all! While privately, by conversation, letters, circulars, &c., &c., every effort is making to disparage the *Liberator*, (the paper is too tame for these rampant plotters!) and to calumniate its editor, no hostility to either is to be openly avowed. Far from it; for honesty in this case might not, peradventure, prove to be the best policy.

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"The trusty friends of our good cause, and all who desire to baffle the machinations of a clerical combination, will need no other notice than this, to induce them to rally at the Annual Meeting, and watch with jealousy and meet with firmness every attempt, however plausibly made, to effect any material change in the management of the concerns of the State Society. The spirit that would discard such men as Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray Loring, Samuel E. Sewall, Edmund Quincy, and Wendell Phillips, is treacherous to humanity."

What is said of discarding such men as Francis Jackson, Ellis Gray Loring, &c., was purely gratuitous. Such a thing had not been thought of. Mr Jackson had said to Mr Stanton that he thought of declining a re-election to the Presidency of the Society, and in consequence, Mr Stanton remarked to some Member of the Board that *if* he did, he thought Hon. William Jackson, the brother of Francis, would make a good successor. Mr St. Clair had also suggested to some one, that he thought the Board ought to be enlarged, so as to take in some friends of the cause at Cambridgeport and Lynn, and at the same time give the several religious denominations a fairer proportionate representation on the Board; and

behold! a foul plot is discovered to revolutionize the Board and "subvert the *Liberator!*"

Such was the key-note given out for the Annual Meeting. The meeting was held, and lo! the very men that three weeks before had voted to establish a new paper to meet the wants of the State, now insisted that none was needed; they who then saw a "peculiar propriety" in its being the "organ" of the Society, would not have it so now on any account; and they who wished such a paper were told to start it themselves and not tax the Society with it, and were assured that if they did so, there would be no complaint or opposition. No sooner said than done. The paper was established, and lo! another change. Scarcely had another three weeks rolled away, before the same men issued a paper of their own, of the same size but cheaper than the *Abolitionist,* and with the avowed design, first, of meeting the want in question, and second, of destroying the *Abolitionist.* Such facts speak for themselves.

THE CHURCH, MINISTRY, AND SABBATH.

On the 25th of February, 1839, Oliver Johnson, having fully adopted the opinions and imbibed the spirit of Mr Garrison, addressed a letter to the church in Middlebury, Vt. in which the following passages occur:—

"It is, if I mistake not, about three years since I esteemed it both a duty and a privilege to become a member of your body. I then believed that you were in reality what you claimed, and still claim to be—a church of the Lord Jesus Christ,—and consequently, that I could not rightfully withdraw from you, except for the purpose of connecting myself with another similiar association. It is my duty now to apprise you that my views of the nature of your organization, and, indeed, of all the ecclesiastical organizations with which I am acquainted, have undergone a *radical change.* I now regard them as *mere human societies,* which can rightfully exercise no powers whatever, except such as may have been rightfully conferred upon them by the individuals of which they are composed. That they have derived, in their associated capacity, any power from the Great Head of the church, I do not believe; and hence, it is clear to my mind, that I may as rightfully withdraw from your body as from any other human society. * * * I readily concede that moral beings have a right to form associations (on principles which do not restrict individual freedom,) for the purpose of mutual edification, and the propagation of what they believed to be gospel truth, but to call such associations *churches of Christ,* I believe to be an assumption wholly unwarranted by the Scriptures. Christ has but *one* church in the world, and the members of the church are known, not by their connexion with any society formed by men, but 'by their fruits,' consequently a withdrawal from such a society is not a withdrawal from the church of Christ. It is my full conviction, that Christianity has suffered, and is still suffering greatly from the common belief, that organizations which are the work of men, are churches of Christ; and I cannot consent, by remaining a member of your body, to give countenance to so pernicious an error."

Having thus given his view of "the *nature* of the church organizations of the present day," he proceeded, as one among "other important reasons," why he felt called upon, by a withdrawal from their body, "to bear a solemn testimony against them," to state that, in his belief, they are "a mighty hindrance to the progress of Christianity—a block before and a weight behind the wheel of gospel reform." * * "When the *corruptions* of these organizations," he adds, "first arrested my attention, I consoled myself with the hope that they might be purified and reformed; but subsequent reflection, and the events of the few past years, have utterly destroyed that hope, and forced upon my mind the conviction, that their *overthrow,* and not their reformation, is 'registered on the scroll of Destiny.'" And he then formally "withdraws" from the church.

These sentiments, it will be seen, assail the churches and their connected institutions, on two grounds, first their "*nature*," and second their "*corruptions*," upon both of which, it is maintained, they should be rejected. These, it is well known, were the sentiments and feelings of Mrs Chapman, Messrs. Garrison, Benson, Quincy, and others of the initiated, at this period, and for some time previously. In the Reply to the Clerical Appeal, two years before, Mr Garrison declared that the "great mass of the clergy" were "nothing better than hirelings, in the bad sense of that term," and that their "overthrow is registered on the scroll of Destiny." The same summer also, at Providence, he proclaimed, as we have seen, the speedy overthrow of the nation and the church. During the autumn following, Mrs Chapman is known to have said to him repeatedly, "Your first business is to crush the clergy." Such, subsequently, have become the sentiments and feelings of Messrs. H. C. Wright, Collins, Whiting, Pillsbury, Foster, and others of the leaders and subordinates in the movement.

It is plain that persons entertaining these sentiments, could not seek the "reformation" of the churches, as their object. Such reformation would but perpetuate organizations, which, in their very nature, they regarded as "a mighty hindrance to the progress of Christianity," and especially of "gospel reform." They had declared "reformation," moreover, a hopeless event. Of course whatever they might do or say, in respect to the churches, their object must be "overthrow," not reform. *Honesty* would have sought this object *directly and openly:* and to this end, would have gone back at once to the "*nature*" of the organizations, and calling that in question, waged its first and main conflict there. *Dishonesty* would have sought it *indirectly and covertly:* and to this end, would have taken advantage of the Anti-Slavery cause, to raise a hue and cry about "the corruptions of these organizations," in order to break down public confidence in them on *this* ground, and *then*, in due time, to call in question their "*nature*," or right to be, as such.

The latter policy was adopted. In prosecuting it, the "sifting-in" process was vigorously plied. The ministry were special objects of attack. "Any thing to give the clergy a dab," said Oliver Johnson. "Wolves in sheep's clothing"—"Hirelings in the bad sense of the term"—"The deadliest enemies of holiness, as a body, in the land," said Mr Garrison. Such were the epithets continually heaped in rich effusion on them. They were the grand obstacles to reform. "The Anti-Slavery car has rolled forward thus far, not only without the aid, but against the combined influence of the ministers and churches of the country," said Mr Johnson. (*Lib.*, Oct. 13, 1837.) If they come into the ranks it is because the cause is getting popular; or they are clutching for power and mean to take the management of the cause into their hands, was the imputation constantly thrown out by Mr Garrison. The churches also were represented as alike corrupt. In Sept., 1838, the New England Non-Resistance Convention came. With it came a renunciation of civil government, coupled with the declaration, "We purpose to apply our principles to all existing civil, political, legal, and *ecclesiastical* institutions." Mrs Chapman commenced the application at once. In the paper (Oct. 5th,) following the one that contained the proceedings of the Convention, she threw out some "definitions, the result of observation and thought," which she hoped might prove useful to any who are entangled in the weeds, that, springing up out of the slime of ambiguity, impede a free movement through the waters of truth. The definitions made the "church originally" and "voluntary associations" now, substantially the same thing. The one was "a body

of men drawn together by the affections and sympathies;" the other a body of men "drawn together by an agreement in principles of action, which they deem divine."

The work went on. Anti-Slavery lecturers of the "*right*" sort were put into the field. Anti-Slavery Societies were summoned to the passage of resolutions, denying the Christian name and character to the churches generally. Step after step was taken, until, at the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in New York, in May, 1840, after the division had taken place, Mr Garrison presented, and the Society adopted, a preamble and resolution, affirming that "the American church has given its undisguised sanction and support to the system of American Slavery," and therefore "ought not to be regarded and treated as the church of Christ, but as the foe of freedom, humanity, and pure religion, so long as it occupies its present position."*

Similar resolutions were passed at other meetings. About this time James Boyle, of Ohio, appeared in print again. His letters were published in the *Liberator* with high approval. In one of them he said, "Lawyers, doctors, and priests, are the devil's trinity—and professions, as such, must perish." On the 2d of July following, in an editorial, in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, prepared for the purpose of expressing their views, the new Executive Committee of the old Society said:—

"*Anti-Slavery* is a word of mighty power. Oh, it strikes at the very corner-stones and key-stones of society. It aims a death-blow at long cherished habits and opinions. It robs life of all factitious honours; but above, and more than all, it would put an end for ever to the unrighteous dominion of '*the church*,' it would unseat popular theology from its throne, break down the barriers of sect, and in short, resolve society into its natural elements, saving all the real progress it has made in the scale of improvement. *Here is the true issue on which*

* The position of the churches and ministers has by no means been what it should, on this subject. At the same time they have been, relatively, very far in advance of the State and the people at large. A careful statistical examination, made by Mr Phelps, gives the following, among other results.

Taking the country together, there is, on an average, one minister to 500 people. In the early Anti-Slavery conventions and meetings, of those who signed the call for the Maine, New Hampshire, and first New England Convention, in 1833 and 1834, more than one-third were ministers; of the delegates present in these and the National Convention at Philadelphia the same year, more than one-fifth were ministers; and of the delegates to these and the first four annual meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the proportion was the same. So that in the Anti-Slavery reform, in its unpopular days, taking all together, the ministry, as a class, were to the people, not as 1 to 500, the ratio of population, but as 1 to 5.

Again, in the latter part of 1837, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society requested all its auxiliaries to report their name, officers, and number of members. From the returns received it appeared that the Anti-Slavery Societies then had a membership of 19,206 in the State, which was equivalent to 1 in 36 of the people. About the same time Mr Phelps commenced a similar inquiry in respect to the ministry. He wrote to some minister in each association, or religious connexion, known to him as a decided Abolitionist, requesting the number of members in said body, and also the number known as members of Anti-Slavery Societies, on the principle of immediate emancipation. Estimating the whole from the returns actually received, and it appeared that of the 792 ministers of all denominations then in the State, 367, or 103 more than one-third, or nearly half the whole, were members of such societies. At that time, taking the population as a whole, there was in the State one minister to 518 of the people. Had the ministry, as a class, been equally advanced with the people, and no more, we should have had one minister to 518 of the people in the Anti-Slavery Societies. Instead of this, however, there was one to 52—showing that instead of being *relatively* behind the people, on the subject, they were in fact 900 *per cent. in advance!*

the division in our ranks has been made up. What do 'Woman's Rights' and 'Non-resistance' weigh in a contest which threatens such a revolution? If it were possible to change the nature of the reform, so that it should have reference only to the Abolition of Negro physical Slavery, and none whatever to *the general emancipation of mind*, depend upon it, women and non-resistants might have participated in our action, and not a thought of secession would have been tolerated."

Thus was the work of perversion consummated. The very *end and aim* of the Anti-Slavery cause were changed. "*The general emancipation of mind,*" not the abolition of Negro physical Slavery, was now its object. It went for generic reform,—the "resolution of society into its natural elements." Anti-Slavery Societies had been and were to be used as a means to *this*, not to their original end. And it was just because certain of the early Abolitionists would not consent to it, that the division arose. "*Here,*" on the confession of the party implicated, "*was the true issue;*" but for this, "*not a thought of secession would have been tolerated.*"

This perversion effected, and matters stood thus. The Anti-Slavery organizations were used to unhinge public confidence in the ministry and churches, and to carry on the war against them on the ground of their alleged Pro-Slavery "corruptions;" the non-resistance Associations were used by the same persons to do the same work, on the ground of their so-called, war-making "corruptions;" and Abolitionists were urged, in repeated instances, to withdraw from and bear their testimony against these "synagogues of Satan." The *preparation work* was done. All that could be effected indirectly, through the Anti-Slavery organizations, was effected, and the time had come for the final development,—the assault on the ministry and the churches as such. On, therefore, came the "Church, Ministry, and Sabbath Convention," so termed. The result of that meeting, its denial of the Sabbath and the ministry, and above all, its rejection of the Bible as of supreme authority in matters of religious faith and duty, are well known. Mr Garrison feared, beforehand, that the calling of the meeting was "somewhat premature." Afterwards, he rejoiced in its result, because he "believed that the truth as it is in Jesus was signally promoted by it;" and *Kneeland's Infidel Investigator* rejoiced in it as "a monument of the vincibility of prejudice, and the triumph of plain truth."

SPIRIT, SECTARIANISM, AND DISHONESTY OF THE LEADERS.

A few facts in illustration of these points must close this humiliating and painful development. They will also show, we think, that the very sectarianism and dishonesty so often charged upon the secession, really belong to the other party.

At an early stage of our contentions, a difficulty occurred between the Executive Committees of the National and State Societies, in respect to the payment of a pledge due the former from the latter. The Committee of the State Society sent a Sub-Committee, consisting of Messrs. H. G. Chapman and others, to New York, to remonstrate with the Committee of the National Society, to induce them to change their decision in the case. Soon after their return, Mr H. G. Chapman met Mr Stanton in the Anti-Slavery office, 25, Cornhill, and almost the first salutation was—"By G—d, your Committee at New York are what I call d—n small coffee." Nor was this a solitary instance of the kind.—The use of profane language is not unfrequent with that individual, at least, on exciting occasions. Yet with this fact well known to his immediate friends, he has been put in nomination year after year, and elected to the office of treasurer of an

institution that asks the co-operation and the charities of Christians, and has been heralded in the *Martyr Age*, and elsewhere, as "an excellent man," with a "spirit of self-denial" worthy of all praise!

Again, the Rev. A. St. Clair, at the commencement of the difficulties, was an agent of the State Society, and a Restorationist and Christian in his religious sentiments. Subsequently he has changed his religious views, and is now a member in good standing of an Orthodox Congregational Church in New Hampshire. The strange developments made, in the course of our divisions, on the part of those with whose religious sentiments, he, at the outset, sympathized, have done much in effecting this change.—On the 8th of March, 1841, in reply to inquiries made by Mr Phelps, Mr St. Clair made the following statements in writing:—

You are aware that my confidence in Mr Garrison and Johnson, as men of truth and integrity, was formerly very strong and full. In the former it remained so till the course he adopted and pursued in relation to the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*. In Mr J. it was partially alienated and impaired the summer previous. In one instance he made a remark which led me to question the motives with which he was attacking ministers, and in another to fear that he was willing to sacrifice the Anti-Slavery cause to his other peculiar views. The first remark was the more surprising, as I did not suspect, at the time, his views in relation to the Christian ministry and church, which have since been developed.

During the summer of 1838, while Mr Garrison was at Brooklyn and Mr Johnson was editing the *Liberator*, a statement about a clergyman was published in the paper, which, knowing the circumstances, I was aware was untrue. But supposing Mr J. had made it by mistake, through misrepresentation, and would be willing to correct it, I stated the facts to him, and desired him to do so. Some time afterwards, as he did not, I reminded him of it again. He replied, "Never mind it; any thing to give the clergy a dab."

From the time the attempt was made in Boston to form an evangelical Anti-Slavery Society, Mr J. often manifested a cordial hatred of evangelical principles as well as men. At one time during the summer of 1838, on my combating some loose opinion advanced by him, he replied that I was "getting to be too everlasting evangelical." At another he manifested his contempt by sneeringly calling the bathing tubs at the Marlboro' Chapel, "the evangelical watering troughs." Nor did he share this hatred alone; but many other *then* and *now* leaders of the old organization, partook of the same feeling, and this has been the most powerful motive in the course they have since pursued, and the secret of many of their movements. For the truth of this remark take the following instances as proof:—

At the time the question of establishing the *Massachusetts Abolitionist* was pending, in the winter of 1838-39, great efforts were made by the leading friends of the *Liberator* to induce me to abandon the project. The evening before the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, while returning from Cambridgeport, in company with Rev. J. V. Himes, of whose church I was then a member, he inquired why I wanted another paper—why the *Liberator* was not sufficient? I replied, for two reasons. First, we wanted one so cheap that every Abolitionist could and would take it; and second, we wanted one free from objectionable extraneous topics. The *Liberator* was two dollars and a half a-year, and devoted just as truly to the "woman question" and the overthrow of human government, as to the abolition of Slavery.—He admitted the charges, but said if we established another paper it would "bring the Orthodox into power." I asked whom he meant by Orthodox. He replied, "all the so-called evangelicals." Then, I remarked, they constitute nine-tenths of the Abolitionists in the State. He said he was not prepared to dispute it, but that he did not like their mode of doing business; that hitherto the Anti-Slavery cause had been kept out of their hands, and that he meant to keep it out if he could.

This was the first development of sectarianism of so palpable and barefaced a nature, which I had ever witnessed in connexion with any Anti-Slavery movement.—Mr Himes was and still is a member of the Board of Managers of the old Society in Massachusetts—a "no-government" and "Woman's Rights" man, and a cordial hater of evangelical Christians. I had frequently,

during the summer and autumn previous, heard the Executive Committee at New York hinted at as persons of doubtful trustworthiness, on account of their evangelical character, whom it would not be amiss to remove. But here was the open avowal of an intention, by a leading member of the Boston Committee, to keep the control and influence of the Anti-Slavery movement in the hands of a small minority, because he disliked the religious views of the majority. I was alarmed at the disclosure, and, as you are aware, the same evening stated the fact to you and H. B. Stanton, which you threw out by insinuations the following evening, in the public meeting.

The next day was the Annual Meeting of the State Society. On entering the Marlboro' Chapel, I was met by several friends, who informed me that George Benson, brother-in-law of Mr Garrison, was inquiring for, and anxious to see me. I now met him—with much anxiety he desired me to accompany him to a lobby, where he immediately opened the subject of the newspaper, which was to come before the meeting for discussion and action. It was all, he assured me, an Orthodox plot and trick, to get the Anti-Slavery cause into their own hands, and throw Garrison overboard. I inquired for the evidence; he had none to give, but endeavoured to produce conviction, by repeating the assertion. I asked if he supposed I would be guilty of any such plot. He replied, No. He and his friends thought me deceived; but still it was a plot, and if I would come out and abandon the proposition for a paper, they could show it to be such. I asked how. He replied by showing that there was nobody in favour of it but the Orthodox. I assured him, if there was any plot in the matter, I was guilty of it; for I had first laid the project before a few Abolition friends; and then, at the request of Dea. Everett, had presented it in resolutions before a county meeting, which had adopted it with but one dissenting vote. He next endeavoured to carry his point, by representing that the paper, if established, would bring the Orthodox into power, who would kick me overboard with him, for my trouble. Finding I was not moved by the fear of such a terrible result, he attempted to dissuade me from my purpose by flattery, assuring me how much confidence he and his friends had reposed in me to carry forward Mr Garrison's views and interests in Massachusetts, and that they would be ready to overlook any trifling error, and give their fullest confidence. Nor was he slow or backward in making promises of any thing in their power to bestow, in case I would abandon that "Orthodox plot," and return to Mr G.'s interest. But as this did not produce its desired effect, he next addressed my fears; stating that the Orthodox Abolitionists had no confidence in me, but would certainly kick me with him overboard the moment a paper should be established. I asked for evidence of these charges. He did not attempt to give any, except an account of H. B. Stanton's having, at sundry times, made me the subject of ridicule, which he afterwards denied, on being brought face to face with Stanton on the subject. This interview impaired my confidence in Mr Benson. I saw that, like Mr Garrison and Himes, while he was charging sectarianism on the orthodox (whom he explained to be Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists, and Methodists,) he was governed purely by this principle himself.

A few days after, it had been agreed by the friends of the *Massachusetts Abolitionist* what sort of a paper it should be, and when started, I called on Mr Garrison to let him know what we intended to do. He remarked that he deprecated the measure—it would open a door to let all those persons into the Anti-Slavery ranks, whom it had always been his object to keep out. Surprised at this remark, I asked him if he did not suppose the paper was to be Anti-Slavery. He said yes. I inquired if he supposed it was to compromise Abolition principles. He said no: he had no fears but that it would be high-toned. Then I asked how it could open a door of admission to the Anti-Slavery ranks to any but Abolitionists; and who they were whom he wished to keep out? He gave no explanation, but repeated that it would open a door to all those whom he had always laboured to keep out. From his exceeding hatred of ministers, a remark he is said once to have made, viz.: that being a clergyman is *prima facie* evidence of a bad man, the remark he endorsed in his paper that clergymen "would rather have a religion and priesthood from hell than none at all," and from his uniform denunciations of that class, whether in or out of societies, I supposed he meant ministers. But as he refused to explain himself, I have no other evidence of his meaning.

A few days before the Albany convention, the same summer, on going into the same office one morning, my attention was directed to two pictures—caricatures—fastened up on the left hand, among many others representing the atrocities of Slavery. They were drawn in pencil, of a coarse, vulgar character,

designed to ridicule brothers Orange Scott, John G. Whittier, and William Goodell. In one picture was drawn Brother Scott alone, in the dress of a soldier, with high boots, long huge spurs, epaulets on the shoulders, Napoleon hat, high nodding plume, a long sword hanging by the left side, a brace of pistols in his belt, a huge bowie knife in his left hand, and in the right, a lance or spear, one end resting on the ground, and from the other hanging a flowing streamer, labelled "the staff of accomplishment." From his mouth were proceeding the words: "I hate non-resistance with a perfect hatred; the Prince of Peace, is not the Prince of Orange." Under his feet in large capitals, were the words, "AN AMBASSADOR OF THE PRINCE OF PEACE IN FULL CANONICALS."

On the other picture were drawn Scott, Whittier, and Goodell. Scott occupied the right, Whittier the centre, and Goodell the left. The design of Scott's dress was that of a clergyman, with bands round the neck, like those worn by Episcopal clergymen, bare headed, posture exhibiting great fury, a pistol in the left hand, right arm raised and fist clenched as if to strike some one, and these words proceeding from his mouth:—"If you insult me, I'll slap your chops; for I hate non-resistance with a perfect hatred." Goodell stood on the left, facing Scott, *Friend of Man* in his left hand, right arm raised and hand pointing toward Scott, with the following words coming from his mouth: "Go ahead brother, show yourself true pluck, and I'll back you. By the bye, it is high time I got out my new evangelical paper, in which I shall show that all kinds of forgiveness are criminal, except when a man buys and sells you as an ox; in that case only forgiveness becomes a duty."

In the centre stood Whittier in his Quaker dress, with the *Pa Freeman* in his left hand, right arm raised, and he addressing Scott and Goodell in these words, "I'll join you, brethren, in a moment, if you will only show me how to get rid of this Quaker coat." Under the feet of the whole was drawn in large capitals, "FIGHTING CHRISTIANS COMING TO THE SCRATCH."

I asked the clerk, or man behind the counter, who put them up. He said it was the work of the non-resistants. I inquired who. He said Comstock drew them. I asked who had them put in that office. He said Collins and Johnson. I inquired if Mr Garrison knew they were there. He replied, of course; he is in and out every day. I inquired if he *knew* that Mr Garrison was aware of it. And he replied, yes; he had frequently seen him laughing at them with others. I then took a paper, wrote down their appearance and what was written, and said to him if he did not take them down I would expose the whole. He replied that he disapproved of it, but it was more than his commission was worth to remove them.—Yours for the truth,

A. ST. CLAIR.

The Committee forbear. They are humbled and mortified at the developments which have been made in the progress of this division, and which they have now felt constrained to lay before the public. They reveal sentiments, and designs, and traits of character, which, with two or three exceptions, the Committee did not suspect, before the division commenced, to exist. They have been withheld from the public, generally, to the very last—till forbearance has ceased to be a virtue. They are now given in sheer justice to those most implicated, to the Anti-Slavery public, and to posterity. They are given as specimens of others like them. They are given with sorrow of heart, yet in the hope that, with this presentation of the case, the controversy, on our part, will end.

VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES.

There is a tendency in the minds of some men, Abolitionists as well as others, to overlook the proper boundaries between the province and duties of Voluntary Societies, and those of the great permanent institutions of society in Church and in the State. A Voluntary Society is not a church, with its ordinances and forms of worship, and disciplinary powers; nor a government, with its system of civil and penal law. Nor is it a substitute for either. The heaven-appointed institutions, for the perpetuation and

extension of the gospel, and for the preservation of liberty and social order, can never be set aside, or beneficially exchanged for any other plans, by any power less authoritative than the divine voice by which they were established.

But, like every other institution administered by men, imperfect in wisdom and goodness, they may be perverted in part, or wholly, from their legitimate ends; or through the supineness, or ignorant or criminal apathy of the administrators, cease to discharge some one or more of the duties entrusted to them. And it is a principle universally true, that the *guilty* will never reform themselves, without the pressure of some external influence.

Here, then, is the proper province of Voluntary Societies, viz., to reform or reanimate the social, civil, and ecclesiastical institutions of the community. The latter are the necessary and permanent arrangements of man in social life. The former,* temporary in duration and specific in design. They are, and must be, in the first instance, composed, not of the churches and municipalities, but of those individual members of these bodies who see the need of reform, and are able to agree together to employ the most judicious means to effect it. When these means have been used with such success as to rouse the churches and municipalities to the discharge of their duties, the work of the Voluntary Society is done. Its continuance is useless if not injurious.

The design of Abolition Societies was, and is, to effect a reform both in church and in State, both of which we judged were corrupted by the influences and gains of Slavery, in almost every department of their organization. We aim to rouse the churches, of every sect, to purify themselves from all connexion with the system of Slavery, and the several governments of our own and of other countries to terminate its legal existence. That we have not yet made such progress in our work, that we can dispense with our Societies, we think is obvious. But that much progress has been made towards this result, we firmly believe.

EFFECTS OF THE DIVISION.

Some persons, without due consideration, have supposed that the division in our ranks has hindered the onward course of the work. It is true, that for a time some were disheartened. Amid the din of internal warfare some almost forgot the Slave; and a few of the faint-hearted withdrew wholly from our Associations. But those who deemed the division so disheartening, do not sufficiently consider what would have been our present position without it. Had the insidious poison of Antinomian perfectionism been allowed to make its way unchecked, through all the ranks of the Anti-Slavery host, we had now been engaged, as a body, as a few of our former coadjutors are, in a bitter but fruitless warfare upon the permanent institutions of society and of religion, unmindful of the cry of the perishing poor —while the possibility of any real progress in our appropriate business would have been destroyed. In a word, whatever of advancement in the cause has taken place since the division in the winter of 1839, must be attributed to the new organizations, or to the previously existing agencies which were saved from the grasp of the no-government faction by the

* Those Associations, like Missionary and Bible Societies, are indeed "Voluntary," because no one is compelled to join them. But they should be regarded simply, as the judicious arrangements of a church already (so far) reformed, and awake to its duty, to extend its boundaries, by the conversion of the unbelieving.

influence, direct and indirect, of the protest against and the stern resistance of their insidious designs.

Nearly all the existing State and Local Societies, in every part of the land, have, by withdrawing auxiliaryship and other measures, cut loose from this destroyer of our harmony. While the very few that still adhere to it, nominally, are rendered exceedingly cautious in their downward movements. If they do anything for the cause, as we are happy to express our belief that some of them do, it is one of the results of the division. But for this, acting as a conservative power, they might have been wholly perverted ere this.

No. V.

GROUNDS FOR SECESSION—MR GARRISON'S REPLY.

(*From the* LIBERATOR, *July* 2*d*, 1841.)

IN the last Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, all the charges which had been brought against it by those who had seceded from it, were fully and accurately grouped together, and proved to be FOUL CALUMNIES, by an appeal to the official proceedings and documents of the Society. No vindication was ever more triumphant—no exposure ever more terrible to the plotters of mischief.

In the second Annual Report of the Massachusetts Abolition Society, (to which reference was made in the 25th number of the *Liberator*,) an elaborate but fruitless attempt is made to impair the force of this defence. Twelve columns of the *Free American* are occupied in stating the grounds for the secession, not *one* of which has, in fact, any thing to do with the question at issue; and nearly all of which are devoted to an exposition, not of the misdeeds of the State Anti-Slavery Society, but of my individual heresies! The impudence, the folly, the maliciousness, the degradation of mind exhibited in this Report, demonstrate alike the guilt and the fatuity of new organization, and prove that it is indeed at its wit's end to find any plausible excuse for its schismatical course. It has been already stated that this document was drawn up by AMOS A. PHELPS and CHARLES T. TORREY, who were the leading and most active disorganizers in the Commonwealth, and whose apostacy will long constitute a black feature in Anti-Slavery history. They have done their best—*i.e.* their worst—of course; and the Abolition Society having made their plea its own, has signified that nothing more can be urged in its own defence, or against the old organization. For myself, I must seriously declare that, in my judgment, this Report more clearly establishes the innocence of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and the criminality of its rival, than any paper which has yet appeared on either side of the question—not excepting the triumphant vindication of the former, to which allusion has already been made.

Before I proceed to examine the document under consideration, there are two or three points which I wish to impress upon the memory of the reader.

1. Every Society or organization is to be measured by its own standard,

and held responsible for its own proceedings, but not for the opinions or conduct of any individual member.

2. For evidence in favour of or against an Association, references must be had to its official organ, papers, or proceedings; or, in other words, to what it actually approves or rejects, *as an Association;* and no evidence can be valid which is drawn from any other source. If—for example—there were individual members of the Colonization Society, who cherished and avowed dangerous opinions on the subject of Slavery, or on any other subject, the Society itself could not justly be held responsible for those opinions, unless it sanctioned them as a body.

3. If the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society has departed from the broad, catholic ground which it formerly occupied—if it has become a mere automaton in the hands of a few designing individuals—it must and can be shown from its official acts, no matter what may be proved against one or more individuals connected with it. The only pertinent question is—What has the *Society* done?

4. On the Anti-Slavery platform, all sectarian and party variances are professedly forgotten; and the friends of bleeding humanity meet for the promotion of a common object. But though, by the very nature of their organization, they are restricted, while standing on that platform, from attempting to proselytize any to their peculiar religious or political views on other subjects, they may nevertheless, as individuals, on their own responsibility, be as zealous as they please in inculcating their sentiments as Methodists, Baptists, Universalists, Infidels, Whigs, Democrats, Agrarians, &c., &c. They do not consent to lose their right to speak or act in the spirit of freemen on all questions that may challenge the attention of the human mind, because they are willing to band together as Abolitionists; and whoever denies to them this right, or refuses to walk with them in Anti-Slavery fellowship, because of its exercise, is a bigot in principle, or an oppressor in grain.

5. I am not, have never been, and have never aspired to be, the accredited mouth-piece of the Abolitionists of this Commonwealth, or of the republic. From the commencement of my labours, I have acted for myself, on my own responsibility, as a common soldier, and without asking any man, or any Association, to endorse my conduct as an Abolitionist. I am connected with the old Anti-Slavery organization on the same terms and under the same restrictions as others. For the proceedings of that organization, I hold myself responsible only so far as I give them my approval; and never have I wished or attempted to modify its action contrary to its original structure and spirit.

6. The *Liberator* is not and has never been the official organ of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, or of any other Association. It is, and has ever been, a strictly independent journal, under my exclusive control, for the management of which no other person in the wide universe is responsible but myself. Whatever may be its merits or its faults, therefore, the praise or the blame belongs to me alone.

These points have been repeatedly stated in the course of the controversy which has grown out of the secession from the Anti-Slavery platform; but it is essential to the formation of a correct judgment on the part of the candid inquirer, in relation to the merits of this controversy, that he bear them continually in mind.

Having thus frankly stated the position which I occupy as an Abolitionist, and defined the limits and responsibilities of the Anti-Slavery Association, I now proceed to show that the grounds set forth for the secession in the Report of the Massachusetts Abolition Society are untenable, that a

false issue is made in that document, and, consequently, that all the charges which have been brought against the old organization are truthless.

But, first, it must be premised, that, if the original constitution of the State Anti-Slavery Society was formerly unobjectionable to the seceders, then, in order to justify their secession, they are bound to show that they no longer regard it as a sound instrument, or else that it has been so altered as to be fundamentally wrong in principle. It will not suffice to show that, in one or two instances, a wrong interpretation has been put upon the language of the constitution by a majority of the Society—for the minority cannot be bound by any such interpretation, and it is for them, under such circumstances, not to secede, but to endeavour to convince the majority of the error into which they may have fallen. Now, it is not pretended by the seceders, that any change has been made in the constitution of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, or that they cannot any longer assent to its principles; and whether that constitution has at any time been violated by the Society remains to be seen.

The Report under consideration professes to give to the public, and for the benefit of *posterity*, "a full and accurate history of the origin and progress" of the Anti-Slavery division in this Commonwealth. The items of which this important history is composed in the Report will certainly amuse, if they fail to convince "posterity" of the genuineness of the new organization—that is, if such an abortion shall ever meet the eyes of posterity.

It will be remembered, that the charges which have been brought against the old Pioneer Society are—that (in the language of the present Report) it has been made, by a "deliberate and well-matured design," on the part of one or two individuals, "subservient to the promotion of their personal and sectarian views on the subjects of Woman's Rights, so called, Civil Government, the Church, the Ministry, and the Sabbath!!!" Orange Scott has styled it that "rotten-hearted, no human government, women's rights institution."

Let us now see in what manner these accusations are sustained in the Report; for, as they are weighty, all will admit that the evidence adduced to show their accuracy should be ample and explicit.

It is denied in the Report, that any of those, who have been prominent in the secession, have been actuated by personal feelings towards myself! "It is believed that, to this hour, they are *all* on terms of perfect personal friendship and good will (!) to Mr Garrison, and that when they meet him, as they occasionally do, they meet as friends, (!) with no personal animosities whatever toward each other." If such men are my friends, then I have never had any enemies. They have spared no pains to make me appear hideous in the eyes of individuals and of the public. They have represented me as a cunning, crafty, unprincipled man, a heretic in religion, a jacobin in politics, seeking nothing but the gratification of my own selfish ambition, and basely intent upon subverting the integrity of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. They have assailed me with an apparent ferocity of spirit, and a malignity of purpose, surpassing any thing that I have experienced at the hands of the open and avowed enemies of the abolition movement. And yet they have the cool effrontery to disclaim any personal ill-will, and to assume to be "on terms of *perfect personal friendship*" with me! I can forgive them even this additional outrage; but I tell them it is impossible for me to regard them as entitled to my confidence or friendship. If they are my friends, then I have only to adopt the exclamation of another—"Save me from my friends, and I will take care of my enemies!"

The Report mainly consists of a series of personal attacks upon sundry individuals, of which any Association, having a just sense of decency, magnanimity, or honour, would be heartily ashamed.

But, to the point—to wit, the "facts" demonstrating that the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society had so far become changed in its character and object as to justify secession from it.

All its own members, and all regular delegates or members of auxiliary Societies, were allowed to participate in its proceedings; just as in the case of the American Society and other kindred bodies. This had been its uniform practice from its commencement. Some towns being nearer Boston, and more thoroughly abolitionized than others, were naturally more fully represented at the Annual Meeting of the Society, than those which were remote, or which had less zeal and spirit in the cause. For refusing to make any geographical distinctions or artificial arrangements in its meetings, so as to cripple the free action of a large portion of those who were among its most valuable supporters, this stands in the category of new organization as—*Crime No.* 1!

2. Mr Fowler, the phrenologist, in giving "Mr Garrison's phrenological development, says—"He has more forethought than he manifests, is full of new schemes and projects, seldom or never commits himself, generally keeps his plans and feelings to himself," &c. Hence one reason for the secession! This is, on the part of the old Society—*Crime No.* 2! The Report might have made some other extracts from Mr Fowler's description—such as, "His (Mr Garrison's) friends are his strong friends, and *his enemies most bitter*." * * "He glories in standing alone, and meeting danger single-handed; and relies more on himself than on any human aid. He never compromises to secure the approbation of others, but acts totally regardless of what others may think or say."

3. In 1837, "he (Mr Garrison) used frequently to remark, that nothing thorough and effectual could be effected for temperance and Abolition, until we had some more radical and genuine reform." Nay, he said, "he was led to fear that all efforts to avert the pending calamity of the annexation of Texas to the Union would prove abortive, and that our national destruction was sealed." Hence another reason for the secession from the Massachusetts Society! *Crime No.* 3!

4. In a letter addressed to Orson S. Murray, of Vermont, dated August 11, 1837, I said—"In giving my attention to the degradation and misery of two millions of American bondmen, I do not forget mankind." How monstrous! "My mind is busy in the investigation of many subjects," &c. How dangerous! "The subject of peace is among them, and is peculiarly dear to me." Worse and worse! "I hope to be more deeply engaged in it by and bye, than I am at present." This is frightful! Hence a fourth reason for the secession! This is charged upon the State Society, by implication, as—*Crime No.* 4!

5. In Worcester, October 2d, 1837, "at noon, [the precise moment is not specified in the Report!] at the house of Mr Earle, Messrs. Stanton, Green, and others, being present, the conversation turned upon the merits of Thompsonianism. Mr Garrison avowed himself a believer in the theory, [shocking!] and added, with much emphasis,—Law, medicine, and divinity are the three great impostures of the day." Hence a fifth reason for seceding from the old Society! Put this down against it as—*Crime No.* 5!

6. In the *Liberator* of October 13th, 1836, a letter was published, and endorsed by Mr Garrison, in which the writer said—"The present governments stand in the way of God's kingdom, just as Colonization once stood

in the way of Abolition. They occupy the ground without effecting the object," &c, And he further declared—"God, by his spirit, has moved me to nominate Jesus Christ for the Presidency, not only of the United States, but of the world." Hence the sixth reason for the abandonment of the State Society! *Crime No.* 6!

7. Messrs. Phelps, Whittier, E. Wright, jun., "Father Ward," "N. Crosby, Esq.," and "Rev. C. W. Denison," remonstrated with Mr Garrison for allowing such sentiments to appear in the columns of the *Liberator;* but he turned a deaf ear to all their remonstrances—telling them that if they could refute those sentiments, he would give them a hearing. He persisted in doing just as he pleased with his own publication! Record it against the State Society as—*Crime No.* 7!

8. Mr Garrison read a letter from James Boyle, of Ohio, relating to the spiritual and political condition of the country, in the presence of "John E. Fuller" and others, and "spoke of it in terms of the highest commendation—saying, in substance, that, however unpopular its doctrines, they were true, and would yet be received by the people." And so secret was he about it, that he actually "sifted it in" to the *Liberator*, that the whole country might read it! Another reason for the separation from the State Society! *Crime No.* 8!

9. The *New England* Anti-Slavery Convention in 1838, invited "all persons present, whether men or women, to become members, and participate in its proceedings." Put this down against the *State* Society as—*Crime No.* 9!

10. In 1836, it is alleged that I expressed an opinion adverse to the sending of female delegates to the Annual Meeting of the American Society, on the ground that it was never contemplated, and would make trouble. Another good reason for the secession from the Massachusetts Society in 1839! *Crime No.* 10!

11. On the 25th of February, 1839, Oliver Johnson addressed a letter to the church in Middlebury, Vt., with which he was connected, in which he gave his views of "the nature of the church organizations of the present day!" What an outrage upon Anti-Slavery liberty! Nay, the "*Rev.* Alanson St. Clair" affirms that Mr Johnson once said to him, "Any thing to give the clergy a dab!" Hence, another reason for secession from the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. *Crime No.* 11!

12. In his reply to the Clerical Appeal, "Mr Garrison declared that the great mass of the clergy were nothing better than hirelings, in the bad sense of that term, and that their overthrow is registered on the scroll of Destiny." For this the State Society must be held responsible. It is—*Crime No.* 12!

13. "In September, 1838, the New England Non-Resistance Convention came." October 5th of that year, Mrs M. W. Chapman wrote an editorial article in the *Non-Resistant,* in which she defined the "church originally," and "voluntary associations" now, to be substantially the same thing. Of course, the guilt of this daring act belonged to the old Society! *Crime, No.* 13!

14. In a letter from James Boyle, of Ohio, published in the *Liberator*, the writer said—"Lawyers, doctors, and priests are the devil's trinity—and professions, as such, must perish." Hence, another reason for new organization! *Crime No.* 14!

15. At the Annual Meeting of the *American* Anti-Slavery Society in May, 1840, a resolution was adopted, affirming that "the American church has given its undisguised sanction and support to the system of American Slavery," and therefore "ought not to be regarded and treated as the

church of Christ, but as the foe of freedom, humanity, and pure religion, *so long as it occupies its present position.*" This is gravely brought forward among the reasons to justify the secession, although that resolution (which is an Anti-Slavery truism) was adopted after the secession had taken place! This, too, is put down to the account of the *Massachusetts* Anti-Slavery Society, and is—*Crime No.* 15!

16. On the 3d of July, 1840, an article appeared in the *National Standard*,—not as "editorial," nor "prepared for the purpose of expressing the views of the new Executive Committee of the old Society," as the Report falsely declares, but written on the sole responsibility of a single individual, the initials of whose name were appended to it,—in which the opinion is advanced, that the Anti-Slavery reform in this country is necessarily of a far more more radical character than "the Abolition of Negro *physical* Slavery," and will "unseat popular theology [which is pro-Slavery] from its throne, break down the barriers of sect, [which is pro-Slavery,] and, in short, resolve society into its natural elements, [now thrown into a most *unnatural* state,] saving all the real progress it has made in the scale of improvement"—[a terrible *loss* truly!] It is, of course, perfectly fair to charge upon the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society the errors (?) of an anonymous writer in the *Standard*, and to make a newspaper essay, written in 1840, a reason for seceding from the State Society in 1839! Put it down, therefore, in the account, as—*Crime No.* 16!

17. In November last, a "Church, Ministry, and Sabbath Convention," was held in Boston. [No doubt the sun rose and set, and stars were seen at night, and the weather was somewhat cold, and many other monstrous events happened, during that month; for all which, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society must fairly be held accountable!] "The result of that meeting, its denial of the Sabbath [a falsehood—it took no action whatever upon the subject] and the ministry [ditto!] and, above all, its rejection of the Bible as of supreme authority in matters of religious faith and duty, [ditto!] are well known." Hence, another reason for the new organization in 1839! Here, then, is—*Crime No.* 17!

18. "Mr H. G. Chapman met Mr Stanton in the Anti-Slavery Office, 25, Cornhill," and, the Report says, expressed a very contemptuous opinion of the old executive Committee at New York, (in view of their unmanly and unjust treatment of the State Society,) couched in highly reprehensible language. The manner in which this language (if it be accurately given,) uttered (if it were uttered at all) in the heat of excitement, in private conversation, is dragged into this Report, during the absence of Mr Chapman from the country, evinces a spirit not far from diabolical. But the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, as such, must be made responsible for the private behaviour of its members. *Crime No.* 18!

19. Some time ago, two pictures, drawn in pencil, and intended as a humorous satire, were suspended a day or two in the office at 25, Cornhill, without leave, on the responsibility of an individual not connected with the Anti-Slavery or the Non-Resistance Society. The design of these was to place the furious opposition of Orange Scott, William Goodell and others, to the divine cause of non-resistance in a just though ludicrous point of view. For instance—"in one picture was drawn brother Scott alone, in the dress of a soldier, with high boots, long huge spurs, epauletts on the shoulders, Napoleon hat, high nodding plume, a long sword hanging by the left side, a brace of pistols in his belt, a huge bowie-knife in his left hand, and in the right, a lance or spear, one end resting on the ground, and from the other hanging a flowing streamer, labelled "the staff of accomplishment." From his mouth were proceeding the words: "I hate

non-resistance with a perfect hatred; the Prince of Peace is not the Prince of Orange." Under his feet in large capitals, were the words, "AN AMBASSADOR OF THE PRINCE OF PEACE IN FULL CANONICALS."

This was intended to illustrate the true position in which those, who profess to be the "ambassadors of the Prince of Peace," are placed by advocating the use of carnal weapons against enemies. It is said that birds that have been hit are easily known by their fluttering, and that the coat is very apt to be put on by those whom it suits. Now, the clamour which has been made on account of these harmless sketches, by such *peaceful* belligerents as the *Reverend* Messrs. Colver, Phelps, St. Clair, Wise, Torrey, Cummings, &c., &c., is in the highest degree ludicrous, and speaks volumes as to the pertinency of their application. They who sanction the use of deadly weapons must not be offended if they are represented armed at all points to defend themselves in case of an assault! They who uphold a government, which keeps a standing army and a navy to execute its bloody purposes, must not foam at the mouth when they are portrayed in a military or naval dress! What they justify in others, they ought not to regard as an affront when alleged against themselves. What they say others may lawfully do, they concede may be lawfully done in their own persons. There have been very many caricatures of Abolitionists by their opponents; but who ever saw an Abolitionist angry on that account? It is only when the portrait is "drawn to the life," and the individual thus sketched is conscious that he is justly placed in a ridiculous or a criminal attitude, that displeasure is excited, and the spirit writhes in agony. If Mr Comstock's illustrations of the anti-non-resistance position of Messrs. Scott, Whittier, and Goodell, had been palpably absurd and monstrous, then, instead of making these individuals ridiculous, the necessary effect would have been to cover the artist with shame, and to injure the non-resistance enterprize. If they merely carried out, (as they did without any approach to caricature,) the principles and doctrines maintained by the persons represented, then why so much heat and excitement on the part of the new organization opponents of non-resistance, unless they are conscious that the mirror has been held up to nature?

This coarse but playful effort of genius on the part of Mr Comstock was immediately seized upon by the seceders, to excite odium against the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and to justify their own schismatical conduct, as "drowning men catch at straws!" They have expatiated upon it in private, and in public, in their journals and lectures, in season and out of season, as though it were a very dreadful affair—more shocking to humanity than the battle at Waterloo, or the naval conflict at Trafalgar! They have even dignified it so far, and magnified it so hugely, as actually to have held it up on the other side of the Atlantic as an intolerable grievance and a terrible affront!! This caps the climax of human weakness and folly. The fable of the mountain in labour, that brought forth a mouse, or of the tempest in a tea-pot, is grave in comparison. It proves that some men, at least, "are but children of a larger growth." Small children would be ashamed to make so "much ado about nothing." The attempt to make the State Society, or its Board of Managers, responsible for the pictures alluded to, because they happened to be pinned up at 25, Cornhill, by the individual who drew them, is alike impudent and absurd. Yet it is charged upon them in the Report as—*Crime No.* 20!

No marvel that the Executive Committee of the Abolition Society say, that "they are humbled and mortified" at the pitiful reasons which they present in their Report for the secession from the old Society. They ought

to be. The marvel is, that they should be so infatuated as to resort to low artifices, and coarse personalities, and the presentation of false issues, and suppose that in this manner they would be able to justify themselves in the eyes of an enlightened people.

There are various other equally grave and awful counts in the indictment against the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society—such as that Mrs Chapman is known to have said to Mr Garrison repeatedly, "Your first business is to crush the clergy!"—that "George W. Benson and William Chace (!) are family connexions of Mr Garrison"—that the wife of Wendell Phillips "is a relative, and when here an inmate of the senior Chapman family!"—that (Alanson St. Clair being witness) Joshua V. Himes is "a no-government and woman's rights man, and a cordial hater of evangelical christians!"—&c., &c. Upon these I shall not pause to comment, but allude only to one other point—viz.,

20. The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society is accused of refusing to adopt language on the subject of political action, which it formerly used, affirming it to be the duty of Abolitionists to vote at the polls. The simple fact is, that such language was never adopted with invidious or proscriptive intent, but always in a popular sense, as applicable only to those who were in the habit of going to the polls; and at no time was it intended to mean any thing more than that abolition *voters* were bound, by their own standard, to be as zealous and faithful at the ballot-box in the cause of the Slave, as they had once been in favour of party. Several of the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments at Philadelphia, in 1833, and of those who assisted in the formation of the National Society, have not voted from that day to this. Is it to be supposed that they would have appended their names to an instrument, binding them to the discharge of a certain act which they never meant to perform? Preposterous idea!—As soon, however, as the Non-Resistance Society was organized, Messrs. Stanton, Phelps, Torrey, Scott, Colver, Birney, and others, began to make war upon it, *in their Anti-Slavery character*, and to interpret the language of the Philadelphia Declaration and the Constitution of the National Society in a sense never before contemplated; and avowedly on purpose to exclude from the organization, or to subject to censure, such members of the Anti-Slavery Society as were conscientiously scrupulous against voting at the polls in any case whatever. Perceiving the object of this unjust procedure, the State Society refused to sanction it even in appearance; and hence the clamour that has been raised by the seceders on this point. But, in the teeth of all their charges, it still remains true, that—in the language of the last Annual Report of the Society—

"Not a sentence in favour of the peculiar doctrines of non-resistance can be found in any of its publications; nor has any resolution respecting that subject ever been discussed in any of its meetings. Our non-resistance brethren are as much opposed to its introduction on the Anti-Slavery platform as those who have seceded from our ranks; and in no instance, to our knowledge or belief, have they ever attempted to obtain the sanction, either of this or any other Anti-Slavery Society, to non-resistance principles or measures. On the contrary, while they are giving their zealous and efficient support to our enterprize, they have marked out their own distinct course as non-resistants."

And again:—

"On the subject of 'political action,' the Society constantly inculcates the doctrine, that Anti-Slavery should be made the paramount question at the polls, to the sacrifice of all mere party considerations, by all those who wield the elective franchise,—and that it is highly inconsistent for Abolitionists to vote for Slaveholders or pro-Slavery candidates; but it does not make it a part of the Anti-Slavery creed to believe in the duty of every man to mingle or *not to mingle*

in the political conflicts of the country—for that is an 'extraneous topic.' The Society could occupy no other ground without being 'sectarian,' and destroying its own platform."

I have thus examined all the evidence which is adduced in the Abolition Report, intended to justify the secession; but, it will at a glance be seen, that, of the twenty specifications, only *two* of them relate to the action of the *Society*—all the rest being personal attacks upon individual members, for whose conduct or opinions the Society is not any more responsible than the present national administration. To these two, the Society must plead guilty; for one is, that all its members are left free to participate in its proceedings; and the other is, that no religious or political test is made a condition of membership.

It is scarcely credible that such a scandalous Report should have been intelligently adopted by an Association making some pretensions to decency and self-respect; but the official record declares that it obtained the sanction of the Massachusetts Abolition Society at its late Annual Meeting. "O Shame! where is thy blush?"

MR GARRISON FURTHER, IN HIS OWN DEFENCE.

[*Speech delivered at the Quarterly Meeting of the Norfolk County (Massachusetts) Anti-Slavery Society.**]

Mr Garrison rose, labouring under a severe cold. I am thankful, he said, that I have voice enough left to say, "Liberty for all mankind!" Every voice that utters that sentiment, does something for the human race, however feeble it may be. We are here to-day surrounded by God's atmosphere, and cheered by his all-pervading light. But something else, as subtle and as universal, surrounds us on the right hand and on the left—it is the influence of Slavery. It is paramount at the head quarters of our government, and its power reaches to the most distant and obscure hamlet. In the State-house—in the court-house—in the private dwelling—in the church of every denomination—in the caucus room, and at the ballot-box—go where we may, we find it. It is omnipresent! It rules the nation with a rod of iron. Hence it is plain, we cannot labour to abolish it, without taking up a very heavy cross. It follows, of course, that we must be persecuted, if we make the attempt. My venerable friend spoke of counting the cost, as did the wise king before going to war, and of the importance of knowing what manner of spirit we are of. I think I am prepared in spirit, and ready to meet the consequences of doing right, whatever they may be. But I wish to know whether the facts of the case will bear us out in the adoption of the resolution under consideration. Are the religious denominations in this country on the side of humanity, or are they not? The Presbyterian church—is it anti-slavery or pro-slavery? Ask the South! Look at the component parts of Presbyterianism. See what was its latest action at Philadelphia. When some of the local presbyteries sent up petitions for action in behalf of the cause, the General Assembly, in imitation of Congress, scorned to listen to those petitions!

This was the old school. The new is not much better. It is on the side

* Deeming every man to be the best expounder of his own principles, we consider that, in justice to W. L. G., this Speech, extracted from papers recently received from America, should occupy a place in the Appendix.—*Secs. G. E. S.*

of the soul-buyers. How are the Baptists? As a denomination, wholly with the South. I know that individuals have remonstrated—I know that local Associations have petitioned; but if they continue to be carried along with the denomination, what does it signify? Look at the Baptist Triennial Convention! What was it but a bowing down of the whole body to the power of Slavery and pro-Slavery combined? The Methodist body is even more deeply steeped in pollution than the others. It has given the right hand of fellowship to that progeny of hell, the Colonization Society, and completes its guilt by declaring that the testimony of coloured church members shall be inadmissible in Slaveholding States! How ludicrous, and yet how horrible is this! Here is one recognized as redeemed by Christ—a child of God—a member of a royal priesthood—and yet his evidence is refused against a white person, lest it should have a tendency to unchattelize his race! As for the Society of Friends, the fathers did well, but the sons have suffered the Society to take a pro-Slavery position. The Slaveholders are satisfied with it. *They* do not ask whose discipline permits or forbids the holding of Slaves. They only wish to know, *who are against the Abolitionists;* and they know that all such are in reality on their side.

Now what is the position of those local bodies, who remain in connexion with the general body which is on the side of Slavery? Look only at one fruit of Slavery, and it will furnish grounds for our decision. Slavery refuses to recognise as any thing but property, beings "created in the image of God"—"a little lower than the angels." A man puts his brand upon a barrel of mackerel. Why? *It is his property.* So (he claims) is his brother whom he has enslaved; and he puts his mark upon his flesh with the burning irons! Suppose there were no other horror connected with Slavery; this single fact, we should suppose, would frighten all beholders. But these denominations look on—and are they horror-stricken at the bloody spectacle? No! Do they protest against the deed? No! Are they merely indifferent to it? Not at all! Are they in the Priest's and Levite's position, as exhibited in the parable of the good Samaritan? Far worse! They not only pass by on the other side, those who have fallen among the worst of robbers, and who lie bleeding and wounded, and stripped of all; but they pour out anathemas upon those who are moved to compassion. They take a round-about way to get to the thieves, and say, "Don't you cease from this! To do so would be alike injurious to your interests, and to the safety of society."

I need not dwell on all these things. The last few years have been swift witnesses against these denominations. I cannot find language to expose their hypocrisy and inhumanity. They say it is their object to evangelize the world. There is no part so distant, so hopeless, so obscure, that they would have it overlooked. I will take their own standard to measure them by. They profess to reverence the Bible. Now, I affirm that they do not believe the Bible; for he who believes that, receives the gospel as given not for one race of men, but for all—not for one portion of the earth but for all; and would place the sacred scriptures in the hands of all. But these pretenders are utterly regardless of the souls that surround them, perishing in chains and slavery. They cannot be the friends of moral purity; for Sodom and Gomorrah were not more polluted than are our Southern States. Yet these bodies look on! Can you convince me that they have any love of purity in their hearts? If a man truly feels for humanity, imbruted and degraded by sin, he does not single out a portion of it to be given over to wretchedness and ruin. If he truly feels for one, he feels for all.

We have been talking of the duty of *Abolitionists.* I want men to feel and act as *Christians.* As either, how can we remain any longer with bodies, which, when tried by the scripture test of love to God, *i.e.* love to man, are surely anti-christian? If they are not christian bodies, why are we with them, endorsing their piety before a jeering world? Let us not be deceived by those who wish to pacify us. There is no deceit they are not continually practising with their lips, to turn attention from the real question at issue. They dread this strict adherence to our principles. They know how mighty will be its effect. They will pretend to be very much Abolitionized in their feelings, if they can avert this decisive action by so doing. But are they really in favour of Immediate *Emancipation?* No! Do they assert the reality of that love to God which shuts out the love of man? Yes! Do they believe they can faithfully serve Christ, while assisting to degrade and enslave those for whom Christ came? Yes! And is it for us, as Christians, to degrade our religion by adopting the same idea? No! Suppose a meeting of Christians, deeply impressed with the importance of evangelizing the South, the *whole South*—and of giving it the Bible without restriction; what would the members of that meeting be called? Fit for Bedlam! and for the same reason, the Abolitionists are called so.

The examination of the whole matter makes the pro-slavery of the North show even more hideously than the Slavery of the South.

Another thing should be considered in judging of these bodies—namely, the age in which we live. This is the nineteenth century—this is republican America! Remember that the whole country has declared from its first settlement, "All men are born free and equal." Yet there are men to be found to plead ignorance in behalf of Slavery, and to apologise for slaveholders on the ground that they have not had light. *Not had light?* when the whole structure of our government is based upon the Anti-Slavery principles, and they profess to admire the Declaration of Independence! Not had light! I say they do not need light. When I think of them not merely as Republicans but as Christians, how doubly ridiculous is the plea of ignorance! They have the revelation of God in their hands, and the exhibition of Slavery before their eyes! Oh, to take a woman, and lacerate, and defile, and sell her, and then claim, and receive too, the countenance of a professedly religious denomination! The fellowship of such denominations is pollution.

Did our Saviour give a hard rule when he said, "By their fruits ye shall know them?" "But give them credit for what they *do*," men say. I will. But does that prove what they *are?* They build meeting-houses, they settle ministers, they establish schools. It is no cross to do that,—it is fashionable—it is popular. But in what spirit are they doing these things? Are they not offering this mint, and annise, and cummin, as an excuse for mercy and justice?

How far will these resolutions unchristianize the community? it is asked. I cannot tell—I am not responsible in this matter. Let God be true, though every man a liar. This I know, that these denominations unchristianize themselves, and that it is perilous to the soul to remain in them.

Another thing. Slavery is not content to remain at home, protected as she is by the northern portion of these denominations. She labours to extend her dominion. She is petrifying the national heart, and these bodies know it. She is opposing the spread of the gospel, and these bodies know it. The gospel of Christ cannot be preached at the South as it can in India, and these bodies know it. Our missionaries can distribute tracts and Bibles in the very presence of Juggernaut, but they cannot

do so at the South—and these bodies know it! Juggernaut is merciful in comparison with the Moloch of the South. But these bodies have all fallen down and worshipped that idol. Let me warn you, that if you come out from them, you will lose your Christian character. Can you bear it? You will be branded as infidels, disorganizers, fanatics! But be not daunted by this clamour. We ought to desire to be stigmatized by them; for they cannot compliment us *till we are as bad as they.* We should be proud to be called infidels by the faithless. However blameless and irreproachable you may be, you may look to be forsaken of your friends and neighbours, if you refuse to fellowship their pro-Slavery. Do you expect to fare better than the Master you follow,—of whom it is said—"they all forsook him and fled." Much is said of worship, and of our obligations respecting it. There is n difference in worship between Christianity and Judaism. Christ permits us to worship just where we please. In the gospel, there is no particular requirement to *go* any where to worship, whatever may be the doctrine of Judea or Rome. As a fact, no one will deny this. Why then is it assumed? To strengthen pro-Slavery. God is not in conflict with himself. If he requires me to carry out my principles, he cannot require me at the same time to violate them.

The true church is not composed of flesh and blood. These organizations *are.* The true church is made up of all those who are in the kingdom of Christ; but these organizations are a temporal concern. Is the true church subject, as these are, to all the vicissitudes of time? Oh, if we are only members of the true church, our anxiety soon ceases about these pro-slavery organizations.

One objection is, "If you are consistent, you must look for a church that is perfect; and where will you find one?" I will not stop here to ask, how perfect or how little imperfect a church I can consistently join. But this I say—I cannot join a pro-Slavery church! One thing at a time. I shall disunite myself from pro-Slavery, and settle the question of perfection afterwards.

It seems as if the plain obvious duty of withholding the strongest testimonials of approbation we have—fellowship and pecuniary support—from the "grand bulwarks of Slavery," could hardly be made clearer by illustration. But so dead has custom made us, that the idea of giving our countenance, through the medium of church fellowship, to crimes which dwindle into insignificance when compared with Slavery, gives a shock to our moral sense. Suppose, for instance, a company of pickpockets in the next town, whose business it was to steal penknives, purses, and handkerchiefs. Supposing this church to refuse to blame them, or so feebly that it rather encouraged them than otherwise—all the while giving them fellowship and pecuniary aid. Would you remain members of that church? Not a week—not a day! But when it is a complicated case of robbery—murder—outrage of every kind, involving the commission of all crime in ways the most horrible in their aggravation—we are shocked at the thought of cutting the link that unites us to *these* criminals! Here are the facts of our case; and it is a fearful aggravation of their guilt when men plead the interests of Christianity or Republicanism as a reason for refusing to bear their testimony against the sin of Slavery. And while committing and upholding this sin, men can profess to be moved by the Holy Ghost.

One brother feels that it is difficult to sunder these guilty ties, and inquires if he must give up his minister. Yes, even your minister. If he is a minister of sin, ought you to treat him as if he were a minister of Christ? No! He is to be rejected as an imposter, now that you have found him out.

My friends, Satan is all the time busied in persuading us to temporise

and compromise, and telling us what a dangerous thing it is to follow principle; and that, however bad the advocates of Slavery are, they are yet the lights of the world, if they belong to the church and the ministry. We forget what a very active, subtle, effective preacher the Devil is, till, at length, we get to be so impressed with his piety, that it seems really hard to deny him to be of Christ, even after we have found out that the Devil is in him.

All these cases which are brought forward touching worship, schools, influence, &c., I can easily solve for myself. In order to know how to act, I forget all the universe but God. Alone, before Him, all these little difficulties vanish. The moment we take our eyes from Him, and inquire what are the consequences of obeying Him, we wander from the path of duty and safety.

There is, in this age of the world, a great deal of talk about our Saviour, but there is little Christianity. Men deal greatly in cant. Oh, how full they are when engaged in public worship, of faith, and love, and Christian resolution! Oh, with what unhesitating fervour and amazing courage they can sing—

"When I can read my title clear
To mansions in the skies,
I'll bid farewell to every fear,
And wipe my weeping eyes.

Should earth against my soul engage,
And hellish darts be hurled,
Still I can smile at Satan's rage,
And face a frowning world."—

And, all the while they cannot even face their next door neighbour, and do not mean to! (General movement.) No!—we don't live by our hymns, —we shall be *judged* by them, though.

Let us not fear for our reputation. That will be taken care of. Justice —mercy—compassion—courage—perseverance—fidelity—the character a man must possess to be a true Abolitionist, *will* command respect. The South cannot help themselves. However glad they would be to despise us, they do respect the Abolitionists, and look with contempt on the "Northern dough-faces."

Let no persecution, temptation, or cajoling, draw us down from the spiritual and moral attitude of our position.—(*Boston Liberator*, edited by Mr Garrison, August 6th and 13th, 1841.)

No. VI.

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY AGAIN!

In addition to the Letter of Mr Clarkson, reprinted at page 57, in compliance with a Resolution passed at the Annual Meeting of the *Glasgow Emancipation Society*, it is deemed proper also to reprint the following Correspondence, in the hope that, as Messrs. Cresson and Gurley, the agents of the Colonization Society, are now or have lately been in this country, the perusal of these Documents may be the means of preventing benevolent individuals from being imposed upon, or entrapped into the support of an Institution, so unworthy of the countenance of intelligent Abolitionists.—*Secs. G. E. S.*

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

To the Editor of the PATRIOT.

SIR,—By publishing in the *Patriot* the following letters, which have been addressed to me by eminent advocates of Negro Emancipation, I do not doubt that you will not only hasten the liberation of more than two millions of Slaves in the United States, and the downfall of that brazen hand-maid of Slavery, the American Colonization Society, but also prevent many a benevolent and confiding person from giving his money to the agent of that Society. For notwithstanding he stands publicly charged, by the leading Abolitionists in this country, with having misrepresented the character and objects of the Colonization Society, and notwithstanding he has pusillanimously shrunk from the offer of a public discussion in this metropolis, to my astonishment I learn, that Mr Cresson has either departed, or is about to depart, for Ireland, in order to obtain new charities for a scheme which is "full of all deceivableness of unrighteousness."—Your much obliged servant,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,
Agent of the New England Anti-Slavery Society.

18, ALDERMANBURY, *July* 22*d*, 1833.

54, DEVONSHIRE STREET, *July* 12*th*, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—I must trouble you with a line to excuse my non-appearance at the meeting to-morrow.* The fact is, critical as has been the state of our great question often before, perhaps never was it so critical as now. My mind is intensely occupied, and every moment of my time so full, that I should be sacrificing my duty to this paramount object if I allowed any thing else, however pressing and interesting, to divert me from it at this, the crisis of its fate. But you know my complete unity in the objects of your meeting, to which I most cordially wish all success. My views of the Colonization Society you are aware of. They do not fall far short of those expressed by my friend Mr Cropper, when he termed its objects *diabolical.* Nor will you doubt my concurrence in the efforts of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, or any *Anti-Slavery* Society in the world.

Wishing you, therefore, all success, and entreating you to tell your countrymen, on your return, that we in England are all for the *Anti-Slavery*, not for the *Colonization* people—I am, my dear Sir, with real esteem, yours respectfully, T. F. BUXTON.

CONWAY, NORTH WALES, *July* 14*th*, 1833.

MY DEAR SIR,—Our friend, Mr Cropper, will have informed you of the impossibility of my complying with your request, of sending you an explanation of the causes of my absence from your meeting yesterday. I certainly would not willingly have been absent; for it was my desire to take every fair opportunity of testifying my utter and increasing disapprobation of the principles professed, on the subject of Negro Slavery, by the American Colonization Society. I can have no objection, indeed, to the plan of colonizing in Africa, with a view to its civilization, and to the extension of Christianity in that deeply injured quarter of the globe. On the contrary, I desire

* Referring to a Public Meeting which was held at Exeter Hall on Saturday, the 13th instant, for the purpose of exposing the real character and objects of the American Colonization Society.

above all things to see such plans, conceived in the true spirit of philanthropy, multiplying on that coast. But the Colonization Society appears to me to adopt, as the basis of its scheme, not the love, but the hatred and contempt of the Negro race, and to regard every one tinged with their blood as an object, not of kindness and brotherhood, but of abhorrence, and of exclusion from the common sympathies and affinities of our nature, and from that union and fellowship in that Saviour, in whom there is neither Jew nor Gentile, Barbarian nor Scythian, American nor African, black nor white, bond nor free, but we are all one in Christ Jesus.

The unchristian prejudice of colour, which alone has given birth to the Colonization Society, though varnished over with other more plausible pretences, and veiled under a profession of a Christian regard for the temporal and spiritual interests of the Negro, which is belied by the whole course of its reasonings, and the spirit of its measures; is so detestable in itself, that I think it ought not to be tolerated, but, on the contrary, ought to be denounced and opposed by all humane, and especially by all pious persons in this country. And it especially becomes those who have taken any active part on behalf of the Negro race, whether in this country or in the United States, to keep aloof from all co-operation with a body whose evident purpose is adverse, not only to the liberty of the enslaved Negro, but to the moral and political elevation of the free Negro.

I beg to express my sense of the eminent services you have rendered to the cause of humanity, by your able and persevering exposure of the evil tendency of the principles on which the Colonization Society acts, and trust that your exertions will be crowned with success.—I remain, my dear Sir, yours very faithfully, ZACHARY MACAULAY.

William Lloyd Garrison, Esq.

Paradise Row, Stoke Newington,
15*th of* 7*th Month*, 1833.

Esteemed Friend, William Lloyd Garrison,—When I first heard of the formation of the colony at Liberia, I rejoiced at the intelligence, not doubting but that it was projected and planned by the friends of Africa, with feelings congenial with my own; that its object was to promote the civilization of the inhabitants of that vast continent, and make some reparation for the enormous wrongs they had for so many ages endured. This must be the excuse of many in this country, and perhaps in North America also, who have countenanced or patronized the American Colonization Society. I have repeatedly told Elliot Cresson that so far from being an enemy to this American Colony, I should be glad to see twenty more of them established, that so a more extended line of coast might be protected against the Slave Traders. But having heard thy exposition of the origin and main object of the American Colonization Society, at the meeting on the 13th instant, at Exeter Hall, and having read their own printed documents, I scarcely know how adequately to express my surprise and indignation—surprise, that my correspondents in North America should not have informed me of the real principles of the said Society; and also that Elliot Cresson, knowing, as he must have known, the abominable sentiments it had printed and published, should have condescended to become its agent. My indignation is roused when I find it asserted in one of their publications, that the free people of colour constitute a class, "out of which no individual can be elevated, and below which none can be depressed." Again, "We have endeavoured, but endeavoured in vain, to restore them either to self-respect, or to the respect of others. It is not our fault that we have failed—it is not theirs. It has resulted from a cause over which

neither we nor they can ever have any control. Here, therefore, they must be for ever debased; more than this, they must be for ever useless; more even than this, they must be for ever a nuisance, from which it were a blessing for society to be rid." Again, "Is it not wise, then, for the free people of colour and their friends to admit, what cannot reasonably be doubted, that the people of colour must, in this country, remain for ages, probably for ever, a separate and inferior caste, weighed down by causes, powerful, universal, inevitable, which neither legislation nor Christianity can remove?" If it be said that these are quotations from the *African Repository*,* I understand that it is the ground maintained by the American Colonization Society. This being the case, I cannot but feel indignant that the benevolence of Great Britain and Ireland should have been so imposed upon, to the amount of subscriptions obtained under the circumstances stated; and I do hope that an account will be called for of the sums subscribed, and of their application.

I rejoice that you have formed an Anti-Slavery Society in New England, and shall be glad to hear that it goes on with increasing success. Can you not find some noble-spirited landholders, in your parts, (who have capital also,) to set an example of what may be done for the free coloured people, by placing them down upon land, and showing them how to cultivate it on the spade or garden plan? I have to request thy acceptance of two pamphlets, in which these plans are detailed. The capital employed in this way might be made to return with ample interest.—I remain, with great regard, thy sincere friend, WM. ALLEN.

PROTEST.

WE, the undersigned, having observed with regret that the *American Colonization Society* appears to be gaining some adherents in this country, are desirous to express our opinions respecting it.

Our motive and excuse for thus coming forward are the claims which the Society has put forth to *Anti-Slavery* support. These claims are, in our opinion, wholly groundless; and we feel bound to affirm, that our deliberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made by the Colonization Society of promoting the Abolition of Slavery are altogether delusive.

As far as the mere Colony of Liberia is concerned, it has no doubt the advantages of other trading Establishments. In this sense, it is beneficial both to America and to Africa, and we cordially wish it well. We cannot, however, refrain from expressing our strong opinion that it is a settlement of which the United States ought to bear the whole cost. We never required of that country to assist us in Sierra Leone; we are enormously burdened by our own connexion with Slavery; and we do maintain that we ought not to be called on to contribute to the expenses of a colony, which, though no doubt comprising some advantages, was formed chiefly to indulge the prejudices of American Slaveholders, and which is regarded with aversion by the coloured population of the United States.

With regard to the extinction of the Slave Trade, we apprehend that

* The *African Repository* is a monthly periodical, printed in Washington City, and (as declared on its title-page) "published by order of the Managers of the American Colonization Society; the profits arising from this work will be devoted to the cause of the Colonization Society."

Liberia, however good the intentions of its supporters, will be able to do little or nothing towards it, except on the limited extent of its own territories. *The only effectual death-blow to that accursed traffic will be the destruction of Slavery throughout the world.* To the destruction of Slavery throughout the world, we are compelled to say that we believe the Colonization Society *to be an obstruction.*

Our objections to it are, therefore, briefly these :—While we believe its pretexts to be delusive, we are convinced that its *real* effects are of the most dangerous nature. It takes its root from a cruel prejudice and alienation in the whites of America against the coloured people, Slave or free. This being its source, the effects are what might be expected—that it fosters and increases the spirit of caste, already so unhappily predominant; that it widens the breach between the two races (or classes)—exposes the coloured people to great practical persecution, in order to *force* them to emigrate; and, finally, is calculated to swallow up and divert that feeling which America, as a Christian and a free country, cannot but entertain, that Slavery is alike incompatible with the law of God, and with the well-being of man, whether of the enslaver or the enslaved.

On these grounds, therefore, and while we acknowledge the Colony of Liberia, or any other colony on the coast of Africa, to be *in itself* a good thing, we must be understood utterly to repudiate the principles of the American Colonization Society. That Society is, in our estimation, not deserving of the countenance of the British public.

WM. WILBERFORCE.
SUFFIELD.
WM. SMITH.
S. LUSHINGTON, M.P.
ZACHARY MACAULAY.
THOS. FOWELL BUXTON, M.P.
WILLIAM EVANS, M.P.
JAMES CROPPER.
SAMUEL GURNEY.
WILLIAM ALLEN.
GEORGE STEPHEN.
DANIEL O'CONNELL, M.P.

London, *July*, 1833.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

TO

The Glasgow Emancipation Society,

From 1*st August*, 1840, *to* 1*st August*, 1841.

A

David Anderson,	£1	1	0
James Anderson,	1	1	0
Alexander Anderson,	1	1	0
John Anderson,	0	10	6
Rev. William Anderson,	0	10	0
Rev. William Auld, Tolcross,	0	5	0
William Auld, Sidney St.,	0	5	0
Robert Aitken,	0	5	0
Ebenezer Anderson, 1840,	0	5	0
Do. 1841,	0	5	0
Allan & Ferguson,	0	10	6

B

Hugh Brown, Jun.,	1	1	0
John Barr,	1	1	0
Thomas Brown, Writer,	0	5	0
William Brown,	0	5	0
Robert Burns,	0	5	0
James Brock,	0	5	0
J. & T. Brown, & Co.	0	10	6
Robert Brand,	1	1	0
William Brodie,	1	1	0
Henry Bruce,	0	5	0
William Bankier,	0	10	6
Rev. William Brash,	0	5	0
Robert Barclay,	0	10	6
Thomas Binnie,	0	5	0
James Beith,	0	5	0
Moses Brown,	0	5	0
Joseph Brown,	0	5	0
Henry Brock,	1	1	0
Walter Buchanan,	1	1	0
Peter Bruce,	0	5	0
Robert Bruce,	0	5	0
James Bruce,	0	5	0
James Boyd,	0	5	0
Thos. Brown, Turner's Court,	0	5	0
William Brown, Gallowgate,	0	5	0
James Brown, Douglas,	£0	5	0
Robert Bland,	0	5	0

C

Andrew Cross,	0	10	6
John Croom,	0	10	6
James Campbell, Esq.,	1	1	0
William Campbell, Esq.,	1	1	0
James Clark,	0	5	0
Dr. Crawford, Bridgeton,	0	5	0
Dr. Campbell, Kent St.,	0	5	0
James Cairns,	0	5	0
James Cocker,	0	5	0
W. D. Cocker,	0	5	0
Andrew H. Crawford,	0	5	0
Andrew Crichton,	0	2	6
William Chisholm, Jun.,	0	10	6

D

John Douglas,	1	1	0
John Dennistoun, Esq., M.P.,	10	10	0
James Drummond,	0	5	0
W. & P. Dick, & Co.,	1	1	0
George C. Dick,	0	10	6
Mrs Jas. Duncan, Mosesfield,	0	5	0
Alexander Denovan,	0	5	0
James Dunn,	0	5	0
Thomas Downs,	0	5	0

E

Dr. Easton, Calton,	0	5	0
Rev. John Eadie,	0	5	0
Rev. John Edwards,	0	5	0

F

Friends at Falkirk, per Mr James Johnston,	2	0	0

Friends at Perth, per M. Gowans,	£1	0	0
Do. Do. Do.,	1	0	0
James Finlayson,	0	8	0
John Fleming,	1	1	0
Finlay & Neilson,	0	10	6
J. & W. Fleming,	0	10	6
John Fyfe,	1	1	0
William Ferguson,	0	10	6
Friend,	0	2	6
Do.,	0	2	6

G

Robert Goodwin,	0	5	0
John B. Gray,	1	1	0
Alexander Graham,	1	1	0
Thomas Grahame, 1840,	5	0	0
Do., do., 1841,	5	0	0
Robert Grahame of Whitehill,	5	0	0
George Gallie,	0	5	0
Archibald Gardner,	0	5	0
William Gunn, Jun.,	1	1	0
Rev. John Graham,	0	5	0
William Gray,	1	1	0
William Graham & Co.,	0	5	0
Alexander Galloway,	0	5	0

H

Andrew Henderson,	0	2	6
Alexander Hastie,	1	1	0
Richard Hall,	0	5	0
Andrew Harvie,	0	10	6
Rev. Alexander Harvey,	0	5	0
John Hardie,	0	5	0
John Hamilton, Turner,	0	5	0
Graham Hutcheson,	1	1	0
David A. Hardie,	0	5	0
David Hope,	0	10	6

I

Charles Inglis,	0	10	6
Malcolm Inglis,	0	5	0
Peter Inglis,	0	5	0

J

Robert Jameson,	1	1	0
Rev. John Johnston,	0	5	0
Johnston, Galbraith, & Co.,	2	2	0

K

Robert Kettle,	1	0	0
Rev. David King, LL.D.,	0	10	6
John Ker,	1	1	0
Hugh Kennedy,	0	5	0
Robert Kirkwood,	0	5	0
Alexander M'K. Kirkland,	1	1	0
William Kerr,	0	10	6
Rev. Dr. Kidston,	0	10	6

L

Thomas Lee,	0	5	0
William Lochead, Jun.,	£0	5	0
Robert Laing,	0	10	6
James Laurie,	1	1	0
Thomas Lochhead,	0	5	0
Henry Langlands,	0	10	6
Rev. William Lindsay,	0	5	0
John Laurie,	0	10	6
William Lang, Queen St.,	1	1	0

M

Andrew Miller,	0	5	0
David Muir, Kilwinning,	0	5	0
Robert Mason, New Lanark,	0	5	0
John Maxwell, M.D.,	0	5	0
James M'Keand,	0	10	6
William M'Lean,	1	1	0
James M'Lean,	0	5	0
Right Rev. Dr. Murdoch,	0	10	6
John M'Leod,	0	10	6
Robert Miller, London St.,	0	5	0
A. M'K. Miller,	0	2	6
William Mills,	1	1	0
James Muirhead,	0	5	0
Robert Mathie,	0	5	0
Robert Miller, Bookseller,	0	5	0
James More, Iron Merchant,	0	10	6
John M'Gregor,	0	10	6
Robert M'Gregor,	0	10	6
Peter M'Ara,	0	5	0
John Main,	0	5	0
Robert M'Kay,	0	5	0
Alexander M'Leod,	0	5	0
Murray & Galloway,	0	5	0
Andrew Mitchell,	1	1	0
James M'Nair,	0	5	0
William M'Leod,	0	5	0
Hugh Muir,	0	5	0
David M'Connochie,	0	5	0
Colin M'Dougall,	0	5	0
John Murray,	0	10	6
Rev. James M'Tear,	0	5	0

N

William Nairn,	0	5	0

O

George Ord,	1	1	0

P

William P. Paton,	5	0	0
S. Pollock,	0	5	0
William Proudfoot,	0	5	0
Rev. Thomas Pullar,	0	5	0
Andrew Paton,	0	10	6
James Parker,	0	5	0
John Poynter,	0	10	6
James Pollock,	0	10	6

R

Rev. George Rose,	0	5	0
James Reid, Kilwinning,	0	2	6
David Russell,	0	12	0

Archibald Rigg,	£0	5	0
J. & C. Risk,	1	1	0
John Reid,	0	10	6
George Robson,	0	10	6
Robert Reid,	0	5	0

S

Andrew Stevenson,	0	5	0
James Stewart,	0	10	6
William Sneddon,	0	5	0
James Stenhouse,	0	2	6
David Smith,	1	1	0
Semple & Co.,	1	1	0
Thomas H. Slater,	0	5	0
William Stewart,	0	5	0
Robert Sanderson,	1	1	0
F. B. Stuart,	0	5	0
William Smith, Polmadie,	0	10	6
William Smeal,	0	10	6

T

George Thorburn,	2	2	0
James Turner,	0	5	0
James Thomson,	0	5	0

U

John Ure,	£0	5	0

W

Charles Whish,	0	5	0
Robert Wylie,	0	5	0
Archibald Watson,	1	1	0
Thomas Watson,	1	1	0
John Whitehead,	1	1	0
James Wotherspoon,	0	5	0
William Wilson,	0	10	6
James Watson,	1	1	0
Oliver Wingate,	0	10	6
Walter Wilson,	0	5	0
George Watson,	1	1	0
Rev. Dr. Willis,	0	7	6
William Watson,	0	5	0
William White,	1	1	0
Samuel Wilson,	1	1	0
John Williamson,	0	10	6
James Wallace,	0	5	0
Ronald Wright,	0	5	0
Thomas E. Waugh,	0	5	0
Peter White, Old Kilpatrick,	0	5	0
William Wright,	0	5	0
Peebles Wright,	0	5	0

☞ *Every person subscribing* 5s. *per annum, is a Member of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and is entitled to receive a copy of all its publications.—Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the Treasurer,* WILLIAM SMEAL, 161, *Gallowgate; or by any of the Members of Committee.*

THE TREASURER OF THE GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

Dr.

1840.				
Aug. 7.	To Collection at Annual Meeting in Dr. Wardlaw's Chapel—per Tickets,	£14	9	0
Aug. 11.	To Collection at Adjourned Meeting in Do.	2	18	7
Sept. 14.	To Collection at Second Adjourned Meeting in Dr. Heugh's Chapel—per Tickets,	7	10	0
Oct. 20.	To Collection at Public Meeting in Nile St. Chapel, to receive Messrs. Birney, Stanton, and Scoble—per Tickets,	7	4	5
1841.				
Jan. 22.	To Donation from John Dennistoun, Esq., M.P.,	10	10	0
July 31.	To Donation from Friends of Emancipation at Falkirk, per Mr James Johnston,	2	0	0
—	To Do. do. at Perth,	2	0	0
—	To Annual Subscriptions, per Treasurer's Collecting Book,	117	14	6
—	To Sales of Publications,	2	17	7½
—	To Balance due the Treasurer,	9	12	2
		£176	16	3½

Cr.

1841.				
July 31.	By Balance due at last Annual Meeting,	£34	1	9½
	By Expenses of Public Meetings,	32	4	11
	By Expenses of Advertising, Printing, and for Newspapers to Correspondents in this and Foreign Countries,	86	19	0
	By Expenses of Committee Meetings, Collecting Subscriptions, Postages of Letters and Foreign Newspapers, Carriage and Booking of Parcels, and sundry other small incidental outlays,	23	10	7
		£176	16	3½

Glasgow, 2*d August*, 1841.—We have this day examined the above Account, and the vouchers connected therewith, and find it to be correct.—The Balance due to the Treasurer, is Nine Pounds Twelve Shillings and Twopence.

(Signed,) JOHN BARR.
THOMAS WATSON.

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LETTER

TO A

MEMBER OF THE CONGRESS

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

FROM AN ENGLISH CLERGYMAN;

INCLUDING A REPUBLICATION, WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS, OF THE TRACT ENTITLED,

'EVERY MAN HIS OWN PROPERTY.'

The Americans seem determined to run with us the race of glory. They seem to be improving in religion, morals, and literature. We have not a religious or charitable institution in England, but they establish one of the same in three months, in all their great cities.

HANNAH MORE——

Life. Vol. iv. 180, 1st Ed.

LONDON:

WHITTAKER, TREACHER AND ARNOT, AVE MARIA LANE;

C. HAMMOND, BIRMINGHAM.

1835.

PREFACE.

THE materials forming what is properly the *argumentative* portion of the following pages were supplied by a friend; who simply requested me to introduce them to American readers, by a preliminary statement of what occurred, during the more recent struggle among ourselves, in behalf of the slaves in the British colonies.

For the argument itself I am not directly responsible; although, as fully acquiescing in its force, and regarding it indeed to be unanswerable—except by self-interest, and perversion of the divine record—I so far invite the neutrals, the waverers, and especially the professed opponents, to venture upon its refutation. It was drawn up with earnest and patient care; digested from repeated examinations of the entire scriptures themselves, made with a view to one single object; supported by concurrent testimonies of standard commentators, historians, and casuists; compared with the counterstatements, theories, and objections of opponents; and, I believe I may add with confidence, altogether embracing a wider space of discussion than had previously been occupied by any writer in the same region of investigation.

In fact, this attempt is in a great measure original; and no one can possibly measure its extent and importance, who has not, to say the least, scrutinized the *scriptural* portion of the argument with the assiduity, and intension of mind, brought to the inquiry by my principal.

To any examinant who has not faithfully pursued the current of fact and discussion here discoverable, and who yet professes to have decided against the general conclusion, no reply can possibly be due—he *cannot* have risen to the points of knowledge and of reasoning, absolutely required by the terms of the debate. If the essay has, indeed, lost any strength by passing through the hands of the present reviser, such deficiency must have been considerably occasioned by its abbreviation. I therefore beg to add, that a mass of materials yet remains at my friend's disposal, and is ready to be combined with any future effort; should a

continuation of the discussion be demanded by the course of the conflict in the United States.

To a person unacquainted with the controversy, or even passably familiar with its general principles, it would be matter of startling surprise, to survey the unused authority and illustration piled up among my friend's collections. And I mention this as affording an intimation that we—if I may *now* take the liberty of assuming the plural number—have by no means done justice to our own side of the dispute. We have a strong and disciplined body of reserve; and the hostile party has full permission to call for its appearance. At the same time, we trust that such an augmentation of *our own* force will be superfluous; because, when once our Transatlantic allies shall have fairly mingled in the strife, we hope that *they* will furnish all needful supplies, and obviate the necessity of relying upon foreign resources.

There is, as we would gratefully remind our confederates, this happy peculiarity in the warfare now impending——the weapons of the Christian soldier become more keen, brilliant, and effective, in proportion as they are employed; since, as in all other departments of his conflict with this present evil world, the strength and lustre of truth are increased by their opposition to error and sin.

We are unwilling to anticipate, in these prefatory remarks, what properly belongs to the sequel; but, in the mean time, copy from a British periodical the succeeding paragraphs; detached indeed from their context, and consequently read to much disadvantage; but containing a just specimen of the sentiments beginning to be felt in Europe on the present extraordinary position of the Great Western Republic—the land where *all men are by nature free*, and having an inalienable and perfectly equal claim to the common rights of mankind.—— "Slavery, in America, has rendered the Constitution a lie, changed nature into an enemy, made the increase of population a tremendous evil, and occasioned the increase of knowledge and virtue, in the proscribed caste, to be dreaded as a still greater evil. Hatred and fear, mingled with a portion of national shame, form the scourge with which slavery is at this time lashing the Americans. But this is not all. The existence of profitable slavery in the southern states, of unprofitable slavery in the middle states, and of a caste, the offspring of abolished slavery, in the northern and middle states——is the principal origin of the widening breach between the different sections of the Union. It is this circumstance which renders their several interests all but incompatible. The seeds of discord, which are now ripening into open conflict, have been sown by Slavery. We consequently find the Slave-states most tenacious of their sovereignty; while almost all the great slave-holders are anti-federalists. Nine

states out of the twenty four have now no slaves; and four more, in the middle and western sections, comparatively few. But in the remaining eleven the slaves, who numbered in 1790 less than 700,000 throughout the Union, now amount to 2,010,000; having nearly trebled in forty-two years; and of these, about a million are concentrated in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, between the Potomac and the Alatamaha. With the growth of the slave population has grown the anti-federal feeling, in which Washington foresaw the probable cause of the disruption of the Federacy, and the downfall of the fair fabric he had so greatly contributed to consolidate. Thus is the curse of Slavery preying on the vitals of the Constitution. But will it entail no other national punishment upon those who persist in 'founding their prosperity on the misery and degradation of others?' 'Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord.' * * * * * * And this in America! These are the fruits of reason and philosophy, in a republic founded on the 'rights of man,' and glorying in the political equality of its citizens, while every sixth individual is a *soodra,* the victim of a prejudice as senseless, of injustice as enormous, as ever disgraced a heathen nation. Talk of freedom, of toleration, of justice, in a country where a free citizen may be expelled from his native soil, because of his complexion! Why Russia and its Autocrat appear to advantage in comparison with this ruthless, irresponsible despotism. And then, think of the blasphemy of making the Deity an accomplice in this cruelty and injustice, by resolving it into 'an ordination of providence,' 'a law of the God of nature,' which defies the utmost power of Christianity; which religion cannot, that is, shall not subdue! How must this language of obstinate determination and defiance sound in the ears of Heaven! How righteously will the refusal to inquire whether these feelings be founded in reason or not, whether they be consonant with justice and religion or not, be visited with a rebuke of fearful indignation! When we read such expressions, we are forcibly reminded of the emphatic words of President Jefferson in reference to slavery: '*I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep for ever!*'——But what shall we say to such language from ministers of the Gospel! Let us for one moment imagine St. Paul revisiting the earth, and passing from the extreme western limit of his former labours to the shores of the new world, colonized by those who forsook their native land, that they might plant their churches beyond the reach of intolerance in the western wilderness. With what language would *he* address their descendants, on finding them leagued in a general conspiracy against their fellow Christians of a darker skin! He who once pleaded for Onesimus, the runaway slave, as his spiritual son; entreating his master to receive him, not as a slave or

servant, but 'above a servant, a brother beloved;'—who taught in the churches, that the slave, on being 'called in the Lord,' became 'the Lord's freeman,' as the freeman was Christ's servant; and that between the Jew and the Gentile there was no difference, the same Lord over all being rich in mercy to all who call upon him;—who insisted so continually and pathetically upon the unity of the body, as having one head, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptism;—how would *he* deal with these teachers of religion, who lend their sanction to a brutal prejudice which defies every principle of Christianity? What would the apostle have said to those who should have urged, that an 'ordination of Providence' forbade the realizing of that chimerical unity of the Church upon which he insisted; that the black and white portions of the mystical body of Christ are incapable of union by a law of nature; that the prayer of the Saviour is at variance with the decrees of the God of nature; that He has *not* made of one blood all races; and that the mountains should be moved from their foundations, before they would admit their sable fellows, 'for whom Christ died,' to the privileges of brethren? Faithful disciples of Him who 'gave his life a ransom for all,' who has left this prime commandment, binding upon all—'As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye also unto them;' and, as a test of obedience, 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, when ye love one another!"

I will barely subjoin the date of the *British* Slave's Jubilee—a day to be much remembered; and, as sanctioned by the Divine blessing, the beginning of a distinct æra of mercy and peace in the History of Man.

Eclectic Review, Feb. 1833.

THE FIRST OF AUGUST,
1834.

LETTER

TO A

MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

SIR,—The intercourse between the United States and the parent country is so frequent, and so extensive in its character, as almost to occasion a doubt, whether it be not superfluous, to forward certain of the following details across the Atlantic. But, on the subjects under discussion, it is far better to be even diffuse than obscure; since it has been found, on this side of the water, matter of urgent necessity, to enforce the cause of the oppressed by long and wearisome repetitions.

It has, indeed, been justly asked, among *ourselves*, Why revive, at this late hour, any portion of the Anti-slavery question; and especially one which has been investigated, if not determined, by persons professing to examine all subjects whatever on the uncompromising principles of the Gospel? The answer to this inquiry is, that, *supposing* the general topic of Slavery to have become almost obsolete in the British Islands, there is every reason still to fear, that, between the advocates of Slavery in the two countries, a kind of telegraphic communication will be quickly and regularly established; not only by persons directly interested as commercial adventurers, but by certain partisans in the father-land, who would be encouraged by American Theorists, of their own character, to mark afresh the religious bearings of the question.

It must not be dissembled that we have those among us, who would eagerly resume the contest;* subsidized by such allies as the Union could

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* The following extract from Lord Mulgrave's reply to the address of the *British* Anti-slavery Society, on his return from the Government of Jamaica, sufficiently indicates his lordship's suspicions that the struggle will yet continue.

"One point, gentlemen, I am most anxious to press upon your attention—that you should on no account consider that your task is over. It will as yet require much

as it appears, profusely supply. They have already supported our own colonial system, as though they had been its avowed and purchased advocates. You may assure yourself, Sir, that a similar course will be perseveringly pursued by a numerous and influential party in America. *There* also the bible will be wrested out of the hand of the slave, and given to his master—I do not mean in a literal, but in a far worse sense; for the negro *may* be permitted to possess the paper and print of the common charter of our salvation; while its contents shall be made to speak the language of oppression and cruelty.

Now it is obvious, that any heresy in the Christian church is pernicious and malignant, exactly in proportion as it *appears* to be grounded on scripture. This remark might be easily exemplified by the various schemes of the Romanist, the Socinian, and the Antinomian; the latter, for instance, blinding the eyes of its victims, and darkening even the vision of opponents, by a seeming submission to the doctrine of justification by faith,—that is, to a principle which *expressly* magnifies the law, and makes it honourable. This is just what has been done by a party in the parent country,—insisting upon the unlimited compassion of the Re-

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watchfulness to secure the success of the mighty change. I speak to you now as an individual at present entirely unconnected with the Government. I address a most important body, which has already done too much to leave any thing undone; but I cannot help advising you to keep your eye still upon all the parties whose co-operation is required. I would not, on any account, say one word which might keep up the prejudice against the planters; on the contrary, I feel bound most cordially to state that the general feeling of the Colony is immeasurably improved, that from a very large portion of the resident gentlemen I latterly received very effective assistance, but as long as the system lasts there must be cruelty, founded on caprice. I much regretted that the power of arbitrary punishment was not at once taken away, for up to the last moment some instances occurred of its unwarrantable infliction. I always heard any complaint that was made to me—have known that the punishment was groundless, was excessive, but have been obliged to ask the fated question, Was the legal number of thirty-nine stripes exceeded? And, if the answer was doubtful, in consideration for the Negro himself, to recommend patience and abstinence from complaint. From the inspection of the vast majority of properties which I made last Christmas, I should decidedly say, that if the Negroes have fair play, little is to be feared from them. I ever found that when the circumstances of the change were explained to them, that they had hearts to feel, and gratitude and faculties to comprehend, their future prospects; much will remain to be done in the way of assistance from home, to which, of course, you are directing your attention. I shall at all times be happy to communicate, either individually or collectively, upon any point upon which my local experience may be desired by the Society. In conclusion, I must again express my high gratification at this tribute of thanks from a body, which, upon this subject, is identified with the almost individual sentiments of the country."

deemer, and the danger of perverting the doctrines of grace to selfish purposes; but, in the midst of all, excluding millions upon millions of the human race from an equality of claim to the blessings of Christianity. It is true that the accusation, thus implied, is resented by the guilty party, in the same manner as the libertine religionist points to the Bible, and thence brings his citations to defend a Gospel without holiness; and, in truth, *that* casuist must have little dexterity, who cannot find in either Testament an army of texts to march at his bidding. So it is with the apologist for *Slavery in the abstract*, and for the right of man to have property in a fellow immortal; and who gilds his theory by pleading that Slavery ought, nevertheless, to be carried on without cruelty; as other, and equally consistent, theorists might insist, that penal justice should be exercised without violence and bloodshed, and sin be committed without guilt. As, however, the immediate question is examined in the sequel, I shall not here anticipate the argument; but offer, by way of preliminary, to the Abolitionists of the United States, some explanatory remarks on the hostility, so determinately shewn by the party described, to the decision of the christian world at large on the criminal character of Slavery.

When about fifty years since, the Slave *Trade* first awakened public attention, there was one portion of the community which raised its voice, with perfect unanimity, against the enormity of the traffic in the bone and muscle of man; and this was, the then existing body of religious persons of all communions throughout the empire; or, as they would now be called, the *evangelicals* of the day. It was in fact one of the few, the very few, public questions, where the servants of God could meet each other on ground common only to themselves; as combining the affairs of the present world, with their spiritual responsibilities. I believe that I may fearlessly challenge an opponent to bring forward one solitary instance, in which any professor of evangelical religion, of an earlier day, embarassed his associates by pro-slavery arguments, attempted to be drained from the scriptures. Such a procedure would *then* have been accounted a phenomenon; similar to what might have astonished and confounded certain philanthropists of subsequent times, who established a Society for the Suppression of Vice; had *their* institution been assailed by some evangelist, who had either discovered the identity of virtue and vice; or, at least, had aspired to prove, that the Abrahamic and Mosaic dispensations evidently favoured *Vice in the abstract;* and that the divine

sovereignty had displayed itself by such occasional peculiarities, as alternately made good evil, and evil good, and thus confused the eternal distinctions of truth and righteousness.

But—to return to our direct subject—the Abolitionists of the last century *were* opposed by a large and powerful party; *so* large and *so* powerful, that they triumphantly succeeded in resisting the measure of Abolition, from its first introduction into parliament in May 1788 to February 1807, a period of nineteen years! "There is no saying"— to use Mr. Foster's words——"*what* a civilized and Christian nation (so called) may not tolerate. Recollect the Slave Trade, which, with the magnitude of a national concern, continued its abominations, while one generation after another of Englishmen passed away; and the united illumination, conscience, and power of the country, maintained as faithful a peace with it as if the divine anger had been apprehended against whatever should threaten to interfere with it."* We are reminded also of Paley's remark on the efforts of the Reformers:—"When the doctrine of Transubstantiation had taken possession of the Christian world, it was not without the industry of learned men that it came at length to be discovered, that no such doctrine was contained in the New Testament. What they did for mankind was this:—they exonerated Christianity of a weight which sunk it."§

Apply, Sir, these remarks to the point before us; and then consider, that at the close of the seven and twenty years which have since elapsed, the world itself, as well as those whom it had vilified as enthusiasts in religion, and daring innovators in politics, have been brought to confess, that the extinction of the Slave Trade was a safe and honourable measure; and that none of the injury it was *certain* to produce has really been effected. Liverpool actually rivals, if it does not exceed, London in its commercial prosperity. Even the memorial of the Liverpool Socinian has perished with him! It is scarcely recollected, except by a few of the friends and coevals of the present Bishop (Burgess) of Salisbury, that his lordship's early energies were directed against one—the *only* one, even among the *opponents* of the evangelical system--who endeavoured to support the colonial cause by scriptural authority.

But recently, when the obsequies of Slavery were attended by persons

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* Essay on Popular Ignorance, 3rd. edit. p. 88.

§ Dedication of Moral Philosophy.

who, as feeling their own loss, naturally uttered lamentations over its grave, there were certain bystanders, of another class, who appeared to sympathize with them. In plain terms, parties loudly professing themselves to be religious—these were the mourners who, when the Abolition bill had actually received the Royal assent, continued to pollute the public, and the *Christian*, mind with pleas for Slavery; gathered, as they ostentatiously alleged, from the pure word of God! To a certain extent these advocates succeeded; and I will endeavour, Sir, to explain the causes of their success; with a distinct apprehension, that similar measures will be adopted in the United States, in the great struggle now commenced.

In the first place, possession having been obtained of a portion of what is called in England the fourth estate of the realm, namely, the periodical press,‡—the frequent repetition of the evangelical pro-slavery doctrine almost mechanically produced its intended effect; on the principle described by the practical sagacity of Edmund Burke, when he said,"—Let a man tell you his story twice a day for a whole year, and he will be your master." This will be very intelligible to any one observant of the movements of his own mind, and of the general mechanism of our intellectual nature. I am almost tempted to add the schoolboy's proverb, *gutta cavat lapidem;* for a continual dropping will drill a hole even in a rock of granite.

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‡ Blackwood's Magazine and the Quarterly Review were for many years the principal armouries of the Colonies; and are even now wide open to the pro-slavery party. These publications usually confined their statements to questions of human policy. But the chief engine of the *evangelicals* was the Record newspaper; an account of whose character and proceedings may be found in the Christian Observer for December 1833; pp. 710—725. The Record, in fact, is the *only* religious journal, which aspired to the guilt of defending Slavery by quotations from the Bible, and its pertinacity in this course was perhaps the most awful example, in recent times, of the determination of the human mind to make the Almighty appear to be responsible for the crimes of his sinful creatures.—In the Quarterly Review (No. 100. p. 412.) and published so lately as in January 1834, occur the following remarks:—"The advantages which legalized slavery has certainly confered upon mankind ..... the singular and (so to speak) premature benevolence of the Mosaic institutes in the mitigation of its sufferings, &c. &c."—*The premature benevolence of the Mosaic institutes!*—Is not this a direct attack upon the divine author of the Theocracy, conveyed in the equivocal but intelligible style of Gibbon? And might not another complainant allege the singular and premature strictness of the decalogue, and the unadvised purity of the sermon on the mount? Some of our journalists, evangelical and anti-evangelical, contrive to near each other, when steering towards the one favourite object! "Let him that readeth understand."

2. Advantage was taken, by some of our political religionists, of the agitation of the times; and especially of a circumstance so readily available to their purposes, as the passing of the abolition bill by our Reform ministry. This fact, which could not possibly affect the abstract question, was found to be nevertheless exceedingly propitious to their cause; as seeming to identify the Anti-slavery party with one, which was accused of an intention to make havoc of our established institutions. It was known that many religious persons were jealous of the general measures of the cabinet; and therefore prepared to reject even what was avowedly good, if offered them by suspicious hands. This second point is indeed of transient importance, and properly only of *British* character. But it is now mentioned for two reasons; the one is, to exhibit the conduct of such partisans as suffered themselves, in the discussion of a religious subject, to throw political dust into the eyes of the multitude; and secondly, to put your own compatriots on their guard against similar arts of delusion

3. Discord was more thickly sown among brethren, by pitting conscientious churchmen and dissenters against each other, and on a principle which the latter, as a body more strenuously defended than the former; and there was a very intelligible policy in the endeavour to persuade a churchman, that he might incur an ill name, if he united with nonconformity in *any* thing; even in distributing bibles and in liberating Slaves. This also is properly a British argument. But American analogies may soon be developed. Whatever may, generally, be the harmony among *your* various communities, let no one promise that Episcopacy and Presbyterianism shall never become watch-words of strife; in the day when the cause of Negro-liberty shall be once warmly contested.

4. But these several causes of success evaporate into insignificance, when compared with the efforts to awe and mystify well disposed persons, with arguments professedly drawn from the scriptures. It is an internal evidence of the truth of those scriptures, and it is also an instructive proof of their influence upon religious minds, when we observe the solemnizing and reverential effect produced in such minds, by whatever wears only the dubious and uncertain aspect of a scriptural appeal to the conscience. If good men listen to the acknowledged doctrines of the bible as to an infallible oracle, they will also pause, when the inspired book is cited in support of a novel or anomalous position; and even when the opinion may all but contradict their settled creed. This circumstance encourages any

inventor of a new scheme to expect proselytes; and he will be certain of success, on the ground already explained, if he contrives to confine himself within tolerably decorous limits. Nay—there are at all times parties in the religious community, predisposed to extravagance; and there are adventurers who confidently calculate upon *their* adhesion to any form of absurdity. But, on the present occasion, I would confine the influence of this fourth cause to individuals, religious but ill-informed; students of the bible, but fettered by some human system of interpretation; and, altogether, so unconscious of the length, and breadth, and heighth, and depth of the Gospel, as to be easily taken by surprise, when speculators with looks of decision and positive language intrude a specious novelty. In fact, let any man possessed of average dexterity, and whose character has obtained a plausible currency among religionists, deliver his opinions with the manner, air, and enunciation of self-confidence, and take care to round and balance his periods with citations from Isaiah and St. Paul; and he will be sure to gain first listeners, and then converts——*not* among those whose spiritual "senses are exercised to discern good and evil," but among the secondary and third-rate classes of the Christian world; acquainted, it may be, with the general principles of the Gospel, but still open to the artifices of imposture. This view of our abject and feeble nature can only account for the unfaithfulness to their own principles, manifested by *evangelical* pro-slavers——by men who can declaim, on missionary platforms, about what they term (and oh how justly!) the freeness, fulness, and boundless beneficence of the Gospel; its ability to relieve every form of human misery; the guilt of an unbelieving world in opposing its progress; the lukewarmness of the faithful themselves in contributing to its success; BUT—as already intimated—amidst their profusion of eloquence in illustration and support of the good tidings of great joy to *all* people, and in their fervid descriptions of the *universality* of the approaching blessing, do yet reserve one division of mankind, as mysteriously excluded from the light advancing upon all others; and practically declaring, that Jew and Gentile, bond and free, are *not* one in Christ Jesus.

Enough, Sir, has now been said, I trust, to explain the success attendant upon the dark and inglorious enterprize of our opponents. The persons immediately implicated, if true to the opinions which have clouded their mental sight, will, I am fully conscious, resent what has been said, as an attack upon something more sacred than human reputation. Their

return to a better mind will not be effected by a pamphlet. No—we must direct our anxious eyes to higher sources of conviction. If God allow even some of his most devoted servants occasionally to waver and slide, and to entangle themselves in their own inherent foolishness——himself, and only himself, can restore and establish them; and, from the bitter remembrance of their guilty wanderings, instruct them to walk in future with greater circumspection, and with a more vivid consciousness of their own native depravity. At the same time, not to attempt their restoration, although by a hand powerless as the one tracing these lines, would be to distrust the grace of God; which often makes itself most efficient by the meanest instruments. Apart from such a consideration, I should despair of the least success; for it has been long remarked by sagacious and experienced Christians, that no course of error is so hopeless, and so incurable by human argument and persuasion, as what is pursued under the impulses of a misguided conscience, or the perversion of the sacred volume. The reason is obvious—you are converting the healing science into an exasperation of disease already existing, and hastening to a crisis.

I will, however, for the present at least, retire from what may possibly be called personal controversy; and offer, Sir, to your examination such suggestions, on the subject of Slavery, in connection with its *Christian* apologists, as may a little assist yourself and your associates in the management of the rising contest.

As the value of every argument depends upon the definition of its terms, it is necessary to state, at the outset of the subsequent inquiry, that by *Slavery* is meant—"Compulsory service of any kind, in perpetuity, for another's benefit; and not as a lawful punishment for the individual's own crimes." The question is, whether *this* state be justified by Scripture. That the argument has its difficulties is fully acknowledged. And indeed I believe, that no one can be a judge of its intricacy, unless, like the friend who has furnished the present writer with his materials, he has studied the whole of both Testaments, and collated all the texts, in either; bearing directly or remotely, upon an inquiry so extensive. The general result of such investigation has been found to be, that the Mosaic law was designed for the mitigation and gradual extinction of even the mild bond-service tolerated by the Jewish polity.

The following regulations are in themselves destructive of all Slavery.

I. The law of Retaliation.* "If a man cause a blemish in his neigh-

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* A captive maid was allowed a month to reconcile and tranquillize herself; and,

bour; as he hath done, so shall it be done to him again. Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for one of your own country." Levit. xxiv. 19, 20, 22. On this first point I will only ask—and especially of those who defend slavery on the scriptural ground supplied by the Mosaic law—how long would American or British slavery have lasted, if only *this* regulation had been transferred to the modern system; if there had been "burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe?"

II. No Hebrew might be a bond-servant,‡ nor be employed in any menial or servile work; and even if hired, or bought, must be released with gifts in the seventh year. "If thou buy a Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing."—"And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty: thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy floor, and out of thy wine press." Exodus, xx. 2. Deut. xv. 13, 14. Does this regulation require a comment, and an illustration of its benignity?

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if asked in marriage, was to cut off her hair, pare her coloured nails, and change her native dress, in token of her consent. Deut. xxi. 10—14. All servants were to feast at the three yearly festivals, to share in the rest of the sabbath and of the sabbatical year; to partake of the tithes in the third year, and in the gleanings of corn and fruit, &c. Deut. xlii. 12. They were also required and allowed to present sacrifices and offerings—a proof that they had wages, and property.—To this note may be appended these texts:—"If a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish, he shall let him go free for his eye's sake. And if he smite out his man-servant's tooth, or his maid-servant's tooth; he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake." Exodus xxi. 26, 27. "The stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself." Levit. xix. 34. "One law shall be to him that is home-born, and unto the stranger that sojourneth among you." Exodus xii. 49. "If a stranger shall sojourn among you, and will keep the passover unto the Lord: according to the ordinance of the passover, and according to the manner thereof, so shall he do: ye shall have one ordinance, both for the stranger and for him that was born in the land." Numb. ix. 14. "One ordinance shall be both for you of the congregation, and also for the stranger that sojourneth with you, an ordinance for ever in your generations: as ye are, so shall the stranger be before the Lord. One law and one manner shall be for you, and for the stranger that sojourneth with you. Ye shall have one law for him that sinneth through ignorance, both for him that is born among the children of Israel, and for the stranger that sojourneth among you." Numb. xv. 15, 16, 19.

‡ Bond-servants—that is, bound till the Jubilee to do servile and menial work; which formed a distinction between them and the hired or bought Hebrew servants. Egyptian bondage is directly and repeatedly referred to by God himself, as explanatory of the term and condition.

III. We then come to the JUBILEE. "Ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubilee unto you." Levit. xxiv. 10. Now at this period of universal freedom all debts were to be cancelled, and all slaves or captives released. Even those who had voluntarily relinquished their freedom at the end of their six years' service, and whose ears had been bored in token of their perpetual servitude, were to be liberated. This then was, in its own nature, a death-blow to compulsory bond-service; it effected an universal equality. And it is very observable, that the Jews were expressly sent into captivity, the fourth time for seventy years, on account of their neglect of the sabbatical year and the jubilee. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21. "Therefore thus saith the Lord, ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbour,"—the term *brother* referring to a Hebrew and the sabbatical year, and the word *neighbour* to the jubilee—"behold I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine; and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth." Jer. xxxiv. 17. The whole chapter proves the fact before asserted. It may here be remarked, that as the value and purchase-money of estates diminished in proportion to the near approach of the jubilee, what must have been the feelings and the high confidence of a bond-man who could foretaste, *with certainty*, the entire and perfect manumissions of the fiftieth year? Imagine a captive, even if severely treated and panting for liberty, reckoning on what must frequently have been a very short interval between the hour of his capture and his *temporal* day of salvation! Imagine a parallel case, had all our British slaves been released in 1809—the Jubilee of our revered sovereign George the Third; when there was exhibited among his subjects at home, an unanimity of affectionate gratitude for the blessings enjoyed under his sceptre; when all rejoiced, *except* those to whom, as Milton writes of the fallen angels,—"hope never comes, that comes to all!"

IV. The Jews were commanded to circumcise all their household servants; and this law was primarily given to Abraham. "He that is born in the house or bought with money of any stranger, which is not of thy seed; he that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised." Gen. xviii. 12, 13. See also v. 23—27. The law also required every bond-servant, purchased or home-born, to unite in the three grand yearly festivals; and no one was permitted to do this, unless subjected to the initiatory rites. Be it also re-

collected, that circumcision was an absolute rejection of idolatry. Was not consent necessary to this? Could bond-service, therefore, under *such* circumstances be compulsory? Did it not necessarily imply a contract? and could the term *obd* signify *slave*?* Could even the children of bondmen be retained if when of age, namely at twelve years, they refused to unite in the annual feasts? "Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord." Exodus xxvii. 17. Deut. xvi. 16. But no *un*circumcised person could thus approach him. No *idolater* was allowed to remain in the land. If a heathen refused to dwell with the Hebrews, and would not renounce idolatry, I only ask, by what means he could be compelled to continue in the holy land? Was *circumcision* compulsory——that is, a mechanical introduction into the church of God; like the forced and formal baptisms of the Romanists in modern times? If a servant who escaped from his master might not be delivered up, how could any man be compelled to be a bond-servant; except indeed for crime or debt, and this only for a time—like exiled convicts and insolvent debtors, at the present day? How could he even be compelled to be a sojourner?

V. It is also to be especially marked, that every repetition of the law

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* Labour or service, whether voluntary or forced, seems to be the fundamental meaning of the word *obd*.

This word *obd* first occurs in relation to Adam in *Gen.* ii. 15, where it plainly signifies *voluntary labour*, to cultivate, or, as our translation has it, to *dress* the ground.

The subsequent meanings of both the Hebrew *obd* and the Greek *doulos*, seem to be variously "serve, labour, work;—serve as a hired or as a bond-servant; or even at last as a slave—serve in a religious sense; make,—do;—a hired or a bond-servant;—a servant of God and of Christ."

The last, that is, a servant of God, seems to be its prevailing sense, in the epistles of the New Testament.

The procession of the meaning, therefore, appears to have been the following:

1. Tilling the ground freely, and enjoying its fruits.
2. Serving willingly for hire or wages.
3. As human wickedness increased, and the strong and skilful began to impose on the ignorant and weak, serving without hire, or by force, as a bond-servant; or even at last, as wickedness increased, as a slave.
4. As the spirit of Christ brought back the spirit of love and duty, giving willing service, and the sacred labours of holy love.

Thus, in the time of our Lord, the meaning was various, and needs to be collected from the places, where the word is found.

Hebrews, iii. 5. Willing service (Moses).

Matt. xviii. 26. Bond-service.

Gal. v. 13. The service of holy love.

tended, by gradual advances, towards the entire extinction of all but voluntary servitude.* After the return from the captivity every proselyted stranger or sojourner was allowed to dwell in Judea; with any tribe which he might select, and *share in the land.* It became his own property and inheritance, because the sabbatical year and Jubilee were no longer observed. In modern language, the slave became *a freeholder!* "Ye shall divide it "(the land)" by lot for an inheritance unto you, and to the strangers that sojourn among you, which shall beget children among you; and they shall be unto you as born in the country among the children of Israel; they shall have inheritance with you among the tribes of Israel ..... in what tribe the stranger sojourneth there shall ye give him his inheritance, saith the Lord God." Ezek. xlvii. 22, 23.‡ Where was now the bond-servant? Was not this regulation, in the strictest sense, a decidedly preventive measure—that the sacred territory, once so exclusively appropriated to the Jews, and fenced around with such jealous care as the garden of the Lord, should be thrown open to any proselyted stranger or sojourner? I will take my stand, my vantage ground, upon this single point; and challenge any objector to shew what became of the *freehold* bondmen. Let it be again noticed, that after this fourth captivity no jubilee was observed; and not even the sabbatical year of release. And in this place may be emphatically added, that, in consequence of this breach of the merciful law of the jubilee, they—the Jews—were scattered and *themselves enslaved.* A small remnant, of about 42,000 of their children, returned, who were called children of the Province, that is, of Persia; Judea being then a

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* In the year B. C. 706, Isaiah wrote (lviii. 6.) "Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break *every* yoke." Great blessings were promised in case of obedience; and (9,) there is repeated, "If thou take away from the midst of them the yoke, &c." The most glorious promises of rewards, and those of the very highest nature, both temporal and spiritual, are made; and with all the emphasis peculiar to what may be called the paternal character of the God of Israel; when he speaks favourably to his own people. Now the above must relate, not to Hebrew servants who could not be oppressed, neither were put to menial labour, but to bondmen. The word *yoke* always implies bondage.

‡ This passage, and especially as succeeded by the division of the holy land, above notified by Ezekiel,—does it not bring us to the absolute termination of every form of bondage? In what mode *could* it exist, after such express arrangements? Could it be lawful, after this period, to possess a slave? Let it here be distinctly remembered, that this is the last edition of the law, delivered by a prophet.

province of Persia. Of their guilty parents a few only survived the 70 years. They went out as slaves; and as slaves they died. Mark only the confession of the Levites,—"Behold we are servants this day, and for the land that thou gavest unto our fathers to eat the fruit thereof and the good thereof, behold we are servants in it; and it yieldeth much increase unto the kings whom thou hast set over us because of our sins: also they have dominion over our bodies, and over our cattle, at their pleasure, and we are in great distress." Neh. ix. 36, 37. Observe also how Zechariah (vii. 9—14.) explains the *cause* of the captivity. "Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying, execute true judgment, and shew mercy and compassions every man to his brother: and oppress not the widow; nor the fatherless, the stranger, nor the poor; and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in your heart. But they refused to hearken, and pulled away the shoulder, and stopped their ears, that they should not hear. Yea, they made their hearts, as an adamant stone, lest they should hear the law, and the words which the Lord of hosts hath sent in his spirit by the former prophets: therefore came a great wrath from the Lord of hosts. Therefore it came to pass, that as he cried, and they would not hear; so they cried, and I would not hear, saith the Lord of hosts; but I scattered them with a whirlwind among all the nations whom they knew not. Thus the land was desolate after them, that no man passed through nor returned: for they laid the pleasant land desolate."

VI. There are, as affording a kind of cumulative argument, incidental notices of the mildness of Hebrew servitude, even when it existed in its most *severe* form. Look at the story of the Gibeonites (Joshua ix.); as a proof of the advantageous condition of the *stranger* among the chosen people. By craft they obtained a league, offering their personal services on any terms; and gladly accepting what was called by Joshua a *cursed* condemnation to public bond-service, and this for ever. Imagine, Sir, if possible, a parallel case in a tribe of people bargaining with an American or British slave-holder! Abrahamic servitude (which has been so notoriously abused to anti-scriptural purposes,) is itself an illustration of this argument. The first allusion in the Bible to servants is this:—"And he "(Pharaoh)" entreated Abram well for her sake: and he "(Abram)" had sheep, and oxen, and he-asses, and men-servants, and maid-servants (Gen. xii. 16.);"—all which were gifts from Pharaoh. Abimilech, who was a Canaanitish King, "took sheep, and oxen, and men-servants, and women-servants, and gave them unto Abraham." xx. 14. "Abram ... armed his trained servants, born in his house, three hundred and

eighteen." xiv. 14. Abram says, "Lord God, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless, and the steward of my house is this Eliezer of Damascus?.....one born in my house is my heir." xv. 2, 3. Now it is said, "He that is born in the house, or bought with money of any stranger, which is not of thy seed, he that is born in thy house, and he that is bought with thy money, must needs be circumcised,"—that is, fully admitted to the spiritual, and to many of the civil, privileges of the covenant. xvii. 12, 13. Abraham's "eldest servant ..... ruled over all that he had." xxiv. 2. In the same chapter occurs the account of which Bp. Horsley writes, "Abraham's confidential slave, sent to choose a wife for his master's eldest son, found the lady designed by providence to be joined in marriage to so great a man as Isaac, in the laborious office of drawing water for her father's cattle; and the slave of Abraham, that came upon this happy errand, was received by the parents of the bride with all the respect and hospitality with which they could have received his master."* These examples prove that the Patriarch's servants were in his very highest confidence, entrusted with arms, elevated to the principal offices, and even treated and portioned like children. Was this Slavery? Where is to be found, in all Abraham's history, even presumptive evidence that he acquired or assumed an absolute property in the persons, or over the liberty and possessions of his servants? Can *any* inference be thence drawn, except that then, as in all times and all countries, from the necessary inequality of conditions, a large portion of mankind were obliged—as they are now—to give their personal services to the powerful and wealthy, as an equivalent, agreed upon by both parties, for protection and provision for themselves and families? Laban offered Jacob wages, according to the custom of the country, and indeed made a *contract*. Nay, Pharach's daughter did the same to the nurse of Moses, selected from the enslaved and oppressed Israelites. This may remind us of what the prophet said (Jer. xxii. 13), "Woe unto him ..... that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work." It is not probable that the Canaanites were in any way subject to their neighbours; though they had warred, and captured Lot and his family and property, which Abram re-captured, and returned to dwell among the Philistines in peace; while, at the same time, their wickedness was so ripe that, for example, Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed. Abimelech and Melchizedec were righteous kings; the latter, priest of

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* Speech in the House of Lords, July 5, 1799.

the Most High God. Abraham also bought of the Philistines a sepulchre, and wells and lands.* This allusion to Abraham's residence in Canaan, and purchase of a sepulchre from the *Canaanites*, may properly introduce some remarks on what has been a favourite and cherished argument among certain evangelical pro-slavers in the parent country; namely, that some portion of mankind may claim an absolute property, a fee-simple in the persons of others. Our own jurists and masters of morals, such as Blackstone,† Johnson,‡ and Paley,§ have decided in the negative. The word of God alone could create the property in question. Now, where is it *written?* Is it declared in the punishment of Ham? This punishment was, that one of his *sons* (Canaan), and that son's posterity, as following the example of their father's general depravity, when the measure of their iniquity was full, should bring on themselves destruction—namely, the extirpation of seven nations of their race, and the forfeiture of their land and property. The following passages include a summary of what is revealed of its fulfilment. Gen. ix. 25—27: "And he said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant." Gen. x. 6: "And the sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan." Here four sons of Ham are named. It appears, then, that the curse of extermination fell on one branch only of Ham's family, and of seven nations of Canaan's posterity. A few others of the Canaanites, (for instance, the Philistines,) in common with some of the surrounding nations

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* The Philistines were called Canaanites only as inhabitants, and not as descendants, of Canaan. They were originally Egyptians; but emigrated and expelled the Avites. Isaac also dwelt among them, and, at the king's request, made with them a covenant of perpetual peace. They did, however, afterwards desire him to retire from their territory.

† Commentaries, b. i. ch. 1, "On the absolute Rights of Individuals;" and ch. 14, "On Master and Servant."

‡ "Argument in Favour of a Negro claiming his Liberty," 1777. Dr. Johnson closes his remarks thus:—"The sum of the argument is this: No man is by nature the property of another. The defendant is therefore by nature free. The rights of nature must be some way forfeited, before they can be justly taken away. That the defendant has by any act forfeited the rights of nature, we require to be proved; and if no proof of such forfeiture can be given, we doubt not but the justice of the court will declare him free."

§ Moral Philosophy, b. ii. ch. 10.

such as the Edomites and Ammonites, which were the descendants of Abraham though still the enemies of the Israelites—were to be captured in war, in case they refused submission to those Israelites; that is, made captive as bondmen. The prophecy, however, did not authorize any one to inflict the punishment at his pleasure: he might not take the prediction into his own hands by compelling the servitude.

Again, as a proof that such a prediction as the one concerning Canaan did not include a permission to compel another's servitude without a crime, a similar prophecy is recorded in Gen. xxvii. 37, where Isaac said to Esau, "I have made" Jacob "thy lord; and all his brethren have I given to him for servants." But he says (ver. 40) also, and which was foretold more than seven hundred years before its accomplishment, "When thou shalt have the dominion, thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck." But what was this *yoke?* There is no intimation that Jacob exacted personal service of his brother or his posterity. In the journey of the Israelites, Esau's descendant, the king of Edom, refused their request of a passage through his country; but they were not allowed to resent this, and to fight against the Edomites, as they might against the hostile Canaanites in the immediate neighbourhood. Num. xx. 21: "Edom refused to give Israel passage through his border: wherefore Israel turned away from him. When Joab, David's captain, smote and destroyed all the males of Edom, the rest of the nation were captured and subjected as servants. *Then* Jacob ruled over Esau, and broke his yoke from off his neck. In 2 Chron. ii. 17, 18, it is said that Solomon had one hundred and fifty thousand servants (strangers in Israel) in the building of the Temple, who bare burdens and executed other servile work, superintended by three thousand six hundred officers; and *then* they became servants of servants. (See 1 Kings v. 13—16 and ix. 20—22.) In the history of Joseph there is a similar prophecy, but no hint of perpetual bondage. But it is said, that, in addition to foretold bondage, Ham and Canaan were *individually* cursed and enslaved. No proof of this is apparent; neither is there any record of their posterity having suffered punishment for more than four hundred years after. The Israelites, when in possession of the promised land, were forbidden to make peace with the seven nations; but were commanded to smite and destroy them. (Deut. vii. 1, et seq.) They were to take their land as an inheritance; to leave nothing alive that breathed, least they should learn to do all their abominations; signifying that these people were slain for their own incorrigible wickedness—the land casting them out with loathing—and not for the sin of their ancestors;

according to what is said in Ezekiel (xviii. 20), "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son;" and in 2 Kings xiv. 6., "The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children be put to death for their fathers; but every man shall be put to death for his own sin." The Amorites were not then to be destroyed, because their iniquity was not full (Gen. xv. 16). Of other nations far off, whose land was not given for an inheritance, the lives of such as made peace with them were to be spared, on condition of their becoming tributaries and servants (Deut. xx. 10—18). Farther, in Deut. xxiii. 7, 8, it is said, "Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite, for he is thy brother: thou shalt not abhor an Egyptian, because thou wast a stranger in his land. The children that are begotten of them shall enter into the congregation of the Lord in their third generation." Now the latter were the descendants of Ham, not of Canaan; but, as attested both by sacred and profane history, of Cush and Mizraim, and who peopled Africa long before the Phœnicians planted colonies on the coast of Barbary.

From the above premises it may be inferred, that, as a peculiar dispensation to the Israelites, they were commanded, not to enslave, but to *exterminate*, the seven accursed nations of the Canaanites, as condemned criminals. In Exodus xxiii. 33, it is commanded, "They shall not dwell in thy land." No covenant was to be ever made with them. The Israelites were enjoined to possess their country; and having repeatedly disobeyed this injunction, and made a number of captives, they were forewarned that they would prove as thorns in their sides; and they themselves were, in fact, conquered and enslaved by the Canaanites (Judges ii. 14). They were to buy servants of other heathen tribes. In case of war with distant nations, of such as refused submission, the males were to be destroyed; but if terms of peace were accepted, they were to be captured as for servants; and their children, by a special grant, were to be taken as a possession for ever—namely, till the year of Jubilee, when liberty was to be proclaimed to all the inhabitants of the land, without exception. In fact, as before observed, the Jubilee was practically the death-blow to perpetual servitude. Thus, though they were to remain as an inheritance to the Jewish nation, all were freed from their respective masters, even if born in the house, in the fiftieth year. Those who were spared in these wars were favoured by having their lives preserved, and being subjected to a service of justice and mercy—and, let it be especially marked, that the warfare of that age was waged with-

out quarter; or, prisoners treated with extreme ferocity—the same law of love characterizing the Mosaic as the Christian code. The children of these nations were thus redeemed from the barbarisms and cruelty of the heathen world; and in many instances from becoming, as it is emphatically said, a sacrifice to devils. The distinction appears to have been inconsiderable between a heathen bondman and a Hebrew hired servant. Nay, the advantage is greatly in favour of the bondmen, in their various privileges. Bondmen also were, in the third generation, entitled to a share in the inheritance. In the days of the Gospel, St. Paul says, "The heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all" (Gal. iv. 1). It is also to be observed, that, though the law enjoined the restoration of all strayed cattle or other lost goods which might be found, it was enacted that any servant who escaped from his master should not be delivered up, but might choose his own habitation, and dwell where he pleased (Deut. xxiii. 15, 16. Lev. xix. 34.)—"Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger as for one of your own country" (Lev. xxiv. 22). Also "He that smiteth a man that he die, shall be put to death"—one exception only being allowed; and that was, if the injured man continued a day or two, the violence was not considered the cause of his death, otherwise than as man-slaughter.

But, allowing that the servitude of the Jewish law *were* all which our opponents assert—that it might even be identified with the modern system of colonial and American slavery; and *this* is a concession quite enough to satisfy objectors—yet we are told that many evil practices—such as concubinage, bigamy, polygamy, arbitrary divorce, ordeal for jealousy, the killing of witches, and stoning of rebellious children, the absolute power or despotism of kings, masters, husbands, and fathers, all of which were sins against the universal law of love—were for a time connived at, because of the hardness of their hearts (Matt. xix. 8). "The times of this ignorance God winked at" (Acts xvii. 30).

To this place may be referred the plea, that, Divine regulations having been given to servitude, *therefore* SLAVERY is divinely sanctioned. But, when the Israelites insisted upon having a king, and, as themselves confessed, added *this* sin to their other offences; and though God warned them that he would be a tyrant and oppressor; yet he reserved to himself the nomination, and sent Samuel to anoint him, *and gave laws for his conduct*—all the while disapproving of what was essentially rebellion against himself. To this Hosea referred, when he said (xiii. 11.) "I

gave thee a king in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath;" and this repetition of the divine displeasure was given about four centuries after the offence was committed.

To the circumstances of *Onesimus** reference shall now be made, as combining the first and second dispensations. His case was adjudged by St. Paul, A. D. 61 or 64. The Jewish polity remained in force to the destruction of the temple, in 70 or 74. By the law of Moses no Hebrew could be made a bondman; and, when bought or hired, was entitled to his freedom in six years. No servant, even if he were a bondman, and had escaped from his master, might be delivered up to him; but if a thief or in debt, was to be sold for a term sufficient for repayment or remuneration; and was then permitted to choose his own place of abode. St. Paul however engaged to redeem, that is, to manumit Onesimus; by discharging what was due in either case. He then returned him to Philemon, with a letter enclosing a promissory note for this purpose; and recommending him as a penitent, and Christian convert, to the forgiveness and favour of his late master.‡ The apostle added an intimation, that though he might have detained him for his own service while in bonds, he considered it best to require his freedom as a boon towards himself; that Philemon might have an opportunity of manifesting a just and generous temper; as an example to the Colossian church, of which he was a distinguished member. St. Paul expressed a firm confidence that he would do more than was required, and gladly accept him "not now as a servant, yet as a brother, yea even as himself." Onesimus consequently accompanied Tychicus to deliver the epistle to the Colossians. It is obvious to inquire, if a bondman were the "absolute property" of his master, or, if this slave had not in the eye of the law obtained his release, how St. Paul could, as he affirms, have retained him to minister to himself; or, in urging his freedom, "enjoined obedience" on Philemon. On the other hand, if his master were a Roman, or a Phrygian, and *a Christian*, he was still bound by the Jewish code, so often adduced by Christ and his apostles, to *search the scriptures*. "The scribes and pharisees sit in Moses' seat; whatsoever they command, that observe and do." Excepting the ceremonial and judi-

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* The Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon was addressed, not merely to an individual, but generally to the church.

‡ "If he have wronged thee, put that to my account"—proved that his absconding was not a wrong.

cial portion of the Mosaic law, which was "waxed old, decayed, and vanishing away," and, where not superseded by the recent institutions of Christianity, it remained a rule of life.

But even were it otherwise, the LAW OF LOVE, which was equally the letter and the spirit of both Testaments, enforced what was "just and equal," namely, an equality of *rights;* allowing no one, without a crime or debt, to be condemned to unrequited, compulsory, servitude. This is recognized by St. James, v. 4. It is always to be remembered that Christ and his apostles systematically abstained from all interference with the civil affairs both of the Jews and Romans; knowing that their enemies were ever on the watch to "lay hold of their words," to accuse them to Cæsar of sedition and treason. Many passages, in proof of this position may be cited; for example, those concerning the tribute money, the law of the Sabbath, divorce, the woman who had seven husbands, the woman of Samaria (to whom Christ said, "He whom thou now hast is not thy husband"—without reproof or farther remark), Herod's marriage with his brother's wife, the imprisonment and murder of John the Baptist, &c. &c. In brief, Christ said, "Who made me a judge and divider?" St. Peter said, "Submit to every ordinance of man." It shall only be added, that whereas commentators appear to have generally taken a questionable view of this epistle, the more patient inquirer will be struck by the fact, that its subject bears visible features of a regular, legal case and decision.

Having now closed the statements more directly drawn from the circumstances of the ancient Jewish Church, and under the theocracy, I would solicit, Sir, the attention of the American abolitionists, to the lawgiver of the *Christian Church*—to the spirit of his Gospel, and to the written regulations found in the New Testament.

But before I offer any remarks of my own on this division of the subject, allow me to advance to the point, under the ample shield of Bishop Horsley; who, five and thirty years since, addressed our upper House of Parliament as follows:—"My lords, I do certainly admit, that there is no prohibition of slavery in the Bible, in explicit terms, such as these would be; 'Thou shalt not have a slave,' or, 'Thou shalt not hold any one in slavery;' there is no explicit reprobation of slavery by name. My lords, if I were to say that there was no occasion for any such prohibition or reprobation, because slavery is condemned by something anterior either to the Christian or Mosaic dispensation, I could support the

assertion by grave authorities—not by the authorities of the new-fashioned advocates of the rights of men—not such authorities as Vattel or Tom Paine. My lords, what is the definition of slavery in the imperial Institutes? 'Servitus est constitutio juris gentium, quâ quis dominio alieno *contra naturam* subjicitur.' And they are called slaves, *servi;* because commanders were accustomed to sell prisoners of war; and to save, *servare,* those who otherwise would have been slain. And what is the comment of Vinnius upon these paragraphs? That among Christians this institution of the law of nations is not in use, become the 'law of charity has taught Christians, that captives are not to become the slaves of the captors; that they ought not to be sold, ought not to be compelled to hard labour, nor submit to many other things in the servile condition.' The Christian religion gives out general principles, which will work an amendment by degrees; and trusts for the eradication of moral evil to the slow and silent operation of those general principles. But, my lords, if you will conclude that whatever is not expressly prohibited and reprobated in the Holy Scriptures, is sanctioned by them, the inference will be extravagant and dangerous. Because the Christian religion positively enjoins, as it does enjoin most positively, the submission of the individual to the existing government, be it what it may, or in what hands it may; would your lordships infer, that the Christian religion gives its sanction to the injustice and oppressions of Nero and Caligula? Yet, my lords, to all this the argument goes, if from the no-condemnation of any thing in holy writ, we are to conclude the approbation of it; and, by consequence, the innocence of the practice."—"Beware, my lords, how you are persuaded to bring under the approbrious name of fanaticism the regard which you owe to the great duties of justice and mercy; for the neglect of which, if you should neglect them, you will be answerable at that tribunal where no prevarication of witnesses can misinform the judge—where no subtilty of an advocate, miscalling the names of things, 'putting evil for good, and good for evil,' can mislead his judgment."* —In the debate of the 24th of June, 1806, the bishop trod over the same ground; arguing also the essential difference between the servitude of the Jewish Theocracy, and the slavery of the British colonies; and adding, "But have we any prohibition of the Slave Trade in the New Testament? None, my lords; absolutely none; and for the same reason, the crime, in its modern shape, was unknown in the times of the promulgation of

* House of Lords, July, 1799.

the Gospel." Bishop Horsley, I am aware, was referring more immediately to the *trade in slaves*, but I am anxious to be instructed, how many degrees of guilt—are interposed between such as kidnap, or purchase Negroes, and such as compel these Negroes, when in their possession, to work their estates, whether under the lash, or even by the stimulus of milder penalties? Yet *could* it be conceded, that the Abrahamic and Mosaic dispensations *were* favourable to Slavery in the abstract, as indeed they severally appeared to connive at certain practices, which are now universally owned to be condemned by Christianity—yet Infidelity itself would confess, that the morality of Jesus Christ is founded on pure equity and philanthropy; and, strange as it seems, such unbelievers as Rousseau are in advance of those evangelicals, who have discovered that there is something in the Gospel which either justifies or palliates Slavery—"the very Slavery" of the modern world.

I doubt not, Sir, that numbers of this class of Christians—moralists inferior to Rousseau—are already approaching the great question which is to be agitated in the United States. They will be faithful copyists of all that has been said and done in the parent country; and there will be held a confidential correspondence between American and British debasers of the *faith once delivered to the saints*, and delivered in all its native purity and splendour. Now there are texts in the scripture which, from familiar or vulgar use, have become, in a certain sense, feeble and worn out—that is, to minds either dissatisfied or weary, with regard to the simple, fundamental, and unalterable truths of the Gospel; and minds such as these do thence, as a natural consequence, separate duty from privilege, and forget that Jesus Christ is not only the redeemer, but the ruler, of his servants. One of these degraded texts is this—"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets." The passage is so very familiar, that the reader may be tempted to repeat it with such rapidity and carelessness, as indicates how unnecessary it is deliberately to enunciate what the hearer has already heard to the very point of indifference, and indeed satiety. And yet we may enter the deepest and darkest prison-house of American or West-Indian Slavery with this solitary passage; and this alone shall break every bond, and let the oppressed go free.

It has, indeed, been urged that Christianity was designed to abolish Slavery, and other crimes, by what is termed "slow and silent operation;"* but it is undeniable, that, after the delivery of the sermon on the

* See the preceding citation from Bishop Horsley.

Mount, every professed follower of Christ was bound, on the instant, to yield immediate obedience by applying what even the world itself has selected as the *Golden Rule*, to the whole of public and domestic life. Then, with regard to this admired and insulated summary of evangelical morality, I am fully conscious of the imposing and confounding effect of what are called single-text doctrines—as, for example, "on this rock will I build my church," and, "this is my body,"——in converting the food of men's souls into poison; but I also know, with all the certainty derived from the plainest teaching of the Holy Ghost, that the above cited words of Jesus Christ are the condensed rule, by which he requires his followers to treat all mankind, without the merest shadow of exception. Nay—his very closing assertion, "*for* this is the law and the prophets," authenticates the whole of our preceding argument; founded as it was on the principle, that all the previous dispensations of God to his people were designed to annihilate even the gentle and domestic bond-service of the Hebrews. Moses emphatically said, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Lev. xix. 18.

If, indeed, we *must* so far concede to the evangelical pro-slaver as to own, that under the Mosaic law there *was* a visible shadow of modern slavery, I beg to offer him the following parallel columns;* that he may "look upon *this* picture and on *this!*"

HEBREW BOND SERVICE.	WEST INDIAN AND AMERICAN SLAVERY.
1. One law to both master and bond-man.	1. No law for the slave, all law against him.
2. To treat bond-men kindly.	2. All such laws a mere pretence.
3. Sabbath-day a day of rest.	3. Must work or starve.
4. Liberality in harvest. *Levit.* xix. 9—10. Not to gather the gleanings or the last grapes, but to leave them for the poor and stranger.	4. The most bitter oppression in harvest. In the Leeward Islands there is always a poor allowance, but in sugar harvest the law allows masters to diminish this poor allowance one-fifth, lest the slaves by sucking the canes should enjoy too much.

* Furnished by an eminent British abolitionist—well known, and honoured, in America.

5. Equitable judgment.	5. Iniquitous judgment.
6. Religious instruction carefully attended to.	6. Religious instruction impeded or prevented.
7. Fearful penalties for oppression.	7. Frivolous penalties and easily evasible.
8. If maimed or seriously injured, always freed.	8. Such emancipations scarcely ever heard of, except where the slave had been rendered useless to his master, and would have proved a burthen.
9. Death to the man-seller, and to the keeper in bondage of stolen men.	9. No penalty, but every encouragement to selling and keeping stolen men in bondage, and making their unoffending and wretched children slaves, as soon as they are born.
10. No distinction from colour of skin.	10. A black colour the deepest ignominy, and every black man presumed to be a slave.
11. To share feasts with bond-men.	11. Such sharing utterly spurned by the whites.
12. Escaped bond-men must not be delivered up.	12. Must be delivered up, under the heaviest penalties.
13. Bond-service limited.	13. Slavery unlimited.
14. Bond-service cheered by hope.	14. Slavery hopeless.
15. Marriage encouraged and secure.	15. Discouraged and totally insecure,
16. No sudden and arbitrary flogging.	16. Such floggings cruel, uncurbed, and habitual.
17. Women treated with consideration.	17. Subject to destroying labour, and liable to the most indecent and cruel floggings.

Will *Christian* defenders of Slavery in the abstract allow me *here* to cite, "The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ!"

I pass on to the fact, that the Gospel gives, not merely the general rule, as expressed in the Sermon on the Mount, but——as if *our* great legislator foresaw the perversions of his own equitable and righteous

doctrine, by those who call him Lord, Lord, but do not the things which he says—furnishes a specific regulation for the conduct of masters to their servants, "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal:" (Col. iv. 1)., and this, let it be observed, was an equality of rights. To this should be added, that St. Paul commands servants (Eph. vi. 5—9)., to "be obedient——in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ"——"as servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart"——"with good will.....as to the Lord, and not unto men"——"knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free."——Then the apostle, addressing *Masters*, enjoins that they "*do the same thing unto them*..... knowing that *your* master is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him." The direct and undeniable inference is, that, on the part of the masters, there should be a liberality and kindness correspondent to the obedience of their servants. See also Col. iii. 4.——The Hope of Israel came, in all senses, "to preach deliverance to the captives.....to set at liberty them that are bruised;" and, according to Dr. Hales, the year of the Jubilee occurred during the public ministry of Christ. St. James also says, "Behold the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." (v. 4). I place, Sir, on the one side, the direct injunction of St. Paul, and, on the other, the inferential injunction of St. James; and would solemnly ask the *evangelical* professors of religion——for I do not ask others——whether they deliberately intend to support Slavery on the plea, that beneath such phrases as *peace on earth, good will towards men, justice, mercy, pity, gentleness, kindness, equality,* there is an under meaning, which the Virginian or Jamaican planter may use to his own purposes, and say,—'*This* I have learned from the disciples of Christ; from the patrons of those missionaries, whose temples we have burnt with fire, whose persons we have imprisoned, and whose doctrine we detest and persecute!"

If you smile, Sir, with surprise and incredulity at this inquiry, I can only add that such in essence has already taken place; and I might refer to the earliest periods of the contest on the Slave *Trade;* when, as one instance, Bryan Edwards himself defended our colonial system, by refering to what he argued to be a regular ordination of providence. He calmly writes,—"That the Slavery of some part of the human species, in a very abject degree, has existed in all ages of the world, among the most

civilized, as well as the most barbarous nations, no man who has consulted the records of history disputes. Perhaps, like pain, poverty, sickness, and sorrow, and all the various other calamities of our condition, it may have been originally interwoven into the constitution of the world for purposes inscrutable to man."* What a vivid illustration is this of the practical infidelity of the world! But let us only meet such a casuist on his own principle—let us whisper simply the hint, that all the *other calamities of our condition* are borne by us, *only* when they are inevitable; that all the resources of art and science, and human wisdom, are in perpetual demand to mitigate and abolish pain, poverty, sickness and sorrow; and that while *these* calamities cannot possibly be exterminated, but necessarily issue in death at last, yet that SLAVERY is a *curable distemper*, and NOT interwoven into the world's constitution.

I should not have thus ascended the troubled stream of controversy, except that I would adduce one example of the unnatural union between the friends of the world, and the assumed friends of God. In all the records of the church of Christ, can we discover *another* instance of this unhallowed combination! Let me again refer to the great prelate already quoted; to teach the readers of the apostolic epistles what St. Paul would have urged upon such citizens of the Union as, at this late hour in the annals of human misery and guilt, buy and sell, and lacerate, the bodies of immortal creatures. "Positively I affirm, that the New Testament contains an express reprobation in terms, an express reprobation of the slave trade by name, as sinful in a very high degree. The Apostle, St. Paul (1 Tim. i. 9, 10.), having spoken of persons that were lawless and disobedient, ungodly and sinners, unholy and profane, proceeds to specify and distinguish the several characters and descriptions of men to whom he applies those very general epithets; and they are these, 'murderers of fathers, murderers of mothers, man-slayers, they that defile themselves with mankind, *men-stealers*.' Man-stealing is placed by the Apostle in the scale of crime next after parricide and homicide. Your lordships cannot doubt, that this text condemns and prohibits the slave trade, in one at least of its most productive modes. But, my lords, I go farther: I maintain that this text, rightly interpreted, condemns and prohibits the slave trade generally, in all its modes; it ranks the slave trade in the descending scale of crime, next after parricide and homicide. The original word which the English Bible gives, men-stealers, is *ανδραποδιστης*. Our transla-

* History of West Indies.

tors have taken the word in the restricted sense which it bears in the Attic Law; in which the δικη ανδραποδισμου was a criminal prosecution for the specific crime of kidnapping, the penalty of which was death. But your lordships know, that the phraseology of the Holy Scripture, especially in the preceptive part, is a popular phraseology; and my noble and learned friend opposite to me (Lord Thurlow) very well knows, that ανδραποδιστης, in its popular sense, is a person who '*deals in men*,' literally a *slave-dealer*. That is the English word, literally and exactly corresponding to the Greek. That noble and learned lord knows very well, that the Greek word is so explained by the learned grammarian Eustathius, and by other grammarians of the first authority. Although the Athenians scrupled not to possess themselves of slaves, yet the trade in slaves among them was infamous. But whatever they might think of it, we have reason to conclude, from the mention made of 'slave-traders' by St. Paul, that if any of them should ever find their way to heaven, they must go thither in company with murderers and parricides.*"

But it will be borne in mind, that the use of slaves, when bought, is identified in guilt with the actual purchase of them; and let me ask, what does an opponent think of the law of the God of the Hebrews, expressly given to his own people,—"He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or, if *he be found in his hand*, he shall surely be put to death!" Exod. xxi. 16. Did the Spirit of holiness inspire this denunciation; and did he revoke this by some subsequent permission to steal, and sell, and possess human flesh and blood? I leave this inquiry to the solution of the Christian pro-slaver, while I pass on to the confounding fact that even the *children*——yes, and for all that appears to the contrary, the most remote posterity of African parents——the *children* of slaves are considered as human property. This is the practical doctrine of the West Indies, and of the United States; and not of these only, but of many who insist upon the spiritual equality of mankind.

To the opponent of the above statements it may be finally said, It is *required* of you, as an act of simple equity, to prove your affirmation—namely, that man *may* have a right of property in the person of another. Then, *Who* has this right? *When* was it acquired? *How* was it acquired? It

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* See Bishop Horsley's Speeches in Parliament, 1813, pp. 252, 539. The above brief extracts are detached and dismembered: his lordship's arguments should be studied in the addresses themselves as published by Mr. Heneage Horsley; their strength being much diluted by such scanty citations as those in the text.

is demanded, in pure justice, that a slave possessor at this moment *shew* his claim to human property. Let him, on the margin of this paper, insert the references to his proofs, or, in legal language, the abstract of his title.

Before I close, it is too necessary, Sir, that I should repeat a consideration already adduced; namely, that the party principally, and almost exclusively, addressed on this occasion is that division of the Christian Church, which professes to be *not of the world*, but to be its determined reprover and opponent; insisting upon separation from that world's society and maxims as one of the essential and distinctive marks, by which the followers of Christ testify their sincerity; urging strictness, and even severity of life, as bearing the cross after Him who died upon it; frowning upon any doctrine which would seem to touch the purity, self-denial, and spiritual mindedness of the Gospel; all but boasting and triumphing amidst their endeavours to bring the whole of the human race under the golden sceptre of Jesus Christ; exulting in the final restoration of Israel, as in the extinction of all the remaining differences of the Universal Church——— BUT seeming, as it were, to tread upon a serpent, the moment they are besought, and by the mercies of God, to make one sacrifice in behalf of the *excluded* children of Africa! It is on *these* persons that the strength of the pro-slavery cause rests. And why? Because their very profession of religion consecrates their worst offences. They remind us of the policy of Julian the Apostate; who urged his heathen priests to outlive the Christian teachers, in order to prove to the surrounding world the superiority of Paganism——that the conduct of the priest might sanctify also his *system*.

God forbid, Sir, that I should deliberately accuse persons calling themselves Christians, on either side of the Atlantic, of a formal intention to confound evil with good; but I am speaking of the *effect* of a certain course of conduct—of its influence upon immature, half-formed religionists, who take their opinions, upon trust, from the popular and accredited authorities of the religious community. The power of *the world*, properly so called, is simply worldly; and both its enemies and its adherents understand and feel its heartlessness and impotence. It has no moral force; and can appeal to nothing better than its own anti-christian principles. It wears a transparent mask. But when we criminate men ostentatiously *professing godliness*, and venture to detect the pollutions of a system which we otherwise admire, and own to be the pure and perfect way, it is the

dark discovery of unfaithfulness in a friend; and—what few men will face—it is directly accusing him; and daring to meet all the disgust, resentment, and recrimination, which such an occasion too surely awakens. *We*, in our own privileged isle, have made the ungracious experiment, and been stung by the consequences. But this very result has proved the necessity, and the beneficial character, of the trial. Innocence may complain of being unjustly accused, and may calmly demand an investigation; but Guilt alone exhibits an irritable, and intolerant, and vindictive spirit, when it attempts defence and exculpation.

Retiring, however, again from the unavoidable personalities of our subject, I will endeavour to place the question on what shall be termed the concessionary principle————giving the opponent all the advantage he can derive from the supposition, that the God of the Hebrews *did* formally originate, authorize, and purpose to continue, Slavery, *very Slavery*, among his chosen people. *Allowing* all this, I require proof that a Virginian planter has a right to lay his hand upon the Pentateuch and say—"Here is a divine licence, *for myself*, to hold in slavery negroes purchased in Africa, their children, and their posterity for ever." Then, let him transfer his hand to the epistle to Philemon and assert—"In a few of these verses I find a direct authority from Jesus Christ, to work *my* plantation by the whip; and to treat every slave on *my* estate as a beast, an alien, and an outlaw." I will then surrender to the polygamist, to the adulterer, and to all offenders of their class, whatever may be derived in their defence, from certain examples and circumstances detailed in the Old Testament. What will be said of that part of the patriarchal economy, which suffered, in the case of Abraham (the "father of the faithful" —"the friend of God—") not merely polygamy, but even concubinage? (Gen. xxv. 6.) And this, under the theocracy itself, continued in the Jewish Church, till the system in question expanded, in the days of Solomon and Rehoboam, into what was, to say the least, highly offensive to the moral sense, and, as it would appear to the Christian mind, most decidedly criminal. 2 Kings, xi. 3.—2 Chron. xi. 21.—I will then beckon them to follow me into the New Testament; and challenge their opponents to adduce thence a single passage, condemnatory of a plurality of wives; *except* in the case of bishops and deacons (1 Tim. iii. 2, 12); and the direct inference is, that this being an exception to a rule, *other* men may have an unlimited number.

As being myself, Sir, a professor of the Gospel of Christ, I feel utterly ashamed and degraded, in being thus compelled to fight our adversaries

with their own polluted weapons. But, in this case also, "Necessity is laid upon me." We *must* use even strange and ill-looking modes of refutation; if haply we may, by such means, persuade men no longer to stifle the convictions of their own consciences, nor venture upon provoking the God of the Africans, also, to make inquisition for blood; and to fulfil his awful intimation, "Vengeance is mine, I will repay."

What do *your* religionists think, Sir, of the doctrine of Retribution? Do they admit its existence—do they ever calculate upon its consequences? Do they *here*, also, "hear Moses and the prophets?" Did they ever listen to the denunciations of the Son of God against the people chosen by his Father? Is history the interpreter of prophecy? Is the general voice of the children of God the faith of his holy universal church? And, lastly, what will one day be the severity of retribution on Christian nations, yet holding in slavery five millions of their fellow immortals? I only wish, that a reply to these inquiries may be speedily returned, throughout the Union; in the form of a determination, under the aid of the Father of the oppressed, to release slaves finally from all temporal bondage—to proclaim *their* year of Jubilee; and to use every means, also, for their spiritual manumission, *with ourselves*, into what the scripture emphatically calls "the glorious liberty of the children of God!"

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

1834. THE AUTHOR.

FINIS

Charles Hammond, Printer, Minories, Birmingham.

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